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THE

CHURCH OF THE REDEEMED,

OR,

THE HISTORY

OF THE

MEDIATORIAL KINGDOM

VOL. I.

CONTAINING THE FIRST FIVE PERIODS:

FROM THE FALL OF ADAM, IN PARADISE, TO THE REJECTION OF THE JEWS AND THE CALLING OF THE GENTILES

BY THE

REV. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D.D., LL.D.

HISTORIOGRAPHER OF THE CHURCH; AUTHOR OF A CHRONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH; A HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS, NOW FIRST ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF TIME; TWO DISCOURSES ON PROPHECY, WITH AN APPENDIX; ETC. ETC.

EDITION RECOMMENDED BY THE GENERAL CONVENTIONS OF 1847 AND 1850.

Μηδεὶς οὖν χωριζέτω τὴν παλαιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης.

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PREFACE.

THE present volume is of a very different character from that which preceded it. The "Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church," as its title imports, was a digest of evidence, in the form of an inquiry; into which history was admitted only to relieve the labour, and enliven the dryness, of an intellectual summary. The present volume is HISTORY. The perusal of it will require no great labour of thought, or closeness of attention; none, at least, which is not, at the same time, pleasurable. The former, as the foundation on which the whole building was to rest, required depth and solidity, but admitted little that was ornamental. The present, is the commencement of the superstructure, in which good taste requires that elegance should be combined with durability and compactness. The foundation will be viewed with most interest by the learned and the scientific; while the generality of readers will form their estimate of its solidity *less* from actual examination, and *more* from perceiving no flaw or weakness in the building which rests upon it.

In saying this, however, the Author does not design to depreciate the usefulness of his former work, or to deter the intelligent but unlettered reader from studying it. On the contrary, it was then his object (as it is now, and has been in all his writings) to unlock and expose to common observa-

tion, what has hitherto been concealed in learned languages, and rendered toilsome and repulsive by the very brevity and closeness of calculation essential to all mathematical and inductive sciences. Much of the ignorance and of the strong prejudice which, in unlettered minds, invariably accompanies the self-complacency of ignorance, proceeds from looking only at results, and not surveying the steps by which men arrive at them. His object was to show clearly and simply what these steps have been. For this purpose, it was necessary to synchronize dates; to see on what grounds *modern* are substituted for *ancient* notations of time; and in all cases to separate conjecture from certainty. From this arduous task many, even of the most celebrated historians, have shrunk. The consequence has been a vagueness and uncertainty, if not contradiction and inconsistency, on their part, for which the ancients are blameless. Hence the Chronological Introduction was necessary. Without it, he could not have written the present volume; and without the present volume, he could not proceed, to use the language of his appointment, in "preparing, from the most original sources now extant, a faithful Ecclesiastical History, reaching from the apostles' times to the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."

But though the "Chronological Introduction" was written with a view to *Ecclesiastical History*, it belongs, in reality, and is equally related, to ALL history. It must, however, be *studied*, and not merely read; and even if the authors whom he quotes are not entirely comprehended by all his readers, enough can be understood by all, from his translation, to show for what intent, and with how much fidelity, they testify. He ventures to say that *any one who well understands the first rules*

of arithmetic, can verify every position he has advanced. The tables alone are worth the price of the whole book; and, if constantly consulted, will soon be prized by the student at their proper value.

In the present work, the rules laid down in the Introduction (pp. 4—6) have been rigidly observed. The accuracy of its results has been demonstrated by HISTORY — the most infallible of all proofs. At the commencement of Part I., Chap. xii., (Chron. Introd. p. 269,) it was remarked, that "*Where facts are found to arrange themselves harmoniously*, without any effort to support a system or to weave a theory, *there must be truth.* As a luxated limb moves with pain and difficulty, but, by a slight touch of the surgeon, is restored to ease and vigour, so is it with chronology. To prove that we are well, we have only to get up and walk; and the truth of chronology must be tested by the ease with which the events of history fall into their proper places." The truth of this remark, as the author confidently trusts, will be strikingly corroborated by the unfolding of events as detailed in the present volume. The history becomes to the previous calculations, like the proof to the operation of a sum in arithmetic. A strict, undeviating adherence to the Holy Scriptures, and the simple adjustment of the Roman Consulships, supporting the great discovery of Bianchini in 1703, have unitedly solved questions which before had occasioned to the learned the greatest perplexity. Two examples of this may be mentioned: the answer of the Jews to our Lord at the first Passover of his ministry, (John ii. 20,) and the seventy weeks of Daniel. Until the exact date of the *termination* of those two periods could be determined, the precise date of their *beginning* was the subject of conjecture and controversy.

Yet the method of computation has always been the same; the sum was worked by the same rules; and it was only the *proof of history* which showed that in the operation there was an error somewhere. The same remark may be applied to all the great dates affirmed in the Bible: the creation — the deluge — the call of Abraham — the Exodus — the building of the first temple, and its duration. From the time of Scaliger, the use of the Julian Period, the mode of ascertaining the solar and lunar cycles, the calculation backward or forward from some fixed and well known point of time, the adjustment of the whole by astronomical observations, have all been common and uniform. When, therefore, a diversity occurs in their results, it proceeds rather from *special causes*, affecting the computations of each chronologer, and for which we are able to account, than from actual uncertainty. Let us take, for example, the systems of Petavius and Usher, with regard to the age of the world. The former of these profoundly learned and distinguished men reckons backward from that well known year which is commonly called the first year after our Saviour's birth. That it was erroneously so called, is now beyond controversy. But that makes no difference as to its certainty. It coincided, as I have shown, (Chronol. Introd., Part I. Chap. iv. p. 109,) with the year 4714 of the Julian Period; and, being a fixed point in all chronological computations, is retained in the following work merely to avoid confusion. By subtracting any given year before it, the number of intervening years is the remainder. If from 4714 the year before the Vulgar Æra be subtracted, it gives the corresponding year of the Julian Period; if the year of the Julian Period be subtracted, the remainder is the year before the Vulgar Æra. Any year of the Julian Period

being thus obtained, divide it by 19, and the remainder is the golden number. If there be no remainder, the golden number is XIX. Divide the same year by 28, and the remainder in the solar cycle tells whether the year is or is not Bissextile, and what the Sunday letter or letters. [See the Table, Chron. Introd., p. 98.] The computations of Petavius made the year of creation before the Vulgar Æra 3984; and that, subtracted from 4714, gave 730 as the year of the Julian Period, applied to Genesis i. 2. The golden number was VIII., and the remainder in the solar cycle, 2, gave E as the Sunday letter. He thus found the Sundays of that year. Petavius adopted the opinion that the world was created in the autumn; and in the year he selected, the Sundays after the autumnal equinox were September 28, October 5, 12, 19, 26. He assigns (De Doctrina Temporum, lib. ix. c. vii., and in the tables at the end of his second volume) certain astronomical reasons about the relative position of the sun and earth; says that the new moon was on the 12th of October, and the full moon on the 26th; and thence concludes that Sunday, the 26th, was the beginning of the order of creation. Usher, pursuing *the same* mode of computation, made the world twenty years older than Petavius, 4004 years before the Vulgar Æra, or A. J. P. 710. Its golden number was VII., and its Sunday letter, B. He also adopted the opinion that the world was created after the autumnal equinox; and, with the calendar of the Council of Nice in his hand, he found that, after that equinox, the Sundays were October 2, 9, 16, 23, and 30. For what reason we know not, he selected Sunday, October 23, as the first day of order in the creation. The introduction of Adam into Paradise he placed on the following Sunday, the thirtieth of that month. After his death, a

work was found explanatory of his scheme, but the first chapter, which treated of the creation, was unhappily missing. His credit, however, has given the most extensive currency to it, even to this day.

The elaborate work of Dr. Hales, published at the beginning of the present century, pursues a very different system from those of Petavius and Usher, and yet is governed in its calculations by the same rules. In his Analysis, (2d Edition, London, 1830, 8vo., vol. i. p. 33,) after speaking of the years of ancient nations as beginning, some at the vernal equinox, and some at the autumnal, some at the summer, and others at the winter solstice, he proceeds thus: "At which of these the primæval year, instituted at the creation, began, has been long contested among astronomers and chronologers. Philo, Eusebius, Cyril, Augustine, Abulfaragi, Kepler, Capellus, Simpson, Lange and Jackson, contend for the *vernal* equinox; and Josephus, Scaliger, Petavius, Usher, Bedford, Kennedy, &c., for the *autumnal*. The weight of ancient authorities, and also of argument, seems to preponderate in favour of the *former* opinion." The year of the creation assumed as the basis of *his system*, is before the common æra 5411; that is, 697 years before the Julian Period: differing from Petavius 1427 years, and from Usher, 1407 years! These differences, *viewed merely as results*, occasion great perplexity; yet, when we consider the *reasons* which swayed his judgment, we cannot but smile at the confidence with which certainty is substituted for conjecture. Dr. Hales collected this date "from the rectification of the chronology of Josephus, and of Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch!" (Analysis, vol. i. p. 302, and vol. ii. p. 2.) Yet he professes to follow precisely the same rules as are followed by

all other computists. This only shows that we must look to the *reasons* upon which *theories* are founded, separate conjecture from certainty, adhere rigidly to the truths asserted in the inspired volume, and use the liberty of choice *only* where various readings admit the exercise of sound and legitimate criticism. Enough has now been said on the subject of chronology. The author has carefully endeavoured to avoid conjecture; and, if sometimes unavoidable, he has put his readers on their guard by plainly telling them when and where, and to what extent, he deems it admissible.

There is a use to be made of this volume, to which his attention has been called, *since it was written*, by a pamphlet recently put into his hand. It was printed at Calcutta in 1847, and is entitled, "On the Relation of Islam to the Gospel; translated from the German of Dr. J. A. Möhler, by the Rev. J. P. Menge, of the Church Mission, Guruckpore." The name of Möhler has been rendered celebrated by his writings, particularly his "Symbolik;" but the remarks here referred to are contained in the *translator's preface*. The writer quotes and enlarges upon the thought of Pascal, (Pensées ix. xxix.,) accounting for the reception of error because it is blended with truth, and because it is regarded from a point of view in which the truth only is apparent. He then gives a brief analysis of the external and internal relations mentioned by Möhler, all leading to the conclusion that the authority admitted in the Koran, as belonging to the Christian religion, must ultimately destroy its own. "Christianity," he observes, "so evidently makes Christ the centre and end of everything, that it is a contradiction to make it point to any subsequent revelation of greater authority." The decay of a government claiming to be a divine institution, leads to

the downfall of the religion with which it is so intimately blended, and to skepticism with regard to all religion. In this state of things, the Mohammedans ought to be induced to study the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; so that the harmony of the Law and the Prophets with the Gospel, in regard to the dignity and office of Christ, as the great centre and final end of revelation, may be distinctly brought out, and the aimlessness and utter incongruity of the Koran, as part of a divine system, clearly unfolded. *The internal consistency of the Old and New Testaments would form a powerful support to the external proofs of their genuineness and uncorrupted preservation.* But how is this to be accomplished? By open and avowed argumentation? This would only rouse a spirit of controversy. Instead of attacking them, it is wiser to exhibit the real character of Christianity. Their ideas of our creed are not derived from the Bible, but from authors of their own, and impressions originating in corrupt practices, which they see before them. Our holy religion has to struggle, not only with the prejudices which must naturally exist against any antagonist system, but also against the contempt and aversion excited by what they take Christianity to be. These misconceptions are to be cleared away "by a statement of pure Christianity as the end and fulfilment of Divine Revelation;" and "the form in which this statement could most advantageously be made, would probably be that of *a history of the successive communications of God's will to man from the creation.*"

The translator then proceeds to give his own conception of what such a work should be. "A work such as is proposed would commence with the Mosaic history of the creation of the world and of man; describe the happy abode of our first

parents in Paradise, during the days of their innocence; narrate their temptation, fall and expulsion from Eden, after the obscure promise of a future Deliverer had been afforded; the birth and corruption of their progeny; the murder of Abel; the multiplication of the human race; their increasing wickedness, and nearly total extinction by the deluge; the preservation of Noah and his family; the descent of the several races of men from his three sons; their gradual settlement in different countries; the corruption of religion and the call of Abraham. The history of this patriarch and his family should be given in considerable detail: his original idolatry; his departure from his home by God's command, and arrival in Canaan; the birth of his two sons, the one after the flesh, the other by promise; the covenant made with him in regard to Isaac and Ishmael, embracing, in the case of the former, both the explicit temporal, and the obscurely-worded spiritual, promises; the account given by Scripture of the descendants of both sons, first of Ishmael, and then of Isaac; the sojourn in Egypt; the birth and mission of Moses, and the Exodus. . . . . The promulgation of the Law should then be narrated, with a summary of its doctrines and ordinances; its clear assertion of the Divine Unity, and the traces, notwithstanding, of the agency of the Angel of the Covenant; its rigorous, detailed, and reiterated prohibitions of idolatry; its lucid moral code; the separation of the Levitical tribe; the institutions of ceremonial worship; and the rules of civil administration. The detailed prophetic warnings pronounced by Moses, and their fulfilment, in the repeated apostasies and consequent sufferings of the Jews, should then be treated. The narrative would then proceed to the period of the Kings, selecting, for

more detailed description, the characters and writings of David and of Solomon, so famous among the Arabian writers for his magical powers. An account of the prophetic writings, embracing both their moral and religious doctrines, and their predictions, would follow; showing how, while the conceptions which these inspired men had of the Divine character, and of the duties of mankind to Him and to their brethren, were (though nationally limited) clear, pure, and sublime, they were yet continually looking forward to the future, conscious of a great want yet unsatisfied, expecting glorious prospects still to come, and foretelling the advent of a mighty Deliverer, by whom these hopes were to be consummated. Hence it should be shown that the objects of Divine revelation cannot be attained by the promulgation of pure doctrines only, but that, according to the prophets, a certain divine work, for, and in men, is necessary for their salvation. The fulfilment of the prophecies, both in the event of the Babylonish captivity, and in the restoration of the Jews to their native country, should then be shortly described, and the fortunes of the Jewish nation till the advent of the Messiah (at the time predicted by the prophet Daniel) narrated. In this part of the work, objections to the authenticity of our accounts, and to the genuineness of the Jewish Scriptures, should be tacitly anticipated by a reference to the usual arguments; the matter, however, not being stated controversially, but as a portion of the narrative.

"The history of our Lord (preceded by that of His forerunner) would next be given: the annunciation; the miraculous conception; the hymn of Zacharias; the birth and its attendant miracles; the apparition of angels, and the visit of the Magi; the childhood of Jesus; His ministry, miracles,

predictions, precepts; His doctrine regarding Himself; the true meaning of His Sonship; the doctrine of the Trinity, as collected from His words, (a tacit denial of the Virgin being one of the three Persons being introduced;) His own account of His own dignity, the object of His incarnation, and the fallen state of the world; the other principal doctrines unfolded by Him, — the judgment, the angelic character of the blessed in the world to come, the spiritual nature of the worship due to God, and the implied condemnation of idolatry. The career of our Lord should be traced to its close, and His crucifixion, death, and resurrection narrated, with such details and remarks as should prove their reality. This statement would furnish a true and interesting representation of Christianity, and show, in an uncontroversial form, what it is that we really believe, in tacit contradistinction to what the Mohammedans suppose we hold. Christ himself being doubtless the authority they will be most inclined to admit in regard to our religion, every doctrine should be stated in His words, or by giving their substance. But it should be mentioned that the Apostles' doctrine is the same as His; and that, though they may have stated some things more explicitly, yet the germ of everything, and in fact the clear assertion of every fundamental doctrine, may be found in His own teaching." — Preface, II.—XVIII.

The present volume was not designed for the Mohammedans, but to be read by all who profess and call themselves Christians; yet it is impossible not to see how closely it resembles, in its conception and general outlines, the plan proposed by the Eastern missionary. The coincidence of thought in two Christian writers, about the same time, and in opposite hemispheres, each unknown to the other, is not a little remarkable. The pamphlet of the Rev. J. P. Menge

was "reprinted from the 'Calcutta Christian Intelligencer,'" with these "Remarks on the Conduct of the Mohammedan Controversy," in 1847; and the author of the following work formed his plan and began to write in 1845. The one had in view the religion of Islam, and the conversion of its votaries to the Christian faith; the other wished only to restore that just conception of the Christian religion which was common and clear in the purest ages of the Church, but has become narrowed and obscured by the intervention of various forms of error.

The profound thought of Pascal, with which my Christian brother in the East began his remarks, was applied by its author to error in general. "Quand on veut reprendre avec utilité, et montrer à un autre qu'il se trompe, il faut observer par quel côté il envisage la chose, (car elle est vraie ordinairement de ce côté-la,) et lui avouer cette vérité. Il se contente de cela, parcequ'il voit qu'il ne se trompait pas, et qu'il manquait seulement à voir tous les côtés. Or on n'a pas de honte de ne pas tout voir; mais on ne veut pas s'être trompé; et peut-être que cela vient de ce que naturellement l'esprit ne peut se tromper dans le côté qu'il envisage, comme les apprehensions des sens sont toujours vraies." Men do not love to be deceived; and if they embrace error, or reject truth, it is generally because they mistake error for truth, or truth for falsehood. If we establish truth, error will fall of itself; not immediately, perhaps, but gradually and finally. Belief cannot be forced. To attempt it will only generate hostility. But by the exercise of Christian virtues; by upholding the truth with meekness and gentleness; by putting the most candid construction upon the motives of them that are in error; by inducing them to view the truth from other points than those to which education or habit

have accustomed them; — BY SUCH METHODS WILL THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION BE MOST SUCCESSFULLY PROPAGATED. Still, nothing was further from the author's thought than to make his work the vehicle of controversy. He has generally been content to state facts and to cite his authorities, leaving it to the reader to form his own deductions. Occasionally, however, reflections upon passing events came spontaneously, and could not be denied admission. If any one suspects that they were invited by some ulterior design, the author takes this opportunity of explicitly denying it. They may indicate, in the words of Pascal, the point of view from which, by education and experience, he has been accustomed to look at things; but his motive has been only to uphold the TRUTH OF GOD'S HOLY WORD, as it has been understood in the Christian Church from apostolic and primitive times.

There is one subject included in that truth, on which, from its awful and mysterious nature, it seems proper here to make some preliminary remarks. The reader of the present work will perceive that all the revelations of God to fallen man are spoken of as made through the DIVINE WORD, the second person of the adorable Trinity in Unity; and that HE *appeared in a real human form, known and instantly recognized as* THE ANGEL-JEHOVAH, OR GOD-MAN. That such has been the concurrent interpretation of the Church, with regard to all those passages of the Old Testament in which such appearances are mentioned, as in Gen. xviii., Exod. iii., and Joshua v., is too obvious to require any further comment. But the careful consideration of all the periods previous to the Incarnation, has produced in the author's mind a strong conviction that these appearances were much more frequent than Christians in general suppose; nay,

more — that the very form in which Christ appeared to the patriarchs and prophets was the same likeness in which He finally assumed the manhood, though in that glorified state in which He is now seated at the right hand of God. How can we explain such expressions as "the WORD of Jehovah came unto me," constantly occurring in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophets, in any other manner? The person first called the WORD is immediately after called simply JEHOVAH. The acts of speech and touch, and other sensible manifestations of his presence, are recorded. The prophet knows that it is HE,—sees him, hears him, feels him. He cannot be mistaken. It is the very same person who walked and spoke in the garden, who ate in the presence of Abraham, as He afterwards ate with his disciples, after his resurrection. These interviews were transient; but Abraham saw by faith the day of His Incarnation. He saw it and was glad. The command to put Isaac to death was not a mere voice from above. That might have been an illusion. Not so the sight of that form, and the hearing of that voice, with which he had been familiar from the day of his call in Chaldæa, through every trial. The Angel-Jehovah in like manner appeared to Isaac; wrestled with Jacob; gave his orders to Moses; proclaimed his Law upon Mount Sinai; guided his Church in the Wilderness; was with Joshua at Gilgal; visited the prophets; was transfigured with Moses and Elias; rose victorious after death; ascended to that glory which He had before the world was! Great is the mystery of godliness — God manifest in the flesh. He will so come again in like manner, to judge the quick and the dead. Let us prepare for that coming, WHEN EVERY EYE SHALL BEHOLD HIM.

SEPTEMBER, 1850.

Extracts from the Journals of 1847 *and* 1850 *of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.*

MDCCCXLVII.

[*Journals, p.* 139.]

"House of Bishops, Ninth Day's Session, *Friday, Oct. 15th*, 1847.

"Bishop Elliott read to the House a letter from the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, Historiographer of the Church; whereupon, on motion of Bishop Elliott, seconded by Bishop Polk,

"*Resolved*, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring, That a Joint Committee be appointed to take into consideration the Letter addressed to this Convention by the Historiographer of the Church, and report such proceedings in the premises as may be advisable.

"On motion of Bishop Elliott, seconded by Bishop McCoskry,

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on the part of this House be three.

"Bishops DeLancey, Elliott, and Lee, were accordingly appointed."

[*Journals, p.* 64.]

"House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, Fifteenth Day's Session, *Friday, Oct. 22d*, 1847.

"On motion, *Resolved*, That this House do concur with the House of Bishops in their Resolution to appoint a Joint Committee to take into consideration the letter addressed to this Convention by the Historiographer of the Church, and report such proceedings in the premises as may be advisable, and that it appoint seven on the part of this House as said Committee.

"*Ordered*, That the Rev. John D. Ogilby, D. D., Rev. Wm. B. Stevens, and Messrs. J. R. Ingersoll, Wm. C. Rives, Jonathan Burnet, and R. F. W. Allston, and Hugh Davey Evans, be members of said Committee on the part of this House."

[*Journals, pp.* 163–6.]

"House of Bishops, Twentieth Day's Session, *Thursday, Oct.* 28, 1847, *Festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, Apostles.*

"Bishop DeLancey offered the following Report: —

"The Joint Committee, to whom was referred the letter of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, Historiographer of the Church, beg leave to report, that they have duly considered the same, and, for the purpose of furthering the desirable object proposed in that letter, they recommend the adoption of the following Resolution, viz: —

"*Resolved*, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring, That it be, and hereby is, earnestly recommended to the members of the Church in the several Dioceses to aid in carrying on the important work in which the Rev. Historiographer has been long engaged, (while serving the Church, without any stipend whatever, at great expense of time and money on his part, to its great credit and advantage,) by giving to him or his agents their subscriptions, as well for the introductory volume, which has already appeared, as for the forthcoming volume or volumes of his History.

"William H. DeLancey,

Chairman of the Committee of the House of Bishops.

"John D. Ogilby.

Chairman of the Committee of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

"*October* 28, 1847."

[*Journals, pp.* 109–117.]

"House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, Twentieth Day's Session, *Thursday, Festival of St. Simon and St. Jude,* New York, *Oct 28th*, 1847.

"The Report and Resolution of the Joint Committee having been received, as on page 166, the President put the question on agreeing to the said Resolution, and it was decided in the affirmative."

M D C C C L.

"House of Clerical and Lay Deputies Day's Session, *Oct.* 1850.

"On motion, *Resolved*, That a Committee of seven members of this House be appointed to confer with the Historiographer of the Church con-

cerning the publication of another volume of his work, now ready for that purpose, and to carry out the provisions of the Joint Committee of 1847, as contained in the Journal of the General Convention of that year, pp. 139, 64, 166, 167, and the address of the Historiographer, prefixed to the Journal, on the History of the Church.

"The following persons were appointed the Committee: Rev. William Cooper Mead, D. D., Rev. W. Bacon Stevens, D. D., Messrs. George W. Dobbin, George M. Wharton, R. F. W. Allston, Philip Williams, Francis B. Fogg."

"Thirteenth Day's Session, *Wednesday, Oct. 16th*, 1850.

[*The Report of the Committee is omitted, as unnecessary. It was accompanied by the following Resolution:*] —

"*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Historiographer of the Church to issue such an edition of the first volume of his Ecclesiastical History which he has now nearly ready for publication, as may meet the demand of Churchmen for the same. And that, in conducting the business operations of the edition issued, so that facilities may be generally given to the members of the Church and others in the United States to be supplied at as early a time as possible with copies of the work, he be advised to associate with himself Messrs. Thomas Belknap, of Hartford, Connecticut, Edward S. Hall, of Millville, and Charles Stimpson, of Boston, Massachusetts, as an Executive Committee for the business operations of the work; and that these gentlemen be especially requested by this House to serve him in that capacity, and to unite with him in informing the next General Convention of the result of his enterprise."

The foregoing resolutions were adopted by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, at the late meeting of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, holden in Cincinnati, Oct., A. D. 1850.

A true copy from the Journal. Attest,

M. A. DeWolfe Howe,

Secretary of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK.

Referring to the Chronological Introduction for fuller information, it is now stated, for the convenience of the reader, that

What is commonly called A. D. is here called the Common or Vulgar Æra.

The true A. D. is here called the True Æra.

The year of the Julian Period is used for all dates before or after 4714, the date of A. D. 1. Hence,

A. J. P. means any year from 1 to 1474; and after it, to the *second year of Vespasian*, with which the fifth period ended: i. e., from the first of July, A. J. P. 4782, to the last of June, 4783, corresponding with what is commonly called A. D. 69–70.

B. V. Æ. means Before the Vulgar Æra.

A. V. Æ. " After the Vulgar Æra.

B. T. Æ. " Before the True Æra.

A. T. Æ. " After the True Æra.

A. J. C. " After Jesus Christ, and the same as A. T. Æ.

A. U. C. (Anno Urbis Conditæ) means the year of Rome, beginning April 21, B. V. Æ. 753.

Olymp. 1, 2, 3, 4, means the 1st, 2d, 3d or 4th year of any given Olympiad, the Olympiads having begun at the summer solstice, B. V. Æ. 776.

Æ. N. means the Æra of Nabonassar, beginning with Feb. 27, B. V. Æ. 747. As the years of Nabonassar were 365 days without fractions, 1461 such years are equal to 1460 of our years; and these constitute one Sothic Period.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. Definition of terms. — The Church, in its largest sense, includes the whole universe of created beings. — The struggle of Satan and the apostate angels against God lies at the foundation of all revealed religion. II. The earliest revealed history of our race. — Account of the creation of matter introductory to that history. — Origin of civil society. — Introduction of evil. III. Not impossible that other beings have been tempted and have fallen. — The plan of redemption may extend to them as well as to man. IV. Our attention confined, in the present work, to the Church on the earth — the Church of the redeemed. — It begins with the fall of man, and ends with the general judgment. — Divided into six epochs, ages, or periods, each of which is terminated by a judgment. — Then will follow the never-ending Sabbath.

I.

THE CHURCH,[1] in its most comprehensive sense, includes other worlds than the earth, and other intelligent creatures than man. Intimations are given in the Holy Scriptures, obscure, indeed, and incidental, but in perfect harmony with clearer revelations, of a great apostasy prior to the creation of material things, by which the angelic natures were divided

[1] The English word Church is derived from the Greek adjective κυριακὸς, *of* or *belonging to the Lord*, by dropping the Greek termination, and the usual change of the υ into y. It thus becomes KYRIAK, and then, by a very common process of abbreviation, KYRK, or KIRK. This form the Scotch have retained, and it occurs very generally, with slight variations of spelling, in the northern languages of Europe. In Anglo-Saxon the k is softened into c, with the Italian sound of ch; whence comes, in English, CHURCH. It is used as a synonyme for the Greek ἐκκλησια, which the Latins have adopted, *Ecclesia*. In the languages derived from the Latin, Ecclesia becomes Chiesa, Église, &c. In the ancient Greek version, Ecclesia is often used as a synonyme for the *Assembly* or *Congregation* of Jehovah, because the covenant people of God were *assembled* in the wilderness. But they continued to be so called when the tribes were *separated* and dispersed over the promised land. So St. Paul applies it to the

into the evil and the good — the rebellious and the obedient.[2] The former, under the guidance of an eminently bad spirit, called in Hebrew, SATAN, or THE ADVERSARY,[3] and in Greek, DIABOLOS, the SLANDERER, or ACCUSER,[4] sought to elevate the creature above the Creator; but, being defeated in the attempt, were expelled from their first estate. This mysterious struggle between the created and the uncreated, the finite and the infinite, affirmed in Holy Writ, but not explained, lies at the foundation of all revealed religion. In their present state of existence, these evil spirits are there called the powers of the air, and the rulers of the darkness of this world.[5] They are confined, as it would seem, within the bounds of the material creation; but are allowed to roam there for a definite period, and to exert their seductive influence over the beings composed of spirit and matter with which it is peopled. During that great period, which will not end till the general judgment, the unceasing object of the great ADVERSARY has been, and ever will be, to counteract the benevolent designs of God, in the universal diffusion of happiness; his perpetual aim, to withdraw the creatures from their allegiance to their Creator, to enlist them under his own banner, and thus to involve them in the consequences of his own apostasy.

II.

All this is assumed and pre-supposed in the earliest revealed history of our race. It opens with a succinct account of the creation of matter, to show, probably, that it was not eternal, and consequently that its being was derived from God. The successive formation of that matter into the component parts of the system, is related as an introduction merely to the history of man, the only being of whom it speaks as compounded

blessed spirits who have gone to their rest, the Church of the first born. Heb. xii. 23. And hence it may well be applied to *all the blessed company who belong to the Lord* — the whole universe of *obedient, and, consequently, happy beings.*

[2] Matt. xxv. 41. Luke x. 18. 2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude 6. Rev. xii. 7—9.

[3] 1 Cor. v. 5. 2 Cor. ii. 10, 11; xi. 14. 1 Thess. ii. 18. 2 Thess. ii. 9. 1 Tim. v. 15.

[4] 1 Tim. iii. 6, 7. 2 Tim. ii. 26.

[5] Eph. ii. 2; vi. 11, 12. Col. i. 13

of body and soul.[6] The next subject of concise description, is the origin of civil society in the union of the first pair, enjoying, in the garden of delight, that happiness which flows from obedience to the will of their Creator.[7] And then follows the introduction of evil into this world by the devices of the subtle ADVERSARY.[8] The manner in which the temptation was effected, guards against the error, so fatally subversive of Omnipotence, and afterwards so fatally prevalent, of two co-ordinate, co-eternal, and equally powerful and independent principles of good and evil.

III.

It is not impossible that other beings compounded of flesh and spirit may exist in other worlds; that they may have fallen by similar temptations; that the plan of redemption disclosed in the Scriptures may include them as well as man; and that our planet, though a speck in the universe, may have been selected as the battle-ground for the defeat of the great Adversary, and the final establishment of God's unrivalled sovereignty.[9] It is certain that this wondrous plan is the unmeasurable and mysterious depth on which even angels in amazement meditate[10]— the plan by which God will gather together in one all things in heaven and earth,[11] and through which He will manifest unto the principalities and powers in heaven, his manifold wisdom;[12] so that, "UNTO HIM MAY BE GLORY IN THE CHURCH BY CHRIST JESUS, THROUGHOUT ALL AGES, WORLD WITHOUT END."[12]

IV.

But without indulging in speculations of this lofty nature, which are useful only inasmuch as they afford a satisfactory solution to the inquiry, Why the Son of God should have

[6] Gen. i. [7] Gen. ii. [8] Gen. iii.

[9] Chalmers' Discourses on the Christian Revelation, viewed in connection with the Modern Astronomy. New York, 8vo. 1834; particularly Discourse VI.

[10] 1 Pet. i. 12. [11] Ephes. i. 10.

[12] Ephes. iii. 10—21.

chosen to descend on one of the smallest planets in the universe, or to have died for so weak and worthless a creature as man — let us proceed to the proper subject of the present work,

THE CHURCH OF THE REDEEMED.[13]

As far as our world is concerned, the history of the Church commences with the fall. Properly speaking, therefore, it is the history of the divine œconomy of human salvation, through the merits of a crucified Redeemer, beginning when sin had rendered that redemption necessary, and ending with the final subjugation of the great author of evil. We may apply to the whole mediatorial kingdom what has been said of the book of Psalms,[14] that it presents to our view one magnificent drama. "The redemption of man and the destruction of Satan is the plot." The persons are — the ever-blessed Trinity; Christ, uniting in one person the divine and human natures; Satan, his host, and all other beings who have become his agents; the Church of obedient and blessed angels, and of the just made perfect, as well as the Church militant here on earth. The scenes, Heaven, Earth, and Hades. "The time of the action, from the fall to the final overthrow of the apostate faction and the general judgment." The several acts, the epochs of human history.

In these epochs, the benevolent designs of Almighty Wisdom have been apparently frustrated by the machinations of Satan, and the consequent corruptions of mankind; and it is very observable, that each of these periods ends with a signal act of judgment and righteous retribution inflicted on the enemies of God; or, to use the language of St. Paul, "the righteousness of God revealed" in blessings "to every one

[13] Dr. Richard Field, Dean of Gloucester, Of the Church. Ed. 3. Oxford, 1635. Small fol. The Fourth Chap. of B. i. is entitled, "Of the Church of the Redeemed," p. 7.

[14] Bp. Horsley's Translation of the Book of Psalms. Lond. 1815. 2 vols., 8vo. "The whole collection forms a sort of heroic tragedy." Extract from the Sermon on Ps. ii. 1, in the Editor's Preface, xvii.—xxiii.

that believeth," and "in wrath" against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men."[15]

I. The first period extends from the triumph of Satan, and the promise of a Redeemer, to the epoch[16] of the general deluge.

II. The second commences with the ark and its inhabitants, — the Church of Noah, — and ends with the general corruption of the second human race, of which he was the parent: the separation and call of Abraham alone, as the great father of the faithful, and the consequent abandonment of the whole Gentile world to their voluntary blindness and impurity.

III. The third extends from the call of Abraham, and exhibits the corruption of his own posterity, included in the covenant of circumcision, which led to the separation of the Israelites, and the giving of a written law.

IV. The fourth period contains the history of that small nation into which the chosen people had now become narrowed; of their corruptions, and especially their idolatry; and of God's judgments upon them in particular, gradually increasing in wrath as their enormities increased: from the giving of the law to the destruction of the first temple, and their captivity in Babylon.

V. The fifth exhibits a still smaller reduction of the covenant people, and extends from the return of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the levitical priesthood, under the Persian monarchy, and the building of the second temple, until even these filled the measure of their iniquities, by the rejection of the Messiah, and thus brought upon themselves the consequent destruction of the second temple, and the general dispersion of the Jewish race among the Gentiles.

VI. The sixth period is that in which we live; beginning

[15] Rom. i. 16—18.

[16] Epoch is a Greek word, the primary signification of which appears to be a sudden stop, as the reining in of a horse by his rider. It was applied figuratively to the course of the sun in the zodiac, the several signs being so many epochs. Hence, in chronology, it came to be used for any great event which seems to arrest the course of time.

with the resurrection of Christ, by which He was declared to be the Son of God with power; and containing the divine manifestation of mercy, hitherto restricted more and more, but now opened again, and enlarged, so as to embrace all the nations of the world; and looking forward to the Second Advent of the Son of God, when the final separation will take place between the wicked and the good. This whole period is declared by St. John to be

THE LAST TIME;

and it will end at the GENERAL JUDGMENT, of which all the inferior judgments of the preceding periods have been so many types. Then the enemies of God, throughout the universe, will be entirely subdued and punished; his sovereignty, over all his creatures, fully vindicated; the immeasurable distance between the Almighty and the highest of created beings, fully displayed; and to the present strife between good and evil will succeed

THE EVERLASTING SABBATH,

the never-ending rest, promised to the sons of God — the noon-day of Eternity.

THE FIRST PERIOD.

FROM THE FALL TO THE DELUGE.

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICES.

		A. J. P.	B. V. Æ.
The change from chaos, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, took place, according to	the Jewish Hebrew,	697	4017
	the Samaritan Hebrew,	456	4258
Before the first year of the Julian period, according to	the Greek LXX. Alex.	590	5303
	the Greek LXX. Vatic.	470	5383
But according to the adjusted computation of the following history,		107	4607
And, consequently, before the present year, A. V. Æ. 1850, inclusive,			6457

The true date of our Lord's birth being Dec. 25, A. J. P. 4707, and not, as Archbishop Usher placed it, Dec. 25, A. J. P. 4709, SIX years must be *deducted*, and not FOUR, from the first year of the vulgar æra, for all dates *before* his birth, and *six* years *added* for all dates *after* his birth.

I. Why the history of creation is so concise and obscure. — Its chronology uncertain. — That of the Jewish Hebrew text preferred. — From the fall to the deluge, about sixteen centuries. II. The test of Adam's obedience implied a covenant. III. Creation of woman. — Divine origin of language. — Society began in Paradise. — A type of the union of Christ and the Church. — The fall and its consequences. — Promise of a Redeemer. — The new or Gospel covenant. IV. Religious rites prefiguring the atonement. — Priesthood and sacrifice. V. Cain and his posterity the first reprobates. — The believing line of Seth. — Apostasy begins among them, and increases as men multiply. — Enoch. — The corruption becomes general, and is punished by the first great judgment, THE DELUGE.

I.

THE remark already made, with regard to the revealed cosmogony, is equally applicable to the whole antediluvian period. The narrative is concise, because it was merely introductory. It was not the chief object of the inspired writer, and is, therefore, not minutely and distinctly displayed. Its truths are obscure, but have often light shed upon them by similar and more detailed truths, subsequently expressed.

The length of time from the creation to the deluge is further obscured by conflicting testimony as to the actual language of the historian. The difference between the Jewish and the Samaritan Hebrew is three hundred and forty-nine years; between the Jewish Hebrew and the Septuagint Greek, according to the Vatican text, five hundred and eighty-six, and to the Alexandrian text, six hundred and six years; and between those two texts and the Samaritan Hebrew, the differences amount, respectively, to nine hundred and thirty-five, and nine hundred and fifty-five years. These differences, between the Greek and the Hebrew, existed and were as inexplicable in the fourth century as they are now. Any attempt fully to explain their origin would be a hopeless task; and, therefore, learned chronologers are divided in sentiment, some preferring the Greek, and others adhering to the Hebrew. With regard to the Septuagint version, which was made in Egypt, in the third century before the birth of Christ, the Vatican text presents internal evidence that its numbers are inaccurate. It makes Methuselah, the grandfather of Noah, to have lived fourteen years after the flood; thereby contradicting the narrative that only eight souls were saved. It differs, systematically, from the Hebrew text, in adding one hundred years to the ages of each of the first five patriarchs before the birth of his son, and as regularly subtracting one hundred years after such birth, so as to make the whole life of each patriarch agree with the Hebrew. A like alteration occurs in the life of Enoch; while that of Methuselah is diminished, before the birth of Lamech, twenty years. As the version was made in Egypt, the suspicion arises that the original was designedly changed, to favour as much as possible the extravagant Egyptian claims to antiquity. These had been set forth, under the same reign, by Manetho, at the request of the same monarch who had commanded the version. The Alexandrian text corrects the error with regard to Methuselah, by adding the twenty years which the Vatican had

omitted, and thus places his death six years before the deluge. But this creates another suspicion. Eusebius evidently knew no other text of the Greek version but that which now bears the name of the Vatican; and he notices the mistake concerning the death of Methuselah. The alteration must have been made between his time and the date of the Alexandrian manuscript, which cannot be traced earlier than the fifth century.[1]

The Samaritan Hebrew agrees entirely with the Jewish in the ages of the first five patriarchs; but it drops one hundred years in the life of Jared, before the birth of Enoch, and changes the duration of his subsequent life. Other changes are introduced in the lives of Methuselah and Lamech, which seem as much the result of design to *lessen* the antediluvian period, as it was of the Greek version to *enlarge* it. Doubtless, on account of its unsupported and solitary character, as well as the general improbability of the computation, it has rarely met with favour in the estimation of the learned.[2] The Jewish text, on the contrary, is liable to no suspicions of designed alteration; and the copies extant being very numerous, many of them of very remote antiquity, widely dispersed, so separated as to be independent, and perfectly harmonious, it meets with more general favour than any other.[3] In the

[1] Eusebii Chron. Ed. Aucher, P. 1, p. 118. Ed. Mai, p. 54. The whole subject of the antediluvian chronology, as exhibited in the Jewish and Samaritan Hebrew and the Greek version, is treated of in Aucher's edition, from p. 106 to p. 122, and in that of Mai and Zohrab, from p. 49 to p. 60, cap. xvi. 1—11. Hence the reader will see that the three computations of antediluvian chronology were as much at variance in the beginning of the fourth century as they are now, at the middle of the nineteenth. I have not thought it necessary to say anything here of the chronological calculations of Josephus, because he is very inconsistent in his early dates; I have shown this in the Appendix to Two Discourses on Prophecy. N. Y. 1843. 12mo. pp. 68—75. He has given three different lengths of time from the creation to the deluge — 1663, 2256, and 2656 years. He was evidently embarrassed, and endeavoured unskilfully to extricate himself from the difficulty.

[2] The authors of that great monument of English literature, the "Universal History, compiled from original authors," adopted the Samaritan chronology in the first or folio edition of their work, but abandoned it in the second or 8vo Ed. Lond. 1747. See the two prefaces, particularly pp. ix.—xi. and lvii. —lxxi. Since their time discoveries have been made which would undoubtedly have altered the judgment of its candid authors, and which will be adverted to in the course of this history.

[3] See Clayton, Bp. of Clogher's, Chronology of the Hebrew Bible Vindicated,

present work, wherever the Hebrew text is clear and consentient, its testimony will be religiously observed. No supposed emendations of the Bible, prompted by theory, and supported only by conjecture, will be admitted; and for the reasons now assigned, the whole antediluvian period is here considered as embracing one thousand six hundred and fifty-six tropical or vertical years. The number of days by which the patriarchal civil year was computed was clearly three hundred and sixty, or twelve months, consisting each of thirty days; but the equinoxes continually adjusted the civil to the astronomical years, and the balance was doubtless preserved by an intercalation of from five to six days, as necessity required.[4]

How soon after the creation man was tempted and fell, is not revealed, and therefore cannot be determined; but as Seth was born after the murder of Abel, when Adam was one hundred and thirty years old, we shall not greatly err if we allow sixteen centuries from the fall to the deluge.

II.

The prohibition given to Adam as a test of his obedience, was given before the creation of woman.[5] It would be vain to inquire what the tree of the knowledge of good and evil was, or in what way the eating of its fruit could affect the body. Both that and the tree of life were near each other, for both were in the midst of the garden;[6] and it must be remarked, that the tree of knowledge of good and evil was the only one forbidden. Man was allowed, therefore, to eat of the tree of life; and after his fall it is mentioned, incidentally, that by taking of that tree he would live forever.[7] Whether from some inherent virtue, or as a sacramental

2d Ed. Lond. 1754. 4to. This learned author has also fallen into many mistakes which later discoveries have rectified.

[4] See Dr. Hales' New Analysis, 2d Edit. Lond. 1830. 8vo. vol. 1, pp. 31—43. To this learned work I am much indebted. Its great fault, as I conceive, is a needless departure from the Bible, and too free an admission of conjecture.

[5] Gen. ii. 16—18. [6] Gen. ii. 9.

[7] Gen. iii. 22, 23, 24.

medium of divine grace, it conveyed a conditional immortality, and perpetually prevented the ravages of time. Consequently, the prohibition implied a covenant of immortal happiness, suspended on man's belief and obedience, or, in other words, on "faith, working by love."[8]

III.

Some time must have elapsed before the creation of the woman, during which the several kinds of inferior creatures were brought before the man, and received names from him, probably descriptive of their several natures and qualities.[9] Here is incidental evidence of the divine origin of language;[10] since the names of things, in relation to their internal characters, given before actual experience, must have proceeded from revelation, or, if from experience, must have required time.

Society began in Paradise by the sacred and mysterious institution of marriage, designed even then as a type of the ineffable union of Christ and his Church.[11] In the innocence of man's nature, it was the union of tender love and reverential duty; the concord of consenting wills and affections; the blending of two separate souls into one being. But, as afterwards the Church listened to the seductions of Satan, and, through the lusts of the flesh and the desire of knowledge, forgot her faith and obedience, so was it with her whom God had given to the man to be the counterpart of his being, and by sharing, to heighten his happiness. "The woman, being deceived, was in the transgression;"[12] and for love of her, Adam, though not deceived, partook of her sin. That life, which was preserved only on the condition of obedience

[8] See Bp. Bull on the State of Man Before the Fall. English Works. Lond. 1713. 8vo. vol. 3. Disc. V. "Faith working by love," Gal. v. 6, is the Gospel covenant.

[9] Gen. ii. 19, 20.

[10] Even Gilbert Wakefield, in his Essay on the Origin of Alphabetical Characters, asks the question, "Is there any reason to suppose that even *language itself* is the effect of *human ingenuity* and *experience?*" Appendix B. to his Memoirs, vol. 2, p. 361.

[11] Ephes. v. 22—33. [12] 1 Tim. ii. 14.

through faith, was now forfeited. The presence of God, hitherto the source of joy, became now the occasion of indescribable terror.[13] The wretched pair stand before their Creator, conscious of guilt, trembling under a sense of his wrath, and in awful suspense awaiting the infliction of that unknown doom, distinguished by the name of DYING. Hope existed not; for no prospect of future life could yet irradiate the gloom. In this state of despair, it was some comfort to hear the first curse denounced upon the author of their ruin.[14] The first ray which broke in upon their darkened souls was the prediction and the promise conveyed with that curse, that *God would put enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed, and that her seed should bruise the serpent's head, though the serpent should bruise his heel.*[15]

This prediction and promise, however obscure and enigmatical, conveyed to them the assurance that the victory of their great enemy was not final. The infliction on the woman of the pains and perils connected with the very existence of her seed, implied a respite from immediate death, and permission to perpetuate her race.[16] And although toil and sorrow, in the cultivation of a more sterile soil, were denounced upon the man, — though he was in future to support life by the herb of the field, and not by the food of immortality, — though he was finally to return to the soil by which he would now be fed, — yet, even in these punishments, mercy triumphed over judgment, in the revelation of a better covenant.[17] As the woman alone had been tempted by Satan, so the seed of the woman alone was to obtain the victory over his power. This promise was the first promulgation of the Gospel; and as it was given antecedent to the birth of their posterity, ALL WERE BORN UNDER THE GOSPEL COVENANT.

[13] Gen. iii. 8—10.

[14] Bp. Sherlock's Six Discourses on Prophecy. Lond. 1749. 8vo., particularly Disc. III.; also, his second dissertation, entitled, "The Sense of the Ancients, before Christ, upon the Circumstances and Consequences of the FALL." With an Appendix.

[15] Gen. iii. 15. [16] Gen. iii. 16.

[17] Gen. iii. 17, 19.

IV.

With the establishment of the mediatorial covenant, we see the introduction of religious rites prefiguring the atonement. The Sabbath had already been instituted; and the voice of adoration and praise, such as angels use, had been heard in Paradise. But the Sabbath and the songs of Paradise were the repose and the worship of innocence. In a state of guilt the Sabbath was greatly changed; for it now became to the weary a rest from toil and sorrow. And so also was it with worship; for to the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, were to be superadded the confession of sins, the supplication for mercy, and the perpetual acknowledgment that without the shedding of blood there could be no remission.[18] The bruising of the heel of the woman's seed, in crushing the serpent's power, was to be perpetually shadowed forth in offerings, which required a victim and a priest; and woman was excluded from the functions of the priesthood, because it would evidently be improper and unjust that she, whose sin was punished in the sufferings of her seed, should offer the memorials of his death and of her own guilt. The establishment of bloody sacrifices is intimated in the account of the skins of animals given to Adam and his wife for their clothing;[19] and the appearance of the divine glory between the cherubim,[20] as afterwards in the Holy of Holies, sufficiently indicates the appointment of a place for these sacred offerings, — a place at the east of Eden, that is, at the entrance of Paradise, — called, afterwards, "the presence of the Lord."[21] Thus we have all the essentials of divine worship established at the fall, — the way to future immortality through death in the MEDIATORIAL KINGDOM, — *the means of grace and the hopes of glory.*

V.

The exulting mother, in the hopes derived from the great prediction and promise, saw in her first-born the man-

[18] Heb. ix. 22. [19] Gen. iii. 21. [20] Gen. iii. 24. [21] Gen. iv. 14, 16.

Jehovah;[22] but so far was Cain from being the promised seed, that he became the first reprobate. In the distribution of employments, he was the husbandman, and his brother Abel the shepherd. The malignity of his temper showed itself in his unwillingness to ask his brother for a victim. He offered, before God, an unlawful sacrifice; and the divine displeasure so hardened his heart, that, through envy and the instigation of the devil, he became the first murderer. In his punishment, the unhappy parents saw the consequences of the primeval sin. He lost the privileges of primogeniture, was deprived of his priesthood, banished from "the presence" of the divine glory between the cherubim, shut out from the hopes of mercy, and, with his descendants, delivered over, unprotected, to the assaults of the great adversary.[23]

In the place of Abel, God gave to Adam and his wife another son, who, for that reason, was called Seth. He, like Abel, was righteous; but, in the very next generation, in the days of his son Enos, "men began to call themselves by the name of Jehovah." This distinction among men, the designation of the godly as a party, implies an apostasy even in the race of Seth, and long before the death not only of that patriarch, but of Adam himself; for it probably took place in the fourth century of the world's age.[24] The number of generations from Adam to Noah was ten; but, as St. Peter

[22] The Hebrew is as the marginal reading in the English Bible, THE MAN, THE LORD, that is, the Jehovah, the God-man. See Parkhurst's note, Heb. Lex., p. 48, 8vo.—"It is as certain a rule," he observes, "as any in the Hebrew language, that where *two* nouns, with אֵת between them, immediately follow a verb, the latter noun is in apposition with, or relates to, the same subject as the former, especially if the latter noun be a proper name."

[23] In the presence of Jehovah is the fulness of joy. Ps. xvi. 11. The Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan both speak of the divine majesty as stationed between the cherubim at the east of Eden, as afterwards in the Tabernacle and first Temple. Cain was deprived of spiritual privileges.

[24] The life of Enos extended from A. M. 235 to A. M. 1140; or from about 180 years after the *fall* of Adam, to 210 years after his *death*. During this period, the worship of the *false Elohim*, or the created material Trinity, began; and this was the occasion of the *first* preaching of righteousness. The Hebrew of Gen. iv. 26, is, literally, "Then was it begun to call on the name of JEHOVAH;"

calls Noah the *eighth* preacher of righteousness,[25] we may infer that Enos was the *first*. Whatever worship may have been substituted for that of the true God by those who did not call upon his name, the defection was so numerous, that Enos, with herald voice, proclaimed the truth, and warned them, for nearly eight hundred years, of their guilt and danger.[26]

At a later period, "when men began to multiply on the face of the earth," the seductive influences of ungodly women occasioned a more extensive defection. "The sons of God,"

that is, to distinguish the *true* from the *false* Elohim, by that name which was peculiar to the true Elohim. "Baal, or the Heavens, were called Elohim, but never Jehovah;" "and this implies," says Bate, "that about this time idolatry began to break out, not that men had not worshipped Jehovah before."—New and Lit. Translation of the Pentateuch, &c. London, 1773. 4to. loc. cit. note d. The learned author of "A Treatise on the Three Dispensations," following Maimonides, infers from his words, that the last clause of Gen. iv. 26 ought to be rendered, "*Then there was pollution in calling upon the name of Jehovah.*" But I have not ventured to depart from the more common translation of the word הוּחַל. The root חָלַל or חָל signifies *to make a hole or opening*. Hence, as applied to the body, *to stab;* and, in general, *to pierce*, *to perforate*, and hence *to slay*. It is used figuratively for *to open* or *begin* any action or thing. There is, undoubtedly, a *third* signification, from the idea of violently breaking through what God has made a duty; and so, *to desecrate*, *pollute*, *profane*. The word in Gen. iv. 26 is in the Hophal or passive causative form, 3d pers. sing. masc. of the preterite; and taking לִקְרֹא as a gerundive infinitive, and so the nominative to the verb, the whole clause may be rendered, *Then the calling upon the name of Jehovah began to be*, or *was caused to be*, *profaned*. —See Faber's Treatise on the Genius and Object of the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and the Christian Dispensations. London, 1823. 8vo. Vol. i. pp. 270—275.

[25] 2 Pet. ii. 5.

[26] The longevity of man was then so great, and the posterity of Adam so numerous, that the population of the earth must have been widely extended. The genealogies given in Gen. v. are those of the preachers of righteousness only; and there is no evidence that the patriarchs named were the eldest sons of their respective fathers. Many of the children of Seth may have become reprobates like Cain; and Adam had continual causes of compunction for his sin in the increasing corruptions of his children. Deaths may have been rare, and those the result of violence, not of sickness or decay. It is probable that the death of Adam was the first example of mortality from natural decay,—the first infliction from God as an example that death must be the end of all men. The sensation it occasioned must have been profound. It occurred in A. M. 930, when Enoch, the *fifth* preacher of righteousness, was 308 years old. Seth, and Enos, and Cainan, and Mahalaleel, and Jared, were all living, and most of them vigorous. Such was the state of men; and they were beginning to forget the warning of Adam's death, when, suddenly, in A. M. 987, the pious Enoch, the brightest example of uniform holiness, was visibly taken from among men, with all his faculties perfect, and without the pains of death. How startling was the prodigy! How powerful the lesson that death is the wages of sin! Yet, most of the antediluvian race remained obdurate.

not angels, but the members of God's Church on earth, were turned aside from the path of duty, by intermarriages with the daughters of the unbelievers.[27] Yet, even at this period, one bright example of unshaken faith and purity is recorded in the person of the patriarch Enoch. He was born in the year of the world six hundred and twenty-two, and lived so godly a life on earth, that, to reward his faith and piety, and to show, by a single exception, how all men without sin would have escaped its penalty, he was translated without seeing death. The only similar event recorded in the Old Testament, took place in a time of general defection and idolatry;[28] and we may therefore infer that this exemption from the general curse, fifty-seven years after so memorable a death as that of Adam, and while Seth and the four succeeding patriarchs, the progenitors of Enoch, were living, was intended to revive the warning against sin in a similar time of general corruption. Enoch was the *fifth* preacher of righteousness; and St. Jude has preserved a very remarkable specimen of his preaching: "Behold the Lord cometh, with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and convince all that are ungodly among them of their ungodly deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches, which ungodly sinners have spoken against him."[29] It is uncertain whether Enoch had in his immediate view the general judgment at the last day, or that first judgment which was then impending; but it is evident, that

[27] As in Deut. xiv. 1: "Ye are the sons of Jehovah, your Elohim." Some suppose that the ungodly women were of the race of Cain, and that the sons of the Elohim were the sons of Seth, or of the Church. Doubtless they were so; but there can be no proof that the daughters of men, the corrupt and wicked idolaters, were limited to the descendants of Cain, or that none of the descendants of Seth were involved in the apostasy. I prefer leaving the subject as it is left in the Bible.

[28] 2 Kings ii. 1—12.

[29] Jude 14, 15. Bruce, the traveller, brought from Ethiopia three copies of the apocryphal book entitled "The Prophecies of Enoch," one of which he presented to the Royal Library at Paris, and another to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It stands, in the Abyssinian Canon, immediately before the Book of Job. The passage quoted by St. Jude is, he says, "word for word, the same in the second chapter of the book." See his Travels to discover the Source of the Nile. 4to. Edinb. 1790. Vol. i. pp. 498–9.

even in the earliest period of human history there was a much clearer knowledge of the divine dispensations than we are apt to infer from the brevity of the sacred historian.

The corruption of mankind attained its height in the four hundred and eightieth year of Noah's life. The Spirit of God had striven with the general iniquity, and his mercy still allowed them a respite from punishment for one hundred and twenty years.[30] During that period, while the ark was preparing, the warning voice of the patriarch urged them in vain to repentance. "They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all."[31] Eight souls only were saved to tell to the New World the catastrophe of the Old.

[30] Gen. vi. 3. The meaning of the verb יָדוֹן controls the sense of this passage. The Chaldee paraphrast, Syriac, Greek and Latin versions, agree in rendering it, "My Spirit shall not always *dwell* or *abide* in man: non permanebit spiritus meus in homine in æternum." Parkhurst, and other lexicographers of note, prefer the sense of *directing*, *ruling* or *judging*, which it will certainly bear. Bate renders it, "My Spirit shall not *judge* among men forever;" and he explains his meaning thus: "*Judge* or *minister in the affairs of the Church, as by the prophets, in whom was the Spirit, and by the oracle.*" But though this sense is not to be excluded, so neither is the sense of the *internal workings of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men.* In this sense, God *strives* with the wicked, but he will not strive perpetually. If they abandon themselves to fleshly lusts, he will finally forsake them. The posterity of Seth had become so generally corrupt, that God now limits the term of sparing mercy to one hundred and twenty years; at the end of which time he would remove his presence from them. As the flood came A. M. 1656, this period began A. M. 1536. Noah was born A. M. 1056. At that time, Adam and Seth, only, were dead, and Enoch had been translated sixty-nine years. All the other patriarchs were dead when this period of mercy was decreed, except Methuselah and Lamech; and Lamech lived but thirty-three years after the decree. Methuselah died in the very year of the flood. He and his grandson Noah continued to warn men of the approaching judgment until it came.

[31] Luke xvii. 27.

THE SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE DELUGE TO THE CALL OF ABRAHAM.

Length of time from the Deluge to the birth of Abraham, according to		DELUGE.	CALL OF ABRAHAM.	
	the Jewish text, as it stands in the text,	292	+ 75 = 367	years.
	Hebrew, as adjusted by Abp. Usher,	352	+ 75 = 427	"
	the Samaritan Hebrew,	942	+ 75 = 1017	"
	the Greek LXX. Alexandrian text,	1072	+ 75 = 1147	"
	the Greek LXX. Vatican text,	1172	+ 75 = 1247	"

All agree that Abraham was called when he was seventy-five years old; that sum, therefore, being added, the length of the second period is obtained, as above, according to each computation.

As the text of the Samaritan Hebrew, for reasons which will be given, is preferred in the present history, the sum of 1017 years must be added to 1656 years, the length of time assumed for the first period from the order of created things, by the Holy Ghost, to the deluge, both included. This will give the following results, expressed in the years of the Julian period: The years before the first of January following December 25, A. J. P. 4707, the true date of our Saviour's birth; and the years before the first of January, A. J. P. 4714, usually reckoned as A. D. 1, and here designated as the vulgar or common æra.

	DELUGE.	CALL OF ABRAHAM.
Year of the Julian period (106 + 1656),	1762	2779
Year before the true birth of Christ,	2946	1929
Year before the vulgar æra,	2952	1935

I. Universality of the Deluge. II. The ark, now the Church, separated from the wicked world. — The source of light and life within it. III. Waters of the deluge assuaged. — Sacrifice of Noah. — The Gospel covenant renewed. — The outward sign, the rainbow, a memorial of temporal blessings, through Christ, to the end of time. IV. History of Noah and his three sons. — The postdiluvian chronology. — Why Samaritan Hebrew preferred. — Defection from the true God. — Wickedness first showed itself in Ham and his descendants. V. Idolatry. — Two primeval forms. — These still continue to divide all the heathen in both hemispheres. VI. Shinaar. — Nimrod. — The tower of Babel. — Confusion of languages. — Theories on the subject. — Question concerning the peopling of America. — After the dispersion, all history lost for many ages. — Gradual extinction of the true religion by idolatry. — Corresponding increase of lust and cruelty. — Sodom. — THE FIRST JUDGMENT BY FIRE, with which this period terminates.

I.

THE universality of the Deluge is expressly affirmed in the Bible; and consonant with that inspired declaration is the testimony of all the remaining fragments of

A. J. P. 1762. B. V. Æ. 2952.

early Gentile historians. It must also be inferred from the concurrent traditions of both hemispheres, the rites of pagan idolatry by which it is symbolized, and the geological evidences of marine submersion on the summits of the highest mountains in the world.[1] It cannot be accounted for from the ordinary causes of inundation. All the vapours in the atmosphere could not have produced it; and nothing but the cracking of the shell of the earth, and the upheaving of waters from the central abyss, so sublimely described in the book of Genesis, could have raised it to such a height above the highest mountains as would enable the loaded ark to float securely over them.[2] Nor can we account for its duration on ordinary principles. It has been well observed that, as a penal infliction on human beings, its object would have been obtained in a day as well as in a year.[3] Some process, therefore, must have taken place with regard to the earth itself, which is darkly intimated in the prophecy connected with the name of Noah,[4] and in the solemn promise of the Almighty not to curse the ground any more for man's sake.[5]

II.

On this universal sea, as it arose over the mountains, rose also the ark. It was made, probably, of cypress wood, and covered within and without with asphaltum, a bituminous substance of the East, insoluble by water, impervious to air, hard, polished, and therefore clean to the touch.[6] It is, moreover, emphatically said, that when all living which were to be saved had entered the ark, "the LORD (Jehovah) shut

[1] Gen. vi. 5; vii. 21. Cuvier, Recherches sur les Ossemens Fossiles. Discours Préliminaire. Paris, 1812. 4to. tom. 1, especially from p. 94. A translation of this Discours, under the title of "Essay on the Theory of the Earth, by M. Cuvier," was published, with notes, by Professor Jameson; and republished at New York, with additions, by Dr. S. L. Mitchell. 8vo. 1818.

[2] English Ancient Universal History, second edition, vol. 1, p. 201. Of the Deluge.

[3] Sharon Turner's Sacred History of the World. Ed. 7. London, 1840. Vol. 2, let. xv. p. 306. Hence, the author infers that a great process was in operation for other objects.

[4] Gen. v. 29. [5] Gen. viii. 21.

[6] Gen. vi. 14.

them in."[7] Thenceforth there was to be no communication of THE CHURCH with a world lying in wickedness, and therefore ruined. The inhabitants of the ark, indeed, could feel the tossings of the flood, and hear the raging of the storm without, the rushing of the cataracts, the moaning and whistling of the wind, the screams and groans and howlings of men and beasts perishing in the waters, and all the varied agonies of expiring nature. But there was no light or heat of the sun, no breath of air from without, no other source of life but that which was within. The word which is, in most translations, called a window, denotes no window, but light in itself.[8] It is as peculiar to the ark as the name of the ark. In so large a vessel, even if it were floating tranquilly on a calm surface, and in dry weather, it is incredible that a single window could supply light or respiration to all its inhabitants; and when it is recollected that such window could be but a mere hole or opening, such as is afterwards described,[9] and would have been perilous in the storm of the deluge, the idea seems perfectly inadmissible. The source of light and life was, therefore, within the ark, allaying the ferocity of its savage inhabitants, and conveying to the patriarch and his family the comforts of the external and the strength of the internal life. What it was is unrevealed, and consequently

[7] Gen. vii. 16.

[8] Gen. vi. 16. The word צהר is found in the singular, as a noun, only in this place, and, as a verb, is not used. In the dual, צָהֳרַיִם, it occurs in twenty-three places: — in Gen. xliii. 16, 25. Deut. xxviii. 29. 2 Sam. iv. 5. 1 Kings xviii. 26, 27, 29; xx. 16. 2 Kings iv. 20. Isa. xvi. 3; lviii. 10; lix. 10. Jer. vi. 4; xv. 8; xx. 16. Amos viii. 9. Zeph. ii. 4. Psal. xxxvii. 6; lv. 17; xci. 6. Job v. 14; xi. 17. Cant. i. 7. In all these places it signifies the meridian light, — the brightest effulgence of day. A derivative noun, formed from it, by prefixing the letter ר, means *oil*, a substance producing light. The *Tsohar* in the ark could not, therefore, have been a hole, for the admission of solar light, but a source of light itself. I take it to have been the Divine Shechinah, or glory of Jehovah, dwelling between the cherubim, which were now brought from their place at the east of Eden, as the ark afterwards was from the Holy of Holies of the Tabernacle, into the Holy of Holies of the first Temple. The reader who wishes to see all that has been said on this subject, is referred to the eleventh occasional annotation, entitled "*Of the* ZOHAR *within the Ark*," of the learned Parker, in his Bibliotheca Biblica. Oxford, 1720. 4to. Vol. 1, pp. 202—210. This removal of the divine presence into the ark may have been the fulfilment of the awful warning in Gen. vi. 3.

[9] Gen. viii. 6.

uncertain; but, without entering into the conceits of Jewish commentators, may we not believe that the divine glory between the cherubim now deserted the tabernacle east of Eden, and DWELT IN THE ZOHAR OF THE ARK? Amid the ruins of the world, the glory of Jehovah was present with his Church, "and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a Jasper stone clear as crystal."[10]

III.

No sooner were the waters of the deluge assuaged, and the ark had touched on the highest summit of the Armenian highlands, than we behold a spectacle of the most extraordinary nature. The distinction of clean and unclean beasts, incidentally mentioned in the history of the ark, existed for thousands of years before its specific nature was recorded.[11] The rapacious, the ravenous, the fierce, the revengeful, the faint-hearted, — all whose natures are contrary to that spirit which the Gospel requires in man, — were, from the very fall, considered as unclean; while the patient, the meek, the forbearing, the enduring, the quiet and the laborious, were equally, from the first, considered as clean. Of each kind of the unclean, one male and one female only were preserved in the ark; but of the clean, seven; probably four males and three females. And now the first act of Noah, on his leaving the ark, was to offer, for himself and for all living, the supernumerary male of every kind of clean animals, as a solemn holocaust. Human reason would never have thought, unless by divine command, of diminishing, by

[10] Rev. xxi. 11.

[11] Gen. vii. 2, 8, com. with Levit. xi. 1—47. Among the various opinions as to the reason of the distinction between clean and unclean animals, I have selected that which seems to have most of the ancient Christian writers on its side; that is, that it conveyed a typical and moral meaning, allusive to the characteristic qualities of the several species. Whoever wishes to know what these various opinions have been, may consult Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum, lib. I, cap. vii., de Animalium discrimine et ciborum delectu. As the distinction seems to have taken place from the fall, I cannot refer it to the nation of Israel alone, and their separation from idolatrous nations.

such an act, the scanty remnant of life; but, viewed as an act of faith in the atoning blood of the great Mediator, it will be seen that this universal sacrifice was antecedently planned, and expressly provided for. It denoted that Noah and his family were not saved because they were exempt from sin, but solely through the Gospel covenant; and the same sacrificial terms being now for the first time employed, which by the subsequent written law are made so familiar, we cannot doubt that they had the same reference, as in after ages, to the meritorious death of the promised Seed. Jehovah is now said to have smelled an odour of rest or appeasement; a mode of expression derived from the influence of grateful perfumes in allaying human wrath.[12]

In connection with this sacrifice, or rather in virtue of the meritorious death of Christ of which it was the representative, the covenant which, before the ark was made, was declared to be with Noah,[13] was now renewed with him and his sons, as the progenitors of mankind. And as every covenant between God and man implies blessings on the one side and duties on the other, so in this case were there three blessings given. First, the primeval curse upon the ground, imposed because of the transgression of the first Adam, was not renewed, and consequently was removed.[14] Secondly, a solemn promise was given that there should never be another universal deluge, but that the vicissitudes of nature, seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, should have no cessation while the world remained. Thirdly, the original blessing upon the human race was renewed, with permission to increase and multiply and replenish the earth; but, instead of full subjection, the fear of man

[12] Gen. viii. 20—22. On the design of seven clean beasts to provide for this sacrifice, and leave three pair, see St. Chrysost. Hom. in cap. vii., Gen. Ed. Montf. tom. iv. p. 225, E. It is a just observation of Bate, on this passage, "that sacrifices, incense, and other sweet odours, had plainly been in use before the flood. There is scarce anything in the law but what is expressed or implied here, as indeed the whole is in the cherubim."

[13] Gen. vi. 18, com. with ix. 9—11.

[14] Gen. viii. 21.

was put upon the inferior creatures, and their flesh was allowed for his food, with the exception of their blood, because that was an offering for sin. Probably to guard against human sacrifices, the shedding of man's blood was prohibited under the severest penalties.[15] Of this covenant the rainbow was made the outward and visible sign. As a natural phenomenon it had, of course, always existed; so that rain never had descended without its being seen in some portion of the earth. But now for the first time was it made the sign of a perpetual covenant with the whole human race. Thenceforward to the end of the world, the bow in the clouds would to every believing soul be a sacred memorial that the grant of temporal mercies through Christ, made after the deluge to the common father of mankind, would be continued till the end of the mediatorial kingdom.[16]

IV.

Noah appears to have dwelt during the remainder of his life in the region of Ararat; and it is certain that he lived three hundred and fifty, and his son Shem five hundred and two, years after the flood. As Japheth was the elder brother, and Ham was, at most, not many years younger, if he was not, as some have supposed, the twin brother of Shem, it is reasonable to believe that the three died about the same time. But the question, whether the dispersion of mankind took place in the lifetime of the patriarch and his sons, depends for its solution on the remarkable variation in the postdiluvian chronology, which makes a difference in the length of the period from the deluge to the birth of Abraham of five hundred and ninety, if not of six hundred and fifty years. Peleg, the fifth in descent from Noah in the line of Shem and Arphaxad,

[15] Gen. viii. 22; ix. 1—11, com. with Gen. i. 28—30.

[16] Gen. ix. 12—17. For the renewal of temporal blessings, and the removal of the curse upon the earth, by the process wrought out in the deluge, see Bp. Sherlock's Disc. iv., on the use and intent of prophecy.

was so named because "in his days the earth was divided."[17] Hence, some have inferred that the separation of mankind took place near the time of his birth; but his name may have been given, as that of Noah was, by prophetic anticipation; and as the children of Joktan, his younger brother, thirteen in number, are mentioned among "the families of the sons of Noah," by whom "the nations were divided in the earth after the flood,"[18] it seems more reasonable to limit the date of the dispersion only, as the Scriptures have done, to "his days," or life. But according to the received Hebrew text, Peleg was born in the year one hundred and one, and died in the year three hundred and forty, after the flood; that is, ten years before the death of Noah, and one hundred and sixty-two years before the death of his great-great-grandfather Shem. Whereas, according to the Samaritan text, he was born in four hundred and one, and died in six hundred and forty, after the flood; in other words, Peleg was born *fifty-one* years *after* the death of Noah, and more than a century *before* that of Shem, and died one hundred and thirty-eight years *after* the decease of the latter patriarch. As the Alexandrian Greek text, omitting the interpolated Caïnan, agrees with the Samaritan Hebrew, and as Josephus, though uncertain in his early chronology, agrees with both these texts in detail; the evidence in favour of the longer computation has much greater strength in the postdiluvian than in the antediluvian period. Other reasons will suggest themselves, as we proceed, affording additional probabilities in favour of the Samaritan text.[19]

[17] Gen. x. 25.

[18] Gen. x. 32.

[19] The Rev. G. S. Faber, in his learned work on "The Origin of Pagan Idolatry," has given an ample and clear, yet concise, view of the whole argument, in favour of the Samaritan Hebrew. It is too long to insert here; but I would earnestly recommend it to the attention of the reader, as the best summary I have seen. It is in the second chapter of his sixth book, in which he is treating of the empire attempted by Nimrod. Vol. iii. pp. 378—445. The chronological discussion extends from p. 417 to p. 424; but the whole chapter is at this time rendered peculiarly interesting, by the excavations at Nineveh, and the hopes arising from the study of cuneiform inscriptions. I subjoin from his

How soon the defection from the worship of the true God began, we have no evidence. The first act of wickedness recorded, after the deluge, was occasioned by the inebriety of Noah, and showed itself in the irreverence of his youngest son, Ham. This, and the dutiful conduct of Shem and Japheth, led to a prophetic curse and blessing, faintly foreshadowing the future condition of their posterity. Both seem to have been connected with their future faith and apostasy. The blessing of Japheth depended upon his dwelling in the tents of Shem, the progenitor of the promised seed; and as wickedness showed itself first in Ham and his descendants, so to them may be traced all the varied forms of pagan idolatry.[20]

Though the fearful truth must be admitted, that "the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth,"[21] yet it

work, vol. iii. p. 667, a table of the Samaritan Chronology, to which I have added the Julian period, the true æra, and the common æra, according to the computations of this history. This table furnishes the best of all possible evidence in favour of the Samaritan Hebrew; for it shows that all the dates are in perfect harmony. Terah died the very year of Abraham's call; and Abraham was born the year after the death of his grandfather Nahor. I place the birth of Abraham at the beginning of the year B.V.Æ. 2009; but this is only because, accurately speaking, 942 solid years after the deluge *preceded* his birth.

A.T.D.		A.J.P.	B.T.Æ.	B.V.Æ.
350	1. Noah dies, aged 950 years.	2112	2596	2602
502	2. Shem dies, aged 600 years.	2264	2444	2450
2	3. Arphaxad born. He has Selah at 135; and lives afterwards 303 years.	1764	2944	2950
440	Arphaxad dies, aged 438 years.	2202	2506	2512
137	4. Selah born. He has Eber at 130; and lives afterwards 303 years.	1899	2809	2815
570	Selah dies, aged 433 years.	2332	2376	2382
267	5. Eber born. He has Peleg at 134; and lives afterwards 270 years.	2029	2679	2685
671	Eber dies, aged 404 years.	2433	2275	2281
401	6. Peleg born. He has Reu at 130; and lives afterwards 109 years.	2162	2545	2551
640	Peleg dies, aged 239 years.	2402	2306	2312
531	7. Reu born. He has Serug at 132; and lives afterwards 107 years.	2293	2415	2421
770	Reu dies aged 239 years.	2532	2176	2182
663	8. Serug born. He has Nahor at 130; and lives afterwards 100 years.	2425	2283	2289
893	Serug dies, aged 230 years.	2655	2053	2059
793	9. Nahor born. He has Terah at 70; and lives afterwards 69 years.	2555	2153	2159
941	Nahor dies, aged 148 years.	2703	2005	2011
872	10. Terah born. He has Abram at 70; and lives afterwards 75 years.	2634	2074	2080
1017	Terah dies, aged 145 years.	2779	1929	1935
942	11. Abram born. He has Isaac at 100; and lives afterwards 75 years.	2704	2004	2010
1117	Abram dies, aged 175 years.	2879	1829	1835
1042	12. Isaac born.	2804	1904	1910

[20] Gen. ix. 18—27. The name of Ham appears, also, under the various forms of *Cham* and *Chamus*, the first letter being the strong aspirate *heth*. Its radical meaning is *hot* or *heat*. Hence the first false worship was to the sun; and when Ham was deified by his descendants, they confounded him with the sun. See Bryant's Analysis, Radicals Ham or Cham. Ed. 3d. 8vo. Vol. i. p. 3. Faber's Origin of Pagan Idolatry. Vol. i. p. 13.

[21] Gen. viii. 21.

can hardly be supposed that during the lifetime of Noah there would be any visible change in the object or the forms of religious worship. As in the antediluvian period, so for three hundred and fifty years of the postdiluvian, the essentials of the true religion consisted in sacrifice, both expiatory and eucharistic, the union of the priesthood with the government of each family, the rights of primogeniture, the concurrent acts of prayer and praise, and, probably, the visible presence of Jehovah dwelling on a mercy-seat between the cherubic emblems, as in the tabernacle at the east of Eden.[22] The corruption of this religion consisted, not in the abolition of its external rites, but in the perversion of them to the worship of the creature instead of the Creator. That it was in defiance of light and knowledge, so that men were without excuse, is evident from the language of inspiration; and it is equally evident that because they liked not to retain God in their knowledge, they were given over to judicial blindness and pollution.[23] Look where we will throughout the world, in every age, and in every clime, and we shall find that, with the worship of idols, impurity and hate, cruelty and obscenity, have gone hand in hand.

It is very probable that Ham, after the death of his father, was the first who swerved from the true religion; and that he began with the earliest form of idolatry, the Sabian, or the worship of the Host of Heaven. Two primeval forms of false religion, called, by Epiphanius, *Scythismus* and *Hellenismus*, seem to have prevailed before the dispersion of mankind, into which all the derivative forms of pagan worship may be ultimately resolved. His account is so remarkable, that it seems proper to give it in his own words:

"Scythismus existed from the days of Noah, and thenceforward unto the building of the Tower and of Babylon; and

[22] The death of Noah took place A. J. P. 2112, B. T. Æ. 2596, B. V. Æ. 2602. The death of Shem took place A. J. P. 2264, B. T. Æ. 2444, B. V. Æ. 2450. The perversion of sacred rites to the worship of the sun was probably between those dates.

[23] Rom. i. 20—32.

after the time of the Tower, for a few years, that is, to Phalec [Peleg] and Ragau [Reu]. These having diverged into the region of Europe and the part called Scythia, became blended with those nations, which, from the generation of Thera [or Tiras], and thenceforward, as being descended from him, were called Thracians.[24]

"Hellenismus began from the times of Seruch [Serug], by means of idolatry. Each nation, according to some special demon-worship, reduced it to a more established form of polity, by particular customs and institutions. Mankind now began to make gods of idols, in a systematic way; at first painting with colours and portraying the forms of those whom they had formerly honoured, whether kings, or magicians, or those who in their lifetime had done anything worthy of remembrance, either by strength or excellence of body. Afterwards, from the times of Tharra [Terah], the father of Abraham, they carried the deceitfulness of idolatry still further by votive shrines,[25] honouring their forefathers, and those who had died before them, with effigies, made, at first, by the art of the potter, and afterwards imitated by the several crafts; the builders polishing stone, the silversmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, and so forth, forming them of their several materials. The Egyptians, and Babylonians, and Phrygians, and Phenicians, first introduced this mode of worship of shrine-making and mysteries; the greater part of which was transferred to the Greeks, from the time of Cecrops and thenceforward; but afterwards, at a much later

[24] The Greek text, in the edition of Petavius, reads ἔτεσι; but the sense evidently requires ἔθνεσι. I have therefore rendered the passage as meaning that the Scuths or Scyths became amalgamated with *those nations* who were descended from *Tiras*, the seventh son of Japheth. Gen. x. 2. The Scuths were descended from Cush, the eldest son of Ham or Cham. Peleg died, according to the Samaritan Hebrew, 406 years after the deluge, that is, A. J. P. 2402, B. T. Æ. 2306, B. V. Æ. 2312. *In his days* the earth was divided, and therefore before that date. The passage of the Scyths into Europe took place about 29 years after the death of Shem, or A. J. P. 2293, B. V. Æ. 2121. Was not this, then, the date of the dispersion, 109 years before Peleg's death?

[25] Ἀγαλμάτα, *ex voto* offerings, representing the deified persons whom they considered as their special benefactors.

period, Cronus and Rhea, Zeus and Apollo, and the other gods, were proclaimed and worshipped."[26]

According to this account, *Scythism* prevailed from the death of Noah, during the lifetime of his three sons, and beyond the building of the Tower to the birth of Reu, the son of Peleg; and, if we follow the Samaritan text, that birth took place one hundred and nine years before the death of Peleg. Epiphanius does not, indeed, speak of the *birth* of Reu; and, in strict grammatical construction, his language implies that Peleg and Reu migrated to the part of Europe called Scythia. But as he is a very loose writer, as it is not to be admitted that the Scythians were descended from Shem, as they were the posterity of Ham, blended, as he says, with those of the seventh son of Japheth; it seems fair to infer, that when the dispersion of mankind took place, Scythism was carried into the regions of Europe, and diffused among the Northern tribes. The grosser form of idolatry, which he calls Hellenism, began, he says, from the times of Serug. Placing the same construction upon this expression, as meaning the *birth* of Serug, it will follow that Hellenism began about the year six hundred and sixty-three after the deluge, that is, twenty-three years after the death of Peleg, or one hundred and thirty-two years after Scythism was carried into Europe, by the dispersion of the human race. If these inferences are just, we may place the epoch of the confusion of tongues in the year of the Julian period 2293, and before the vulgar æra 2421. The diffusion of Scythism took place at the same time; while Hellenism began A. J. P. 2425, B. V. Æ. 2289, two hundred and seventy-nine years before the birth of Abraham, and three hundred and fifty-four years before he was called. It arrived at its height in the times of his father Terah. It consisted in the worship of their deified ancestors, represented, at first, in paintings, and after-

[26] S. Epiphanii responsio ad Epistolam Acacii et Pauli, serving as a preface to his great work on Heresies. Opera ed Petavii, tom. i. fol. 5.

wards in images of clay, wood, stone, and precious metals. These were introduced in the times of Terah, in the ninth century after the deluge; and Epiphanius ascribed the invention of them and of the mysteries to the Egyptians, Babylonians, Phrygians, and Phenicians, who were all descendants of Ham. By the changes which words undergo in derivative languages, or in the several dialects of the same language,[29] by the substitution or addition of letters, the name of the Scuths or Scythians may be traced to Cush, the eldest son of Ham. The Egyptians are the descendants of Misraim, his second son; and the Babylonians were so called from Babel, which began to be built under Nimrod, the youngest son of Cush, and the child of his old age. The name of this chieftain signifies a rebel, and was doubtless connected with religious apostasy, as well as political disobedience. Thus are the complicated forms of heathen worship traced to their first elements, all originating in the family of Ham; and it is a remarkable fact, that, even now, one half, at least, of the human race profess these two leading forms, — the one of milder and more simple, the other of grosser and more complex, idolatry. On both continents, the northern nations have less of idol worship, while the southern parts of both are more voluptuous and impure. The subject is too copious to be enlarged upon here, but if the reader wishes to pursue it, he will find ample details in the authors cited in the margin.[30] Suffice it to observe, that

[29] See Sir William Jones' ninth discourse on the origin and families of nations. Works, 8vo. vol. iii. pp. 185—204. I quote it here chiefly in reference to the fanciful etymologies of the learned Bryant, which Sir William good-humouredly censures. Both agree in considering the race of Ham as the first corrupters of religion; but the great orientalist protests against the licentiousness of philological conjecture in which his friend indulged.

[30] I have already referred to the learned work of the Rev. G. S. Faber, entitled "The Origin of Pagan Idolatry," published by the Rivingtons, in three vols. 4to. London, 1816. It is now scarce, and I am indebted to the author for a presentation copy. My correspondence with him began in 1820. In connection with this work, should be read the "Analysis of Ancient Mythology," by the profoundly learned Jacob Bryant, the third edition of which was published in 1807, 6 vols. 8vo. Both are careful in citing their authorities, and the fanciful conjectures of Bryant are often corrected by Faber. To persons unac-

the heavenly bodies, especially the sun and moon, the generating powers of the material world, the symbolic emblems of light and heat, the commemoration of departed heroes, confused remembrances of the origin of evil and the catastrophe of the deluge, and the wonderful salvation of the human race in the ark, considered as a new creation, all enter, alike, into the several systems of theology and philosophy of the most barbarous and the most civilized of the Gentile world!

VI.

Though Noah, as lord of the whole earth, may, by divine command, have allotted to his sons their several inheritances, and the bounds of their respective habitations,[31] yet, according to the ordinary laws of increase, there could not have been, during his lifetime, any very extended dispersion of his descendants. The first great movement seems to have been made by the whole body. They left the hill-country of Ararat, and following probably the current of the Euphrates, which rises in that region, came by its winding course to the level tract of country between it and the Tigris, known first as the land of Shinaar, and afterwards by the Grecian title of Mesopotamia, or Syria between the rivers. Here the youngest son of Cush, and grandson of Ham, seems to have aspired at universal sovereignty; and availing himself of the fears and reluctance to separate, which must have generally prevailed, he appears to have proposed the plan of resisting the divine command to overspread and subdue the earth.[32]

quainted with the subject, the latter work may also appear fanciful; but the more I have examined, (though there are some opinions, particularly on the origin of the Triads, to which I am not reconciled,) the more have I been led to admire the vast range of his research, and the general correctness of his conclusions. The works of Sir William Jones, by Lord Teignmouth, London, 1807, and Ward's View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos, London, 1822, 3 vols. 8vo., have been especially useful, as the testimony of learned and candid witnesses to the facts they relate. Taylor's Fragments, appended to Calmet's Dictionary, incorporated by Dr. Robinson in his edition of Calmet, may be consulted. But it is impossible to name here all that has been written on so fruitful a topic as Idolatry.

[31] Deut. xxxii. 8.

[32] Gen. x. 8—12.

The plan was to build a city and a tower within it, so high that it might serve as a beacon to the dispersed, a common centre and gathering-place for the whole human family.[33] On this account he is called in Scripture, Nimrod, or the rebel; but by his followers Baal, or Bel, which signifies the Lord, and from which the Greeks formed the name of Belus.

A. J. P. 2293. B. V. Æ. 2421.

Hitherto the whole of mankind had spoken but one language. What that original language was, is a question which has occasioned much conjecture, and, in our present state of knowledge, cannot be settled.[34] Three principal theories exist: first, that it was the Hebrew; secondly, that it was neither the Hebrew, nor any other of which we have any knowledge; thirdly, that it was a language from which all existing languages are derived. All these theories seem to have some truth mingled with much error. The general fact is asserted in the Bible, that the mighty designs of rebellious men were frustrated by a simple operation of Omnipotence. Like the severance of the nerve of motion in the human frame, by which the hand or the foot instantaneously drops powerless, so was the great instrument of interchanging thought, the great bond of moral union, the highest source of human enjoyment, immediately removed. Men felt that it was a visitation of their offended Creator, and became submissive to his will.

The theory of deriving all languages from one cannot be proved. Etymology is deceptive, and grammatical construction only can be followed with safety. The accomplished Sir William Jones has traced the languages of Asia to three independent and radically different sources.[35] One of these

[33] Gen. xi. 1—4.

[34] Gen. xi. 5—7.

[35] "Thus, then, have we proved, that the inhabitants of Asia, and, consequently, as it might be proved of the whole earth, sprang from three branches of one stem." Works, vol. iii. p. 191. These he considers as essentially differing in language, religion, manners, and other known characteristics. p. 189. The author adopted Mr. Bryant's hypothesis of a dispersion previous to the confusion of tongues at Babel, which latter event he applies only to the Hamian or Amonian branch. But this opinion is strenuously opposed by Mr. Faber, and as I conceive justly. Orig. of Pag. Idol. B. i. chap. i. sec. iv. vol. i. pp. 57—99. The

may have been the primitive language. The other two must have been new creations. There is no reason to suppose that all mankind viewed the erection of the city and tower of Babel with equal approbation. The believing race of Shem may, from a sense of duty, have in vain opposed it; and therefore they, as a mark of God's favour, may have retained the primeval language. All the three languages, indeed, may have been subdivided into dialects, so as to indicate the divine will that every family should separate from the rest and remove to its allotted region. The descendants of Japheth, enumerated on this occasion as then existing, were fourteen; those of Ham, thirty; and those of Shem, twenty-six; amounting in all to seventy. By the descendants of Japheth "were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one *after his tongue*, after their families, in their nations." In like manner were the sons of Ham and Shem spread abroad "after their families, *after their tongues*, in their countries or lands, and after their nations." And then it is added, "These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood." A remarkable expression in the song of Moses seems to corroborate the opinion that the number of families or clans, which then separated, was seventy. "When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people (Heb. the peoples) *according to the number of the children of Israel.*" "All the souls of the house of Jacob which came into Egypt were *threescore and ten.*" (Gen. xlvi. 27.)[36]

This may be the proper place to notice the question re-

subject of ethnography, or the classification of nations by the comparison of languages, is succinctly treated in Dr. Wiseman's Twelve Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion. Andover, 1837. 8vo. pp. 9—89.

[36] Deut. xxxii. 8. Where there is so much diversity of interpretation as there undoubtedly is of this passage, it would be vain to insist upon that which is here given. The coincidence is certainly remarkable; and I am not aware that the interpretation I have adopted conflicts with any truth established, or likely to be established, by ethnographical re-

specting the peopling of the western continent. The opinion long since advanced appears still the most probable, that the aborigines of America are a primitive race; that they were among the earliest emigrants of the descendants of Noah; that they advanced so far beyond the circle of human society as to become separated from all other men; that they flowed onward in successive surges, wave impelling wave, till they covered the whole extent of the western hemisphere.[37] Their religion is wonderfully uniform, and, like the *Scythismus* of Epiphanius, is the simplest, purest, and most primitive pattern of idolatry. Their languages seem to form a separate class in human speech. According to the opinion of a competent judge, in their plans of thought the same system extends from the coasts of Labrador to the extremity of Cape Horn.[38] The complicated and refined structure of their languages, far above the powers of invention, not only of the uncivilized and barbarous, but also of the most cultivated and intelligent of the human race, exhibits convincing proof that their original structure must have been divine.

After the dispersion of mankind, all traces of their progress for many ages vanish from our sight. But how deep, and

searches. It is neither inconsistent with the affinities of dialects nor the diversities of radical forms. The object of the confusion of languages was to separate mankind. There may have been but three or four primitive languages, and yet these may have been so subdivided as to oblige men to separate into seventy different clans, "after their tongues, and in their countries." Gen. x. 5, 20, 31, 32.

[37] Reference is here made to a discourse on the religion of the Indian tribes of North America, delivered in 1819, before the New York Historical Society, and published in their transactions. Dr. Wiseman's second lecture contains some useful remarks upon American languages; but the subject is still in its infancy. The labours of Pickering, Duponceau, Schoolcraft, and the lamented Albert Gallatin, have done much to increase this branch of knowledge.

[38] See the report of the late learned Peter Duponceau, in the transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, vol. i. 1819, 8vo. xvii—xlvi. I had much correspondence with this indefatigable investigator, at the time of the publication of these transactions, and am not aware that he essentially changed his views during the long and laborious studies of his subsequent life. He maintains three propositions: "1. That the American languages, in general, are rich in words and in grammatical forms, and that in their complicated construction, the greatest order, method, and regularity, prevail. 2. That these complicated forms, which he calls *polysynthetic*, appear to exist in all those languages from Greenland to Cape Horn. 3. That these forms appear to differ essentially from those of the ancient and modern languages of the old hemisphere." p. xxiii.

extensive, and rapid was the infection of idolatry, is evident from the fact that Terah, the father of Abraham, was a worshipper of idols, though he was a descendant of Shem, had lived at Ur, in the land of Chaldæa, and consequently had enjoyed all the opportunities of knowledge arising from his proximity to the original abode of his forefathers. That the patriarchal religion did not at once become extinct, will appear in the next Period. It was at first blended with idolatry; or rather, like a parasitic plant, idolatry grew over and finally destroyed it. In proportion as men liked not to retain God in their knowledge, they were given over to a reprobate mind, and suffered to follow the counsels of their own corruption. It has already been remarked that a defection from the worship of the true God has always been accompanied by lust and cruelty. The wickedness of mankind in general may be imagined from the history of the cities in the plain of Jordan. Ten righteous men would have saved Sodom. The merciful promise made after the deluge preserved the whole race from destruction. The number of generations in the postdiluvian period was the same as in the antediluvian, when the sudden destruction of those cities, by fire from heaven, was given as the awful type of that fiery indignation which, at the general judgment, will devour the adversaries. As in the days of Noah, so also in the days of Lot, "they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded: but the same day that Lot went out of Sodom, it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all. Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man is revealed."[39] "In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats: to go into the clefts of the rocks and into the tops of the ragged rocks, for fear of the Lord and for the glory of his majesty, WHEN HE ARISETH TO SHAKE TERRIBLY THE EARTH."[40]

[39] Luke xvii. 28—30. [40] Isa. ii. 20, 21.

THE THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE CALL OF ABRAHAM TO THE GIVING OF THE WRITTEN LAW.

According to the consentient testimony of all the Hebrew and Greek texts, as well as all other paraphrasts and versions, and of St. Paul himself, Gal. iv. 17, this period extends from the confinement of the Gospel Covenant to Abraham and his seed, to the giving of the written law, as a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, four hundred and thirty years.

According to the adjusted computation of this history, it extends

From 2779 to 3209 of the Julian Period.
From 1929 to 1499 before the true æra of Christ's birth.
From 1935 to 1505 before the common æra of his birth.

CHAPTER I.

THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF ABRAHAM, ISAAC, AND JACOB.

I. Why Eusebius makes the birth of Abraham the basis of his chronology. — Agreement of both Hebrew texts, the Septuagint and Josephus. — Abraham's faith. II. The patriarchal religion. — The Book of Job. III. The land of promise preöccupied. — Abraham takes possession by an act of sacrifice wherever the Angel-Jehovah appears to him; and then, on account of the famine, goes down to Egypt. IV. Return to Canaan. — Separation of Lot. — The covenant-sacrifice. — Sarah's want of faith. — Circumcision instituted as the visible sign of the covenant. — Ishmael. V. Birth of Isaac. — Infant circumcision. — Persecution of the children of promise. — The offering up of Isaac. — Sarah dies before Isaac's marriage. — Abraham dies, not having received the promises. — Character of Isaac like that of Christ. — Its difference from the character of his two sons. — Esau and Jacob compared. — Rebecca and Jacob punished for their fraud. — Jacob became a good man, and died full of faith and blessed.

I.

FROM the birth of Abraham, the computation of time becomes clearer and better defined. For this reason, doubtless, Eusebius has made that event the basis of his

chronology, and to it has attempted to adjust all other epochas.[1]

The Jewish and Samaritan Hebrew, the Greek of the Septuagint in both the texts which have come down to us, the Targum of Onkelos, and the Antiquities of Josephus, all agree that the patriarch removed, by divine direction, into the land of Canaan when he was seventy-five years old. St. Stephen adds, that it was after the death of his father.[2] By this event the great design of God began to be accomplished of separating a peculiar people from the mass of mankind. Whether Abraham had always resisted the prevailing idolatry, as Josephus has affirmed, (Jos. Ant. lib. i. c.vii.,) is not expressly mentioned, though, from the language of Holy Writ, it may reasonably be inferred. But the Searcher of all hearts saw in his, that disposition which believes and obeys implicitly what it knows to be the will of God. The greater part of St. Paul's epistles are occupied with the proof that men are acceptable to God through faith, and not on account of their own works or deservings; for this obvious reason, that no man who has ever lived, the Son of God alone excepted, has been sinless. Every sin, however slight or venial, is in itself a forfeiture of all right or title to salvation as the reward of merit. "There is none righteous, no, not one."[3] But, in

A. J. P. 2705. B. V. E. 2009.

[1] Euseb. Pamph. Chron. Bipart. Pars Posterior. Ed. Aucher. Ven. 1818, vol. ii. p. 63. Ed. Mai. Milan. 1818, p. 265. It is impossible sufficiently to express the obligations which every student of history owes to Eusebius. That he has committed errors, even his greatest admirers must allow; but to his research and industry we are indebted for our ability, with helps which he did not possess, to adjust the dates of the most recondite periods of profane history. He places the first year of Abraham in the forty-third of Ninus, king of the Assyrians, the twenty-second of Europs, king of the Sicyonians, and the first year of the sixteenth dynasty of the Egyptians. The discovery of Champollion that Sheshonk, the head of the twenty-second dynasty, was the Shishac of Holy Scripture, has *exactly corrected his Egyptian chronology*. This will be seen hereafter in its proper place. Let us hope that the French and English excavations at Nineveh, and the studies of Maj. Rawlinson and other antiquarians to decipher the cuneiform inscriptions, may throw equal light upon the Assyrian Empire.

[2] See Gen. xii. 4, 5. Jos. Ant. Lib. i. cap. vii. Acts vii. 4. There were two removals: first from Ur to Charran; secondly, from Charran, after the death of Terah, to Canaan. See Dr. Hales' Analysis, vol. ii. pp. 108—110.

[3] Ps. xiv. 3. Rom. iii. 10.

the wondrous scheme of mercy, through a crucified Redeemer, God is pleased to accept of the principle of faith in the human heart in lieu of righteousness;[4] and faith is, by the same apostle, defined to be the certain persuasion of what is now only hoped for, the undoubting conviction of the reality of that which we see not.[5] The subjects of religion, though in harmony with the deductions of enlightened human reason, are such as do not properly come within our knowledge. The being and attributes of God, the possibility of mediation for sin, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the future state of rewards and punishments, can be known to us only from revelation; and this revelation has been given, not all at once, but by degrees and in succession — "at sundry times and in divers manners."[6] How far the revelation at each particular period extended, is a problem in theology of difficult, if not impossible, solution. We know not whether the views of the great plan of human redemption through Christ were clear or obscure. Our Lord himself has told us that "Abraham rejoiced to see his day, and that he saw it and was glad."[7] It is enough for us, therefore, with the whole of revelation in our hands, to look back and see, that, from the beginning, it was the divine purpose to save men in and through Christ; that, to a certain degree, differing according to the extent of the revelation, the coming of the great Deliverer was foretold and foreshadowed; and that the great principle of faith was always the same, whatever might be the degree in which God communicated his designs and his will to man. In a word, it was that principle in the human heart which believes all that God declares *because* He *hath declared it*, and is disposed to obey all that He commands *because* He *hath commanded it.*

[4] Rom. iii. 22.

[5] See Luther's vers. of Heb. xi. 1, and Cranmer's of the same.

[6] Heb. i. 1.

[7] John viii. 56.

II.

Though married, Abraham was childless; and it was now the design of the Almighty to abandon all the existing races, in proportion as they first abandoned his worship and service, and, from the loins of one man, to create a new race, to whom the divine favour should thenceforward be confined. The nations now dispersed were not indeed immediately cut off from all intercourse with their Maker. Traces occur in the sacred history, during the whole of this period, of the original patriarchal worship offered to the true God; and wherever this existed, so far as it followed the order of his appointment, we must believe that it was accompanied by his blessing. Mechizedek, one of the kings in the land of Canaan, is expressly said to have been "the priest of the most High God," and to have pronounced a sacerdotal blessing upon Abraham. On this occasion, the practice of paying tithes to the patriarchal priesthood is, for the first time, incidentally mentioned; and on the fact that Abraham, the father of God's peculiar people, paid tithes to this priest and king, St. Paul founds his argument for the superiority of the priesthood of Christ, which was not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchizedek.[8]

But the most perfect account of the patriarchal religion is given in the book of Job. He was, probably, a descendant of Nahor, the brother of Abraham, in the line of his eldest son.[9] It is impossible to tell precisely at what period he

[8] Gen. xiv. 18—20. Ps. cx. 4. Heb. v. 6; vii. 22.

[9] Gen. xxii. 20, 21. See Bochart Geog. Sac. lib. ii. chap. viii. vol. 81, line 17. Such is the opinion of Bochart, a writer *whose opinions* are always entitled to respect. Yet there is no subject on which opinions are more discordant, than concerning the parentage and country of Job. Calmet thinks he was a descendant of Esau; but the book of Job appears to me to contain internal evidence of greater antiquity. Dr. Hales thinks he was descended from Joktan, the younger brother of Peleg, who first colonized Arabia. But in what part of Arabia is the land of Uz? Here again authors differ. The whole subject is elaborately discussed by Dr. Good, from one of whose preliminary dissertations to his translation of Job, Dr. Robinson has extracted largely in his edition of Calmet, under Uz.

lived; but it must have been between the calling of Abraham and the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt. The book itself bears internal evidence of very remote antiquity, and of having been written, if not by himself, at least in the country in which he resided.[10] In this sublime poem, the object of which is to vindicate the ways of God to man, the evangelical doctrine shines forth with such clearness as to have led some into the unfounded belief that it was the production of a later age. The three friends of Job, who came to comfort him in his afflictions, are evidently believers. They utter the sublimest truths, but they apply them wrongly. Instead of comforting, they oppress him, and provoke him to speak unadvisedly. Stung by their reproaches and harsh judgments, he, who had at the first received with meekness the severe chastisements of God, is provoked to exalt his own righteousness and to justify himself rather than his Maker. For this he is reproved, repents, and is forgiven; whereupon God pronounces that he is far better than his censorious friends; and it is only at Job's intercession, and for the sacrifices which he offers on their behalf, that they are admitted to pardon.

III.

The land into which Abraham had come, and which, by God's special gift, was now reserved for his posterity, extended from the river of Egypt, the Shichor, to the mountains of Lebanon, from which flow the sources of the Jordan, and from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, or the great sea, westward.[11] It was already possessed by the several colonies of the sons of Canaan, and by the Philistines, who were

[10] Bochart thinks it was a part of Arabia Deserta, the Æsitæ or Ausitæ of Ptolemy. Bochart ut sup. and Ptolemæi Geog. lib. vi. c. 19. Dr. Good places it in Arabia Petræa, and is very positive that it could not have been in sandy Arabia. See Robinson's Calmet ut sup. Art. Uz, p. 910.

[11] Gen. xv. 18, comp. with Josh. xiii. 3, xv. 4, and elsewhere. Reland has considered the question concerning the river of Egypt with his usual fulness of learning. Palæstina, tom. i. pp. 185–6. See Robinson's Calmet, p. 377, Egypt, *brook or river of*, and p. 853, *Sihor*.

descended from Mizraim. It must here be observed, that the Philistines, though descended from Ham, were not included in the curse of Noah, which fell only on the posterity of Canaan. That curse now *began* to operate by *depriving them of all title to their country.* It could not be *completed* until the fourth generation had come of them that hated God, because "the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full."[12] But, as regarded Abraham, every circumstance which befel him was a progressive trial of his faith. All the promises of God were in direct opposition to moral probability and the evidence of sense. Not only was the country preöccupied, but there was also, at the time of his arrival, a famine in the land, which obliged him merely to pass through it, and go down as a stranger and a pilgrim into the land of Egypt. He took possession of the country, indeed, by a solemn act; for, as he journeyed toward the south, wherever the LORD (Jehovah) appeared to him, he builded an altar and called upon his name.[13] Sacrifice was an acknowledgment that he owed every blessing, temporal and spiritual, to the mercy of God in Christ, and was therefore the fittest sign of territorial occupation. The Angel-Jehovah, the Word of the Lord, the head of the mediatorial kingdom, appeared to him on all these occasions; manifested, probably, on the propitiatory or mercy-seat, in the glory between the cherubim.[14]

The descendants of Mizraim, the second son of Ham, were now ruled over, in Lower Egypt, by descendants of his first-born, Cush; for the sixteenth Egyptian dynasty were from Tanis or Zoan, and had retired to Thebes before the shepherd-kings.[15] This accounts for the ease with which Abra-

[12] Gen. xv. 13—16, comp. with Exod. xx. 5.

[13] Gen. xii. 6—10.

[14] The attention of the reader must here be called to the fact that in Gen. xii. 7, JEHOVAH, it is said, APPEARED. Now it is expressly said by St. John, (Gosp. i. 18,) that "*No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.*" From the FALL of man, whatever may have been the case in the state of innocence, all intercourse between God and man has been through the ONE MEDIATOR, the angel or messenger Jehovah.

[15] The author felt himself obliged, when he came to this part of the sacred

ham, a stranger, could enter a country so exclusive and jealous, and for his natural fears with regard to the honour of his wife. The conduct of the shepherd-Pharaoh, on this occasion, seems to imply that he was not deprived of the revelations of Divine Providence, and consequently that he was not wholly turned aside from the worship of the true God.

IV.

Abraham returned into the country of Canaan very rich, and God was pleased to make his wealth and that of his nephew Lot the occasion of a peaceful separation between them. This important fact illustrates the purposes of God's election, and the reasoning of St. Paul respecting the Gentiles and the nation of Israel. Though Lot had accompanied his uncle from Chaldæa, was a believer in the true faith, a worshipper of the true God, and consequently a sound member of the patriarchal Church; though he is expressly called, in the New Testament, a just man,[16] is named, by our Saviour himself, in the same category with Noah, as a preacher of righteousness to the ungodly,[17] and was saved, with all his household, by special divine interposition, from the impending destruction of the cities of the plain; yet, as he was not of the seed of Abraham, neither he nor his posterity could partake of the promises, nor be included in the Abrahamic covenant.

How soon after this separation, or after the subsequent delivery of Lot from the power of the invading kings, we know not, but certainly within ten years from the first arrival in Canaan,[18] occurred the remarkable sacrifice by which the covenant between God and Abraham was ratified. By the

narrative, to investigate the discoveries of the last half century respecting Egyptian Archæology. Through the kindness of Mr. R. K. Haight, of New York, the books necessary for that purpose were put into his hands, and he began a rigid and laborious examination of facts, avoiding all theories. The result will be given at the end of this volume, as a justification of the history, and will be cited under the name of APPENDIX.

[16] 2 Pet. ii. 7.

[17] Luke xvii. 28—30.

[18] Gen. xvi. 3.

divine command five victims of the creatures usually offered in sacrifice, were slain; and all, excepting the birds, divided and placed opposite, so that a path was left between them. It was one of those covenant sacrifices which are described in similar terms by heathen historians, and seem from the earliest period to have been practised in all nations, when oaths and treaties were interchanged.[19]

While Abraham was guarding the carcases, in expectation of the appearance of God's glory, there fell upon him, at the going down of the sun, a trance, like that of Adam when Eve was created. It was a sleep closing all external sense, and accompanied with a mysterious and fearful gloom of the soul. He who was still childless saw his posterity, numerous as the stars of heaven, wandering as strangers in a land not their own, or suffering servitude and affliction for four hundred years, and finally restored to the land of their inheritance, with great riches, but with terrible judgments on God's enemies. Awaking from this vision, he saw the divine presence, as a smoking furnace and a fiery flame, passing between, and consuming, as it passed, the divided limbs of the victims.[20] Thus did the infinite Creator condescend to be a contracting party with dust and ashes, and thus was the awful truth then exhibited, that all blessings are bestowed upon the faithful, only through the breaking of the body and the shedding of the blood of THE ONE GREAT MEDIATOR.

Hitherto the promises of posterity made to Abraham were presumptive only as regarded Sarah. They had now been ten years in the promised land; he was eighty-five and she

[19] Patrick and Adam Clarke on Gen. xv. 7—21. Joseph Mede's Works, B. ii. chap. vii. p. 371. Parkhurst, (Heb. Lex. כרת, p. 359,) commenting on Jer. xxxiv. 18, observes that "this custom of *cutting in pieces* a purification-sacrifice was used both by believers and heathens in their solemn leagues;" and in a note he quotes Eustathius on Homer's Iliad, lib. ii. 124, where he remarks that "by the *cutting of sacrificed animals* oaths in important affairs were confirmed." He refers particularly to Bochart, vol. ii. p. 325. Hence the Latin phrase, as even school-boys know, *ferire, icere, percutere fœdus*, for *making a covenant*. Even fœdus comes from fœdus, i. e. bloody, because agreements or covenants were not struck without blood. — Ainsworth.

[20] Gen. xv. 17.

seventy-five years old; and they were still childless. There does not appear to have been any failure in his faith, but there certainly was in the faith of his wife; and, like all others who are weak in faith, she was not willing to abide God's time. It should be observed that Abraham's connection with Hagar, which led to the birth of Ishmael, was planned and occasioned entirely by Sarah, through impatience and distrust of God's word.[21] With respect to Abraham, it was permitted, as a further trial of his faith; for it effectually proved to him that the want of seed had been occasioned by the deadness of Sarah's womb. With respect to Sarah, her own devices operated as a judgment, by bringing upon her the greatest trouble of her life; and both she and her husband were punished for her want of faith, in the afflictions they afterwards experienced, on account of this interference with God's designs.

As Abraham had now seed, God was pleased to institute, in connection with the covenant already made, a visible sign, by which his descendants should be distinguished.[22] Like the covenant-sacrifice, it was bloody, to denote the reliance on the blood of Christ for the remission of sins. As in that sacrifice, so in the sign, the cutting of the victim was essential; but in this case the victim was living, to denote that men were, by the cutting off of inordinate affections, to present their bodies living and sanctified as a reasonable service acceptable to God.[23] It was peculiar to males, because there was no restriction in bringing female members of the patriarchal church into union with the race of Abraham. The excommunicated race of Canaan were alone excepted. The covenant-sacrifice was the *initiatory* act, and as such confined to Abraham; the covenant-sign was the *perpetual* act, extending to all who enjoyed the blessings of the covenant; including even those who were born in his

[21] Gen. xvi. 1—6.
[22] Gen. xvii. 1—14.
[23] Rom. xii. 1.

house or bought with his money; and continued until the Seed should come to whom the promises were made.[24] And so intimate was the relation between the sacrifice and the sign, that circumcision is called the covenant itself, and the omission of it a breach of the covenant, punishable with death.[25] It was instituted in the twenty-fourth year after Abraham came into Canaan, when he himself was ninety-nine and his son Ishmael thirteen years old; and it is very remarkable that the descendants of Ishmael have continued, even to the present day, to circumcise their children at the age of thirteen years and upwards, though the command occurs, even in the words of institution, "He that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you."[26]

A. J. P. 2804. B. V. Æ. 1910.

Soon after the institution of the covenant-sign, the promise, which had probably been retarded by Sarah's former act of unbelief, was solemnly made that she should have a son; yet she was again guilty of unbelief, and was therefore severely rebuked by her heavenly visitant.[27] The birth of Isaac took place when Abraham was one hundred, and Sarah ninety, years old, and on the eighth day after his birth, that name was given to him in circumcision as a covenant name, allusive partly to the incredulous laughter of Sarah, and so reminding her of her sin, and partly to the believing laughter of Abraham,[28] the joy of him who had received the promises. From that time forth, among the children of promise, the pratice of infant circumcision prevailed until the coming of

A. J. P. 2804. B. T. Æ. 1904. B. V. Æ. 1910

[24] Gal. iii. 16.

[25] Gen. xvii. 10—14.

[26] Gen. xvii. 12, 25. "Circumcision," says Sale, "though it be not so much as once mentioned in the Koran, is yet held by the Mohammedans to be an ancient divine institution. The Arabs used this rite for many ages before Mohammed, having probably learned it from Ishmael." Josephus, Ant., lib. i. cap. xii. 2, says the Arabs circumcise at the age of thirteen years, because Ishmael was circumcised at that age. "But the Mohammedans," says Sale, "pitch on what age they please, from six to sixteen, or thereabouts." Prelim. Disc. Koran, vol. i. p. 146. "Tout Musulman doit être circoncis. Cet acte est d'obligation imitative. On peut cependant, s'en dispenser en cas de danger ou d'empêchement naturel. L'age requis n'est pas déterminé par la loi; cependant le plus convenable d'après l'opinion de quelques amiens Imams est celui de sept ans." — D'Ohsson.

[27] Gen. xviii. 9—15.

[28] Gen. xvii. 17.

Christ, and has ever since been continued among the Jews, wherever dispersed as the lineal descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

From the weaning of Isaac began the persecution of the children of promise.[29] Sarah saw Ishmael mocking, and, to the great grief of Abraham, required the expulsion of the bond-woman and her son. This event probably took place at the end of the thirtieth year after the entrance into Canaan, and, consequently, was the beginning of that period of affliction for four hundred years which had been revealed in the vision at the time of the covenant-sacrifice. Ishmael became the father of the fierce nomadic tribes of Arabia, and from him came, by lineal descent, Mohammed, the great and common scourge both of Jews and of Christians.

One more trial of Abraham's faith awaited him, and that the most terrible which could possibly assail a father's heart. The time of this trial is not recorded by Moses, but Josephus says, and it may well have been so, that it was when Isaac was twenty-five years old.[30] The child of promise was to be sacrificed! The son, around whose well-being all the hopes of fifty years were clustered, must be killed and offered by his own hand! Great as the shock was, Abraham staggered not through unbelief; "accounting," says the apostle, "that God was able to raise him up even from the dead."[31] It did not belong to him to determine *how* the Almighty God of truth would accomplish what he had promised; but it did belong to him to obey the clearly-revealed will of him who gave, and who was now pleased to take away. We can see that this command had a further meaning, and was intended to adumbrate the greatness of his love, who "spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all."[32] At every trial the promises were renewed with increasing solemnity; and as this was the last and the most

A. J. P. 2829. B. V. Æ. 1885.

[29] Gal. iv. 28, 29.
[30] Ant. lib. i. c. 13, s. 2.
[31] Heb. xi. 19.
[32] Rom. viii. 32.

severe, they were now made, for the fifth time, with corresponding sublimity and fulness.[33]

Sarah was not permitted to see the fulfilment of the promises in Isaac; for she died at the age of one hundred and twenty-seven, when he was thirty-seven years old, and three years before his marriage.[34] Abraham, being now far advanced in years, exacted an oath from his steward, that, in the event of his death, there should be no alliance with the daughters of Canaan; and then sent him to seek a wife for his son among his own kindred in Mesopotamia.[35] Though married at forty, Isaac remained childless till he was sixty, and then had but two sons; so little were the promises of God in accordance with human probabilities.[36]

Abraham died fifteen years after the birth of his grandchildren;[37] and, at the age of forty, Esau, to the great grief of his father and mother, connected himself in marriage with the accursed race of Canaan.[38] How different were the characters of the two sons of Isaac from that of their father, this child of promise![39] His birth was supernatural; and, though little is said of his character, yet that little shows that it resembled closely the character of our blessed Lord. Docility, mildness, and submission in youth; a meek, quiet, meditative disposition in manhood; guileless simplicity and sincerity at every period of life, — are the marks which distinguished it. Esau, on the contrary, was a bold, active, daring man, possessed of many noble and generous qualities, for which he was his father's favourite; but inconsiderate withal, governed by impulse, irascible, sensual, and profane, — the very type of what the world most admires.[40] The character of Jacob was as opposite to his, as their external appearance was contrary. He was subtle,

A. J. P. 2879.
B. T. Æ. 1829.
B. V. Æ. 1835.

[33] Gen. xxii. 1—19.
[34] Ib. xxiii.
[35] Ib. xxiv.
[36] Ib. xxv. 19—26.
[37] Ib. xxv. 7—10.
[38] Gen. xxvi. 34, 35.
[39] Gen. xxv. 22—34, comp. with xxvi. 12—33.
[40] Gen. xxv. 28; xxvii. 30—41, comp. with xxxiii. 1—16.

selfish, and supplanting, and probably resembled his mother, whose favourite he was.[41] This latter circumstance led to a most shameful act of deception, planned by Rebecca, and connived at by her son. The hot and hasty and thoughtless Esau had sold to Jacob, for a mess of lentile pottage, all the rights of primogeniture, including, of course, the regal and sacerdotal offices, together with the privilege of being the progenitor of the promised seed. The plot was no other than to obtain from his aged and blind father a ratification of this sale in the solemn blessing of the first-born. Nothing can be more affecting than the whole story of this blessing, and the bitter anguish of Esau, when awakened to a sense of the consequences of his own folly. Isaac, while he shuddered at the event, clearly saw that this iniquity would be controlled to the furtherance of God's counsels, and therefore acquiesced in awful and dutiful submission; but all the parties to this nefarious transaction were signally punished. Rebecca was deprived of the son of her affections, and never saw him more. Jacob became an exile for twenty years in the land of Mesopotamia; had his dearest affections violated by the treacherous substitution of Leah for Rachel; led a life of slavish toil and sleepless anxiety, consumed in the day-time by drought, and in the night by frost; and yet was deceived and defrauded, ten times, of his wages, by Laban, and hated by him and his sons for his prosperity. The beloved wife was long barren. The hated one, the mother of Reuben and of Dinah, by whom he was dishonoured, — of Simeon and Levi, whose cruelty filled his soul with fear. Leah, the hated, and not Rachel, the loved one, was the mother of Judah, and was thus honoured by God with the Messiah's lineage. Rachel, weak in faith, was the first to imitate the example of Sarah in seeking to procure, by unrighteous means, what God had denied her. The unholy strife between her and her sister occasioned the birth of

[41] Gen. xxvii. 1—29, 42—46.

those sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, whose conduct in after life brought an evil report; who persecuted his most beloved son; and, finally, for more than twenty years, made him mourn over the supposed death of this child of his old age. The apprehension of his brother's wrath tormented him all the time he sojourned in Canaan. Rachel was torn from him in giving birth to Benjamin; and that last child of her whom he loved he was forced to send into Egypt, by the pressure of a grievous famine.[42] So sorrowful was his life, that even after he had recovered his long lost son, and his spirit had revived, and he stood before the King of Egypt, in the hundred and thirtieth year of his age, he pronounced the days of the years of his pilgrimage to have been few and evil.[43] Still, with Jacob, affliction performed its legitimate office, and led him by its thorny path to holy issues. He became a good man, enjoyed the most intimate communion with God, received the solemn renewal of the Abrahamic covenant, now to be confined to his descendants, and died full of faith, and in comparative blessedness.

[42] From Gen. xxviii. to xliii. passim.

[43] Gen. xlvii. 9.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHILDREN OF JACOB, OR ISRAEL.

I. Esau and Jacob regarded as the heads of their respective nations. — Esau excluded from the Gospel covenant, and the promises confined to Jacob. II. Joseph born. — Sold into Egypt. — A prisoner when Isaac died. — One year after the governor of Lower Egypt. — History of Egypt at that time. — The Hykshos, or shepherd kings. III. Joseph's administration. — His brethren sent to buy corn. — Jacob invited to remove with his posterity to Egypt. — The land of Goshen. IV. After the death of Joseph, prosperity of the shepherd kingdom during the reigns of the Theban monarchs till the accession of Menephtah I., by whom the shepherds were expelled. — Slavery of the Israelites begins. V. Sesostris, or Rhameses III. — During his absence an Egyptian princess rules Egypt. — Moses born. — Adopted into the royal family, and educated as a prince. — Goes into exile at the age of forty. — Rhameses III. succeeded by Menephtah II., and he by Menephtah III., the Pharaoh of the Exodus. — His character. VI. Moses returns to Egypt. — The judgments inflicted upon Egypt. — The ten plagues specially levelled against the religious, political, and civil condition of Egypt. VII. Instructions to the Israelites to prepare for the Passover. — Expelled in haste, and keep their first paschal Sabbath, the first day of rest from Egyptian bondage. — Pursuit of the Egyptians. — Death of Pharaoh and his host. — The tomb of Menephtah III. still existing. VIII. Flight of his successor, and exile for thirteen years. — Return of the shepherds. — Commencement of a new dynasty under Rhameses IV. — His victories in Canaan prepared the way for the Israelites. — The symbolical great hornet. IX. Descent of manna. — Arrival of the Israelites at Mount Sinai.

I.

THE DESIGNS OF GOD, REVEALED TO ABRAHAM IN THE VISION OF COVENANT-SACRIFICE, WERE NOW RIPENING FAST. But, to comprehend them the more fully, we must go back to the remarkable prediction which preceded the birth of Esau and Jacob. Even then, the struggle had begun between them ; and their mother, alarmed by an event so unusual, " went to inquire of

the Lord!"[1] The expression is remarkable; for it is an incidental allusion which clearly shows that, in the patriarchal religion, oracular responses were given, as afterwards in the Levitical. Rebecca went to Abraham as prophet, priest, and king, to receive, through his ministry, at the appointed place of worship, an answer to her inquiries from the divine glory between the cherubim. That answer clearly shows that Esau and Jacob were regarded as the heads of their respective nations; and the transfer of the rights of primogeniture from the elder to the younger was darkly signified, when, as yet, the individual sons of Isaac and Rebecca had done neither good nor evil.[2] This answer may have occasioned, though it did not excuse, the subsequent conduct of Rebecca and her younger son.

A. J. P. 2865. B. V. Æ. 1849.

Ishmael and his descendants, and the sons of Keturah, the natural seed of Abraham, were provided for, during his lifetime, in the east country, or Arabia Deserta, leaving the land of Canaan as an undisputed inheritance for the heirs of the promises.[3] But now that Esau had connected himself with the excommunicated race of Canaan, and afterwards with the children of the bondwoman;[4] and now that he had profanely despised his birthright, and so forfeited the blessing; he also was excluded, with his posterity, from the Gospel covenant made with Abraham; and, after the blessing of primogeniture was formally conveyed to Jacob, removed with all his family and effects to Mount Seir, which God gave him for a possession.[5] This was afterwards called Idumæa, or the land of Edom, in allusion to the red-pottage for which he had sold his birthright. His history and that of his posterity afford a memorable warning of the influence of connexion with God's enemies; and now that a complete separation was made, and the promises confined to Jacob, a train of events ensued, in the order of God's providence, to preserve him and his pos-

[1] Gen. xxv. 22.
[2] Rom. ix. 10—13.
[3] Gen. xxv. 5.
[4] Gen. xxviii. 9.
[5] Gen. xxxvi.

terity as a distinct and peculiar people until the coming of Christ.

II.

Joseph was born to Jacob at the age of ninety-one, and was seventeen years old when he was sold to the Ishmaelites, who carried him down to Egypt. This event, therefore, took place in the one hundred and eighth year of Jacob, and twelve years before the death of Isaac; and hence it is apparent that Joseph was a prisoner in the dungeons of Pharaoh at the moment when his grandfather yielded up the ghost. One year afterwards he was advanced from a prison to be the prime minister of Egypt. The wickedness of his brethren was an instrument, in the hands of God, to bring him, through temptations and afflictions, to that high dignity, that he might preserve his family from the famine which, eight years after the death of Isaac, began to lay waste not only Canaan, but all the circumjacent countries.[6]

A. J. P. 2955. B. V. Æ. 1759.

A. J. P. 2972. B. V. Æ. 1742.

Lower Egypt had now been in possession of the Hykshos, or shepherd kings, four hundred and nine out of the five hundred and eleven years, which Manetho assigns as the limits of their first dominion.[7] The legitimate monarchs had retired to the more impregnable region of the Thebaid, whence their sway extended to the confines of Ethiopia. That part of Egypt, afterwards known as the Heptanomis, was the seat of perpetual war; and, at the time of which we are now speaking, the power of the shepherds had culminated. Four centuries had civilized these barbarous conquerors of the delta; and the enervating luxuries of its fertile soil had probably produced the usual effect of diminishing their martial energies. Certain it is that the kings of the Thebaid, from the time of their expulsion, had been steadily recovering from the blow; and so greatly did their power increase, that the shepherds were never able to advance very far above Memphis, their capital. Three years before the

[6] Gen. xli. 53—57.

[7] Jos. contr. Apion, lib. i. c. 14.

death of Abraham, the illustrious eighteenth dynasty began to reign in Thebes; and two years after the birth of Joseph Thoutmes IV., the famous Mœris of the Greek historians, ascended the throne. His son and successor, Amenophtep II., the Alisphragmuthosis or Misphragmuthosis of Manetho, was the first who obtained any decisive victories over the shepherds. The first of these victories, as we learn from his monuments,[8] was gained in the third year of his reign; and in that same year Joseph was brought down to Egypt, and bought by Potiphar, who, though an Egyptian, was captain of the guard, and as such the chief officer of police in the shepherd kingdom.[9] Here new afflictions awaited him. Falsely accused, even for his very virtues, he was thrown into prison, and there remained, apparently neglected and forgotten, until the purposes of the divine government were fully accomplished.[10] This trial, so inexplicable at the time, led to his exaltation. He met there two officers of the king's household, whose dreams God enabled him rightly to interpret; and though two years elapsed before the fruits of this act were seen, it led to his deliverance and final glory.[11]

An elegant edifice at Karnak, built by Amenophtep II., contains, though now in ruins, inscriptions and bas-reliefs, which show that, during the fourteen years of Joseph's captivity, the warfare between Upper and Lower Egypt continued. It was carried on with various success, no doubt, but often with much advantage to the Theban monarch.[12] Just at this period, the shepherd king was visited by two dreams, of mysterious import, the strange identity of which, associated as they were with the disasters of the times, filled his soul with doubt and terror. The magicians and wise men of his kingdom were called together, but could not interpret them. The slumbering recollections of the chief

[8] Rosellini Monum. Storici, tom. iii. P. i. p. 198.
[9] Gen. xxxvii. 36.
[10] Gen. xxxix.
[11] Gen. xl. 1—xli. 46.
[12] Rosellini Mon. Stor. tom. iii. P. i. pp. 200, 201.

butler were now roused; the Hebrew captive was summoned in haste; his wise counsels convinced the king of his power to govern; and he went out from the royal presence the second man in the kingdom, and with a name given him which, in the Egyptian language, and in conformity with the proud titles of the monarch, signified "the Saviour of the world." [13] A. J. P. 2937. B. V. Æ. 1727.

III.

The native Egyptians had been so long accustomed to the iron yoke of the shepherds, that it required some extraordinary impulse to rouse them to resistance. This was furnished by the famine, which began with the twenty-fourth year of Amenophtep II., and ended with the fourth year of Thoutmes V.[14] Manetho mentions the insurrection in Lower Egypt;[15] and that, in connection with the famine, well explains the wise policy of Joseph's administration. A. J. P. 2993. B. V. Æ. 1721.

In the second year of famine,[16] ten of Joseph's brethren went down to Egypt to buy food.[17] As they bent in lowly reverence before the royal governor, and thus fulfilled the dreams which had excited their jealousy and wrath,[18] little did they imagine that he was the youth, whom, twenty-two years before, they had sold into Egypt. But the eyes and memories of the young are more tenacious of elder, than the old of younger forms. Joseph knew his brethren, though they knew not him; and the condition of the kingdom presented him with a ready pretext to probe their guilty consciences. He affected to consider them as spies, at a moment when the country was in danger from invasion without and insurrection

[13] Gen. xli. 45. Vulg. "Vertitque nomen ejus, et vocavit eum, *lingua Ægyptiaca*, Salvatorem mundi." It seems now to be generally agreed that St. Jerome has given the true meaning of the words Zaphnath-paaneah, as the Hebrew is represented in the English Bible. The LXX. being in Egypt, spelt them more in accordance with the Egyptian language, Ψονθομφανήχ, which, according to Rosellini, means the salvation or Saviour of the age. Monumenti Storici i. p. 185. The name was given, I think, by divine impulse to Joseph as a type of the Messiah.

[14] B. V. Æ. 1721—1715.

[15] Jos. cont. Apion, lib. i. c. 14.

[16] B. V. Æ. 1720.

[17] Gen. xlii. 1—5.

[18] Gen. xxxvii. 5—11.

within. Their answer afforded presumptive proof of their innocence. Ten elder sons of an aged father, who had lost one, and had only the youngest at home, would never have been appointed to, nor have accepted, an office of so much peril. But the governor required stronger evidence. After detaining them in prison three days, he selected Simeon, whose cruel temper[19] had probably raged most against him, as a hostage for their return with his brother Benjamin. Alarmed and convicted by this choice of the most savage of their number, conscience did its office, and led them openly to confess their guilt, in the presence of Joseph, though they knew not that he understood them. After various trials, which it is unnecessary here to dwell upon, the touching appeal of Judah compelled Joseph to make himself known to his brethren, and they carried back to Canaan an invitation from the king to Jacob to remove with his family into Egypt.

The part assigned for their habitation, by the wise foresight of Joseph, and the policy of the monarch, was the land of Goshen. It was a fertile region, between the Pelusiac channel of the Nile, and the Arabian frontier. The shepherds had there a strongly fortified city, by which they held Egypt in subjection; and hence it was called by the Egyptians Aouari, or the city of the curse.[20] It was afterwards called by the Greeks, Heroöpolis, or the city of heroes; and the whole territory subsequently took the name of Rhameses, after the first Egyptian monarch of that name. To secure it, Joseph instructed his brethren, when they should appear before the king, and be questioned as to their occupation, to reply that they were shepherds. This would give them favour with the rulers of Egypt, while it would render them an abomination to the Egyptians. Thus the important purposes of God's government would be answered. It was the nearest

A. J. P. 2995. B. V. Æ. 1719.

[19] Gen. xlix. 5—7.

[20] In what I have here said concerning the land of Goshen, I have followed Champollion le jeune in his learned work entitled "Egypte sous les Pharaons." He derives the Avaris of Manetho from two words, signifying *to inflict a malediction*. Tom. ii. p. 91.

point to the Red Sea, where the Israelites would be kept distinct and separate from both the races which then inhabited the delta; would thus be preserved from the contagion of idolatry; would always be in the most favourable position for departure; and allowed quietly to increase in numbers and wealth, until the four hundred years of Abraham's prophetic vision should be ended. While it thus answered the purposes of the Almighty, it was equally in accordance with the shepherd policy; for it enabled the king, by confiding this frontier stronghold to his faithful allies, to turn the whole force of his kingdom against the disaffected natives and the Theban king.

While the children of Israel were thus provided for, all Egypt and Canaan fainted by reason of the famine; and the money of both countries flowed into the shepherd treasury in exchange for the products of the years of plenty with which Joseph had filled the royal store-houses. When money failed, the cattle became the property of the king; and finally the Egyptians, driven to despair, sold their own bodies, their houses and their lands. The people, thus reduced to absolute subjection, were removed by Joseph into walled cities, where they were under military power, and thus an effectual check was put to their revolt. At the same time, by a wise and prudent liberality, Joseph obtained their good will; for he returned them their lands and released them from personal servitude, on the condition of their paying one fifth of the annual produce into the king's treasury. With these events ended the years of famine.

Twelve years after, Jacob died, at the age of one hundred and forty-seven years. During his last illness, he gave a double portion to Joseph, by solemnly adopting his two sons, born during the years of plenty of an Egyptian mother. Manasseh was at this time about twenty-three, and Ephraim twenty-one years old. Doubtless by divine direction the younger was now set before the elder. By a like

A. J. P. 3012.
B. V.Æ. 1702.

prophetic impulse, Reuben, Simeon and Levi were, for their crimes, deprived of their birthright, and Judah was advanced to all the privileges of primogeniture. The punishment of Levi was afterwards changed into a blessing; but Judah, the son of the hated Leah, was the progenitor of the royal house of David, while Ephraim, the grandson of the beloved Rachel, was the forefather of Jeroboam, and his tribe the foremost in revolt, when Israel was rent from Judah.

IV.

Joseph survived his father fifty-four years, and died at the age of one hundred and ten. During his wise administration, which continued eighty years, and even for twenty-eight years after his death, the shepherd kingdom enjoyed great prosperity. So entirely were the natives of Lower Egypt subdued that they could afford no assistance during the inroads of the Theban princes. Amenophtep III., the celebrated Memnon of Grecian fables, began to reign in Thebes in the twenty-first year of Joseph's ministry. He pursued the advantages which had been gained by his grandfather, Amenophtep II., and his father, Thoutmes V.; but the precautions of Joseph soon convinced him that he could not, merely by force of arms, accomplish the subjugation of the shepherds. He therefore appears to have entered into negotiations, which ended in a treaty in the eleventh year of his reign, four years after the death of Jacob, and in the thirty-first year of Joseph's administration.[21] It was ratified by his marriage with Taia, the daughter of Iwaö and Thwea. Manetho speaks of a treaty made with the shepherds by Thummosis, or Thoutmes V., which involved on their part the promise of a voluntary surrender. From the monuments it would seem that this treaty was made, not by Thoutmes V., but by his son, in connection with this marriage. Taia may therefore have been the daughter or sister of the shepherd

A. J. P. 3066. B. V. Æ. 1648.

[21] B. V. Æ. 1698.

monarch. Certain it is, that for seventy-eight years from the eleventh of Amenophtep III., and during the reigns of his son Horus, and his grandchildren Tmau-hmot and Rhameses I., the monuments exhibit no evidence of war between the Theban and the shepherd kings.

But in the first year of Menephtah I., the son and successor of the first Rhameses, war broke out anew ; and this great and valiant Pharaoh succeeded in expelling the shepherds from Lower Egypt. This important event occurred when all the generation of Joseph were dead, and the children of Israel had so wonderfully increased as to become formidable. They had now resided for one hundred years in the earliest abode of arts and sciences, the most cultivated, the most wealthy, and the most powerful of existing nations. Henceforth, for one hundred and fifteen years, they were to eat the bread and drink the cup of misery. Menephtah, the king "who knew not Joseph," reduced them to slavery, and employed them in the quarries, the brick-yards, and other public works. Pithom, which in the Egyptian language signifies The Hindrance,[22] and Raamses, or Rhameses, so called from the name of his father, were among the constructions which he erected by their labour.

A. J. P. 3094. B. V. Æ. 1620.

V.

After a brilliant reign of nearly twenty-five years, Menephtah died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Rhameses II., whose reign, according to Manetho, continued only four years and one month.[23] And then began to reign his younger brother, Rhameses III., the far-famed Sesostris of the Greek historians, and the most glorious of all the monarchs of that most glorious Egyptian dynasty. The Greeks

A. J. P. 3123. B. V. Æ. 1591.

[22] *Pi* is the definite article, and *thom* means hindrance. It was a garrison town in Goshen, not far from Heroöpolis. Égypte sous les Pharaons, tom. i. p. 172, and tom. ii. p. 58. Raamses or Rameses preserves its name to this day, in the small village of Ramsis, not far from the Canopic branch of the river Nile. Ibid. tom. ii. p. 248.

[23] Jos. contr. Apion. lib. i. c. 15.

relate, and their relation is confirmed by existing monuments, that during the first nine years of his reign he was engaged in foreign conquests; that he overran Asia Minor, crossed the Hellespont, and penetrated even to Thrace. In his absence Egypt appears to have been governed by a royal princess, who was probably a daughter of Menephtah I., and whose portrait and name are, or were lately, to be seen in the valley where the queens of Egypt were buried. Her name, Botiante, is enclosed in an oval, the usual sign of royalty, and she is expressly designated as "the governess of Upper and Lower Egypt."[24]

Amram, a grandson of Levi, who, according to Eusebius, was born in the three hundred and fifty-fifth year of Abraham,[25] and, therefore, in the twenty-fourth year of Horus, was about thirty-four years old when his people were reduced to bondage by Menephtah. The time of his marriage with Jochébed is uncertain; but as Miriam, his eldest born, was a young maiden when Moses was an infant, it must have been towards the close of Menephtah's reign. Aaron was born in the fifth year of Rhameses III., before the cruel order had been given to drown all the male children of the Hebrews. And as Moses was born three years later, in the eighth year of Rhameses III., when that illustrious monarch was still absent from his dominions, the preservation of the future Hebrew lawgiver by Botiante[26] herself, or by one of the daughters of Sesostris, his adoption into the royal family, and his education as a prince in the sacerdotal colleges, were events which Omnipotence alone could extract from evil, frustrating the devices of the crafty, and bringing to nought the understanding of the wise.

A. J. P. 3060. B. V. Æ. 1654.

A. J. P. 3127. B. V. Æ. 1587.

A. J. P. 3130. B. V. Æ. 1584.

[24] Rosellini M. Stor. tom. iii. par. ii. p. 84.

[25] Euseb. Chron. Bipart. Ed. Aucher, tom. i. p. 155. It may be gathered thus: Abraham 100 begat Isaac 60, begat Jacob 84, begat Levi 46, begat Cohath 63, begat Amram. Total, 355. Horus began to reign B. V. Æ. 1677, which was the 332d year of Abraham. His 24th year, therefore, was 332 + 23 = 355 of Abraham, about six years before the death of Joseph.

[26] Josephus, Ant. lib. ii. c. 9, sec. 5, calls her Thermouthis. This may have been a title significant of her devotion to the goddess *Mouth*.

Possessing every advantage which this world could furnish, Moses renounced all, because they were inconsistent with his faith.[27] At the age of forty,[28] and in the forty-eighth year of Sesostris, he fled from the king's wrath into the neighbouring country of Arabia. There he remained an exile for forty years, until all were dead who sought his life.[29] Rhameses III. must have lived to a very advanced age; for he reigned sixty-six years and two months. He was succeeded by his thirteenth son, Menephtah II., whose reign was less than two years; and then the crown rested on his grandson, Menephtah III., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, whose reign was nineteen years and six months. Notwithstanding all his pride and obstinacy, this monarch appears to have sustained a good character, and to have possessed the love of his subjects. The sculptures in his tomb represent him, according to their theology, as a religious prince, eminent for his truth and justice; and the title *Ousirei*, given him after his death, signified that he had gone to Osiris, and was numbered among their divinities. When it is recollected that their kings were subject, in their funereal rites, to the stern and inflexible judgment of the soul, it will be seen that these were not expressions of flattery, but of endearment and veneration.[30]

VI.

In the last year of this Pharaoh, God commanded Moses to return to Egypt. After the death of Sesostris, the children of Israel were probably treated with increased rigour, for they "sighed by reason of the bondage, and their cry came up unto God."[31] Affliction performed its proper office, by leading them to prayer; and prayer had its usual blessing in bringing them relief. "God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob." The four hundred years of affliction were nearly

[27] Heb. xi. 24—26.
[28] Acts vii. 23.
[29] Exod. iv. 19.
[30] Rosellini Mon. Stor. tom. iii. part ii. p. 315. Comp. with Memorie Civili. tom. iii. p. 434.
[31] Exod. ii. 23.

ended; but as a trial of their faith, the intervention of Moses and Aaron for a season aggravated their calamities. The proud and haughty monarch imagined that the spirit of mutiny, as he considered it, would be crushed by severer toil. He therefore ordered that the straw used with clay in the formation of sun-burned bricks should be withheld, and that, without diminishing the daily task of brick-making, they should be obliged to gather straw from the corn-fields.[32] It was customary in Egypt to crop the wheat a little below the ear; and thus the straw was left standing.[33] The pictures of the corn-reapers and brick-makers still remain as witnesses to the fidelity of the sacred narrative.[34]

The time had now come for Jehovah to execute judgment upon all the gods or Elohim of Egypt.[35] In the intricate theology of that nation, a trinity was everywhere worshipped, differing in combination, according to the peculiar character of its allegorical pantheism.[36] The subject is not yet sufficiently understood to point out all the analogies, but it is apparent that the ten plagues were judicial, increasing in their intensity, and levelled against the religious, political, and civil institutions, habits and customs of Egypt, the nature of its climate, and the productions of its soil. As we are enabled to calculate the day of the first passover, we can also, with very great accuracy, determine the time of these terrible inflictions.

A. J. P. 3210. B. V. Æ. 1504.

1. The turning of the waters of the Nile into blood, as far as the Egyptians were concerned, — for the Israelites were exempt from all these, — occurred on the eighteenth of Adar, or Sunday, the third of March, and continued seven days.[37] The Nile was deified under the name of *Hapi-moou*, and was the last member of the triad with *Re* and *Phtah*, the sun and

[32] Exod. v. 4—14.

[33] Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 2d series, vol. iv. p. 85.

[34] Wilkinson ut sup., and 1st series, vol. ii. p. 99.

[35] Exod. xii. 12.

[36] Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 2d series, chap. xii., especially p. 231.

[37] Exod. vii. 14—25.

the creative power.[38] The crocodile, the hippopotamus, and some of its fish, were sacred.[39] The male children of the Israelites, cast into its waters, had been devoured; and now, by a righteous retribution, these waters, changed into blood, extinguished life, and inflicted thirst and famine on the murderers.

2. The plague of frogs came from the river on Sunday, the tenth of March. Two frog-headed deities, male and female, were worshipped by the Egyptians, supposed to be the forms of Phtah, the demiurge or creative power.[40] As nothing is mentioned of the cessation of the first plague, the frogs may have come from the bloody streams, exhibiting the power of the true Creator in producing as well as destroying life. This second plague moved the obduracy of Pharaoh to entreat a cessation, and to promise, in general terms, the liberation of the people.[41]

3. The third plague of lice, on the twenty-seventh of Adar, or Tuesday, March twelfth, was sent to punish the perfidy of the hardened monarch. The very dust of the earth was quickened, and became a loathsome torment to man and beast. Even the magicians quailed before it, and tried in vain to make the king acknowledge God's sovereignty. The waters of the river had, by this time, returned to their proper form and nature; and Moses met the king as he went forth early in the morning to bathe or perform his lustrations.

4. The fourth plague of flies was now threatened; and, to convince the monarch of its supernatural infliction, he was expressly told that the land of Goshen, and the Israelites, wherever found, would be exempt from the calamity. It came on Thursday, the fourteenth of March; and the resolution of the king was so far subdued as to have recourse to new entreaties, and enlarged promises. He broke them, however, the next day, on the cessation of the plague.[42]

5. This led to the infliction, on Sunday, March the seven-

[38] Wilkinson ut sup. chap. xiii. vol. v. p. 56.
[39] Wilkinson ut sup. c. xiv.
[40] Wilkinson ut sup. c. xiii.
[41] Exod. viii. 1—15.
[42] Exod. viii. 16—32.

teenth, of the pestilence upon the horses, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep, of the Egyptians. All of these animals died in one day, while those of the Israelites suffered no harm. Of this fact the king informed himself; and yet he hardened his heart![43] It is the more surprising, because the ox and the sheep were sacred animals, and the bull Apis received especial and general adoration.[44]

6. The sixth plague of the boils and ulcers continued two days, the third and fourth of Nisan, or Monday and Tuesday, the eighteenth and nineteenth of March. How grievous must have been the torment to man and beast, may be imagined, when it is known that the same word is used in the book of Job to denote the species of leprosy, or elephantiasis, with which he was afflicted.[45] Yet, the heart of Pharaoh still continued obdurate!

The Lord now commanded Moses to expostulate with the king, and show him how vain it was to contend with the Almighty. The sovereign of the whole earth had raised up his nation, his own illustrious dynasty in particular, and himself as inheriting all their wealth and power, that the name of the eternal and true God "might be declared throughout all the earth." He, therefore, threatened the nation with pestilence, and the king himself with death, if he did not suffer the children of Israel to depart. On the morrow, Wednesday, the twentieth of March, a mighty storm of hail, accompanied by thunder, in a country where both were unknown, destroyed the remaining cattle, and even the men exposed to its fury; broke the trees, and cut down the flax and barley, and all other herbs which were grown.[46] This also proving ineffectual, the plague of locusts was sent on Saturday, the twenty-third of March, which effectually destroyed the remaining produce of the earth. In vain did the servants of Pharaoh entreat him to send away the people; and the plague of darkness

[43] Exod. ix. 1—7.

[44] Wilkinson ut sup. c. xiv., on the sacred animals.

[45] Exod. ix. 8—12, comp. with Job ii. 7.

[46] Exod. ix. 13—35.

was sent for three days, — darkness which might be felt.[47] With the Egyptians, light was a deity; and the rays of the sun were distinguished from its orb and its heat.[48] To them how fearful was the privation! It shook even the resolution of the king; but the effect was transient and momentary.

VII.

Instructions were now given to the congregation of Israel, who had light in their dwellings, to select lambs according to their families. This was on the tenth of Nisan, or Monday, the twenty-fifth of March, and consequently while the Egyptians were in darkness. On the same day of the same Jewish month did our blessed Lord go up to Jerusalem to be crucified. On Friday following, or March twenty-ninth, at the same hour of the day in which the true Lamb of God was crucified, were these first passover lambs slain, and their blood was sprinkled on the door-posts. On that night Jehovah arose in his wrath, and passed over the land of Egypt, smiting the eldest born of every house which was not protected by that blood. A universal cry arose in Egypt, and the Israelites were expelled in haste. They pitched their tents on the borders of the wilderness, not far from the confines of Egypt, and there celebrated their first Paschal Sabbath on Saturday, the thirtieth of March, the first great day of rest from Egyptian bondage. It was "the self-same day" on which the four hundred and thirty years expired; "a night to be much observed unto the Lord."[49]

The effects of the ten plagues were probably confined to the Lower Egypt, where the Israelites dwelt, and where they were oppressed. The desolation of the Delta diminished the vast resources of the kingdom, but Menephtah had yet at his command a formidable army of chariots and horsemen. Information soon reached him that the captives whom he had been compelled to send away, instead of taking the direct road by the Isthmus of Suez, had turned aside, and encamped in the

[47] Exod. x. 1—23. [48] Wilkinson 2 series, vol. i. p. 290. [49] Exod. xii. 41, 42.

desert between Egypt and the Red Sea. This they had done by the express command of God, for the purpose of luring the king to that destruction with which he had been solemnly threatened.[50] Filled with contempt at this apparently false and ignorant movement, and stung with pride and fury, he pursued and overtook the Israelites. God opened for them a way by dividing the waters, and the king madly followed at the head of his army. The result is well known. The sea returned to his strength. All were overwhelmed; but their bodies were cast up, and lay upon the shore, that Israel might see, and fear, and believe.[51]

The event of the Exodus was of too disastrous a nature to be noticed on their monuments; and their historians would be impelled by national vanity to suppress or disguise the truth. Manetho's account is preserved by Josephus,[52] and from that or similar sources, Trogus derived his distorted

[50] Exod. xiv. 1—4, comp. with ix. 15.

[51] Exod. xiv. 5—21. It would be an incumbrance to the present work if I should attempt to enter at length into all the questions to which the passage of the Israelites from the land of Goshen to Mount Sinai has given rise. But it is in accordance with my plan to direct the reader to the sources of study on the subject to which I have myself had access. These are: Voyages en Arabie, de M. Niebuhr, vol. i. pp. 169—204. Recueil de Questions de Michælis, quest. 2. Description de l'Arabie, par M. Niebuhr, ix. Le Désert du Mont Sinai, pp. 341—362. Observations sur la Marée, &c. pp. 363—369. Taylor's Fragments annexed to Calmet's Dict., Am. Ed., vol. iii. pp. 38, 39; or the vastly improved edition of Calmet, by Dr. Robinson, articles Canaan and Exodus, in which he has admirably condensed the remarks of Taylor. The Biblical Researches by the same author, Boston, 1841, vol. i. sects. ii. and iii. pp. 87—213. Dr. Olin's Travels, New York, 1843, vol. i. pp. 342—419, chaps. xix. xx. xxi. Bartlett's Forty Days in the Desert, on the Track of the Israelites, pp. 17—112. Concerning the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, Dr. Olin judiciously remarks: "There is considerable diversity of opinion as to the precise theatre of this great event; but the controversy is confined to a region of not more than twelve or fifteen miles in length, extending from a little north of Suez, to a valley opening through the mountains of Attaka to the sea, a few miles south of that town." This uncertainty is very small "when it is considered that the question is about the particular spot where *two millions of people encamped, and made the transit of the sea — a multitude which must always have been spread out over an area of many square miles.*" As to the question whether Er-rakah or Feiran was the place of encampment at Mount Sinai, Dr. Robinson, who places the giving of the law on Mount St. Catherine, and for that reason, especially, is in favour of Er-rakah, is at variance with Dr. Olin, Dr. Lepsius, and Mr. Bartlett, who consider Mount Serbal as the true summit, and prefer Feiran as being fertile and well watered. The height of Mount Serbal is 6342 feet above the level of the Red Sea; that of St. Catherine, as measured by Küppell, 8063 Paris feet from the glen into which Mr. Bartlett was descending. — p. 91.

[52] Cont. Apion. lib. i. c. 26.

history.[53] Yet a comparison of these fables with the Mosaic narrative enables us, without much difficulty, to ascertain the truth; and the tomb of Menephtah still remains to corroborate, by its coeval testimony, the account of the Jewish lawgiver. The kings of Egypt began to excavate their tombs in the solid rock as soon as they began to reign. At the death of each monarch the labour stopped, and his body was deposited wherever the hammer and the chisel had struck the last blow. The tomb is, therefore, an epitome of the reign, showing whether it was long or short, and whether its termination was sudden or gradual, prepared for or abrupt. Imagine, then, the effect of the overthrow at the Red Sea. A nation so remarkable for the care of their dead hasten to remove the bodies of the king and his warriors from the shore; and the tomb of Menephtah III., in its unfinished state, receives his embalmed body. "It is the last," says Champollion Figeac, "in the valley of Biban-el-Molouk. *It is wholly unfinished. The first bas-reliefs are completed, and are executed with admirable care and delicacy. The decoration of the rest of the catacomb*, formed of three long corridors and two halls, *was only traced with red.* The fragments of this Pharaoh's sarcophagus of rose-coloured granite were found *in a very small room, the walls of which, just roughly hewn out, are covered with some bad figures of divinities, drawn and daubed in haste.*"[54]

VIII.

Manetho, suppressing the defeat of the Egyptians and the death of the king, asserts that Moses invited the shepherds then living in Jerusalem to return to Egypt, and that Amenophis, as he calls Menephtah, retired before their united forces into Ethiopia. Here he remained thirteen years, and then, returning with his son Sethos, otherwise called Ægyptus, drove out the shepherds a second time, and regained his sovereignty. The monuments correct his history, by disclos-

[53] Justini Epit. lib. xxxvi. c. 1. [54] Égypte Ancienne, p. 343.

ing the name of a king who reigned after Menephtah and before Sethos or Rhameses IV., the head of his 19th dynasty. We must, therefore, attribute to this king, whose name was Rhamerre, the thirteen years of exile. The Israelites, guided and strengthened by the power of God, had no need of human aid; but the shepherds, hearing of the defenceless condition of the Delta, would naturally seek to regain their lost dominion, and, in the weakness and consternation of the Egyptian government, would be easily successful. The fact, therefore, of the thirteen years' interregnum is probable, and elucidates many difficulties of Egyptian history. Sethos, or Rhameses IV., began to reign in the fourteenth year of the journeyings of the children of Israel in the wilderness.[55] Having expelled the shepherds, he turned the tide of conquest into Canaan. His victories have been confounded, by Herodotus and Diodorus, with those of Sesostris, or Rhameses III., who preceded him one hundred years, and whom he greatly resembled. He, and not Sesostris, was the Ægyptus of the Greek historians, and his brother the Danaus who founded the kingdom of Argos. This we learn from the testimony of Manetho,[56] and are thus enabled to connect the early history of Greece with that of Egypt and of Israel. But what is still more to our purpose is the remarkable fact that his victories over the nations of Canaan made him an instrument in the hands of the Almighty for their destruction, and prepared the way for the subsequent victories of the children of Israel. With reason, therefore, is it supposed that he was the great HORNET promised in the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy, and subsequently mentioned at the close of the book of Joshua.[57] The voracious, the venomous, the vindictive hornet, was an apt emblem of a power raised up as an instrument of God's wrath, when the iniquities of the accursed race of Canaan were come to the full. In this view the reign of Sethos prepared the way for the fulfilment of God's great covenant with Abra-

[55] B. v. Æ. 1491.

[56] Jos. cont. Apion. lib. i. § 15, comp. with §§ 26, 27.

[57] Exod. xxiii. 27, 28. Deut. vii. 20. Josh. xxiv. 12.

ham; and the wanderings of the Israelites, for forty years, in the wilderness, was not merely to punish their sins and reduce them to faith and obedience, but also an act of mercy, wrought even by the means of their greatest foe. The king of Egypt fought for them, and "drove out the two kings of the Amorites, though not with their sword nor with their bow."[58] This will account for the easy victories over Og and Sihon.

IX.

But to resume the narrative: After passing the Red Sea, the children of Israel went as they were guided by the Lord in the pillar of a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night.[59] When the pillar stopped they stopped, and when the pillar moved they moved, — an apt emblem of the faith and obedience of the Church! Yet their insensibility to the greatness of divine mercy, their ingratitude, their murmurings, their low and carnal desires, and the dreadful punishments which it was necessary to inflict upon them, are so many fearful and instructive warnings to us in the more perfect dispensation to which we have been called.[60]

On the fifteenth day of the second Hebrew month, Iyar, or Sunday, the twenty-eighth of April, one month after they had left Egypt, manna was sent for their sustenance in the wilderness, and continued to fall, for forty years, until they came to the land of Canaan. It was intended to prefigure that true and living Bread which came down from heaven to give life unto the world.[61] "He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack;"[62] meet emblem of that charity by which there is an equality in God's Church between them that abound and them that want.[63] It was their "daily bread," and could not be kept for the morrow, save only on the Sabbath. On Friday, the third of May, "they gathered twice as much;" and when

[58] Josh. xxiv. 12, comp. with Numb. xxi.
[59] Exod. xiii. 20—22.
[60] 1 Cor. x. 1—11.
[61] John vi. 31—51.
[62] Exod. xvi. 18.
[63] 2 Cor. viii. 14, 15.

some, from carelessness or unbelief, went out the next day to gather, they found none.[64]

On the third day of the third month, Sivan, or Thursday, May sixteenth, the Israelites arrived at Mount Sinai.[65] "Moses went up unto God;" and preparations were made for that solemn covenant which, on the third day after their arrival, or the sixth of Sivan, was to constitute them the Lord's peculiar people. That day was Sunday, the nineteenth of May; and we have only to count the days from the great Paschal Sabbath to see that it was the feast of weeks, or Pentecost. How wonderful is this coincidence! It was the fiftieth day from the Paschal Sabbath; and, therefore, the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai and the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles occurred on the same festival! Such coincidences cannot be fortuitous. They exhibit the adjustments of Almighty wisdom. Each event was a new epoch in the history of God's Church. Of all the posterity of Abraham, the descendants of Jacob alone are henceforth to be his covenant people. The new separation is attended with solemn and severe judgments. The power of the oldest, the wisest, the most opulent, and the most renowned of nations for arts and arms, is in one little month prostrated. Amalek is doomed to be blotted out forever.[66] The nations of Canaan are now to be exterminated, and to pity or spare them will be visited upon Israel as a sin. It has been objected to the history of that nation, that it is a history of barbarous and cruel warfare; but the objection proceeds from that blind unbelief which cannot see in them the executioners of *divine* vengeance. As well may it object to the famine or the pestilence. The Creator has a right to do what he will with his own; and when nations have sinned against him past even *divine* endurance, the sword, when he commands it, is as just a punishment as the earthquake, the famine, or the plague.

[64] Exod. xvi. 14—36.

[65] On the questions relative to the place where the law was given, see note p. 64, and the authors there enumerated.

[66] Exod. xvii. 14.

THE FOURTH PERIOD.

FROM THE GIVING OF THE LAW TO THE CAPTIVITY IN BABYLON.

The whole period, including the captivity in Babylon, to the return of the Jews to Jerusalem in the first year of Cyrus, is nine hundred and sixty-eight years and four months, as follows: According to Ezra i. 1, and iii. 1, the Jews assembled at Jerusalem when the seventh month was come, in the first year of Cyrus. That year corresponded with A. J. P. 4178, B. T. Æ. 530, B. V. Æ. 536; and the first of the seventh month, or Tisri, the feast of Trumpets, fell that year on Thursday, September 20th. The law was given at Mount Sinai on what was afterwards the day of Pentecost, which in the year of the Exodus fell on Sunday, the nineteenth of May, A. J. P. 3210, B. T. Æ. 1498, B. V. Æ. 1504. Expressed in solid years, months and days, the sum is thus:

The return of the Jews to Jerusalem,	4177 years 8 months 20 days.
The giving of the law on Mount Sinai,	3209 years 4 months 19 days.
The difference is the length of the period,	968 years 4 months 1 day.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ARRIVAL AT SINAI TO THE REBELLION OF KORAH.

I. Baptism. — Special renewal of the gospel covenant. II. Feast of Pentecost, and covenant sacrifice. — Broken by the idolatry of the golden calf. — Renewed. III. Worldly sanctuary and divine service. IV. Tabernacle erected. — Aaron and his sons separated. — Anniversary of the Passover. V. Departure from Sinai. — Order of encampment and march. — Second Passover. VI. Paran. — The seventy or seventy-two elders. — Quails sent. VII. Hazeroth. — Mutiny of Aaron and Miriam. — Wilderness of Paran. — Pentecost. — Spies sent. — The tenth provocation. — Punishment, death of that generation in the wilderness. VIII. Rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram.

I.

THE great covenant established with Abraham, and renewed with Isaac, had been violated by Esau, and was now therefore to be confined to Jacob or Israel. For the better fulfilment of this purpose, he and his sons had been made to dwell alone in Egypt, and had so increased, that, without

reckoning their women and children, they amounted to six hundred thousand souls.[1] But now that they left Egypt, and were to enter and possess exclusively the inheritance of Abraham, it was necessary to distinguish them from his other descendants by a peculiar covenant.[2] Circumcision, the outward sign and seal at first established, was common to all; and now for the first time we hear mention made of BAPTISM. As they passed through the waters, protected by the cloud of God's presence behind or before, and above them, they "were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea."[3] Instead of proceeding directly to the promised land, they were led through the wilderness,[4] and conducted to Mount Sinai in Arabia, where they were to receive the written law. They arrived there, as we have seen, at the close of the last Period, on the sixteenth of May, one thousand five hundred and four years before the common Christian æra.

Three days were spent in preparation. Moses went up unto God as a mediator between him and the people, and received the following as the terms of compact: "IF YE WILL OBEY MY VOICE INDEED, AND KEEP MY COVENANT, THEN YE SHALL BE A PECULIAR TREASURE UNTO ME ABOVE ALL PEOPLE: FOR ALL THE EARTH IS MINE. AND YE SHALL BE UNTO ME A KINGDOM OF PRIESTS, AND AN HOLY NATION."[5] This message was solemnly conveyed to the people by their officers; "And all the people answered together and said, ALL THAT THE LORD HATH SPOKEN WE WILL DO. And Moses returned the words of the people unto the Lord."[6] These promises being made by God and the people, Moses was commanded to sanctify them, and be ready on the third day thereafter, which was the day of Pen-

[1] Exod. xii. 37.

[2] It is a great error to consider the special covenant at Mount Sinai with the nation of Israel, as a covenant of *works*. With man *in a state of innocence* there might be a covenant of *works;* but with *sinful* man there can be no other covenant from God, but a covenant of *grace*. It was the great object of St. Paul's Epistles to reprove and convict the Jews of error, because they considered a covenant of grace, confined to them *only until Christ should come*, as a covenant of works.

[3] 1 Cor. x. 2. Macknight in loc.

[4] Exod. xiii. 17, 18.

[5] Exod. xix. 5, 6.

[6] Exod. xix. 7, 8.

tecost, when God would descend in awful majesty, that they might, with their own ears, hear his commandments.[7]

Before we proceed with the history, it is important to observe that this whole transaction was only a special renewal of the gospel covenant with the children of Israel. The very same terms, "to keep the word of the Lord, to do justice and judgment," which were given to Abraham, that "all the nations of the earth" should "be blessed in him," were now given to them with but little variation of language;[8] and the same promises to them, as an elect generation, a peculiar people, a holy nation, and a royal priesthood, are applied in the New Testament to the Christian Church.[9] Nor was the same external sign omitted which now marks the Christian covenant; for "The Lord said unto Moses, Go unto the people and *sanctify* them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes." The sanctification or purification here, and wherever else it is used in connection with the command to wash their clothes, is invariably understood, by the Hebrew expositors of the law, as denoting baptism.[10] If it be objected that these baptisms under the law were often repeated, so, it may be answered, were the sin-offerings or expiatory sacrifices; the one oblation of the cross, and the one baptism with which it is inseparably connected, being peculiar to the Church after the incarnation and resurrection of our blessed Lord. The frequent repetition of these covenant acts, by which the offender was reconciled to God, and cleansed from sin, was the necessary type of an imperfect dispensation.[11]

[7] Exod. xix. 9—25; xx. 1—17.

[8] Comp. Gen. xviii. 18, 19, with Exod. xix. 5, and see Micah vi. 8.

[9] Comp. Exod. xix. 6, with 1 Pet. ii. 9. The identity is somewhat obscured to the English reader, because, in the Old Testament, our translators followed the Hebrew, and in the New Testament the Greek; but any one who will compare the ancient Greek version with the New Testament, will see clearly that St. Peter quoted Exod. xix. 6. It will be well also to compare all the passages, in both Testaments, in which the elect or chosen people are mentioned.

[10] Selden de Synedrüs, lib. i. c. 3. Op. tom. i. 778, and de Jure Nat. et Gent. lib. ii. c. 2, p. 175. Alting. Heptad. vii. Dis. 7. Opera, tom. v. p. 232. Spencer de Leg. Hebr. tom. ii. lib. iv. c. 13, § 1.

[11] Gal. iii. 16—29. Heb. x. 1—22.

II.

But to return: the law was given on the feast of Pentecost, Sunday, the nineteenth of May; and in that week it was ratified by the covenant sacrifice which prefigured the death of Christ.[12] Yet, so slight was the impression made on that obdurate and fickle people, by all these solemnities, that within forty days the golden calf, the Apis of Egyptian idolatry, was erected and worshipped. The covenant being thus broken, the wrath of God fell upon them, not in the form of famine or pestilence, but by the sword; and three thousand of the people were slain by the Levites, at the command of Moses.[13] As this was but a small number, compared with the whole congregation, it is probable that they were the chief instigators of the apostasy. Yet it was not until after great entreaty and deep humiliation, that the tables of the law were renewed and the covenant reëstablished. Moses remained a second time forty days and nights, supported only by the communion of God's presence; and when he descended from the mount a glory rested upon him of such exceeding brightness that the frail vision of mortal eyes could not support it, and he veiled his face while he gave in commandment to the people what the Lord had spoken.[14]

III.

During these events, which occupied about three months, Moses had received the most minute directions from God respecting the construction of a worldly sanctuary, the formation of the ark, and the ordinances of divine service. With regard to the sanctuary, it is even intimated that the models given to him in the mount were the pattern and shadow of heavenly places;[15] and to these he was required strictly to

[12] Comp. Exod. xxiv. with Heb. ix. 15—22.

[13] Exod. xxxii. 1—29.

[14] Exod. xxxii. 30; xxxiv. 35.

[15] Comp. Exod. xxv. 8, 9, with Heb. viii. 5.

conform. This clearly shows that they were not borrowed from the Egyptians. The Holy of Holies was the type of heaven; and it was covered by a vail to denote that the way thither could not be made manifest, but by the rending of the flesh of Christ at the crucifixion.[16] The ark was a symbol of the great Angel of the covenant, bearing on its lid the propitiatory or mercy-seat, on which rested the glory of Jehovah. To the enlightened eye of faith, it represented the incarnate manifestation of divine mercy, the visible presence of the eternal Word, God dwelling in his tabernacle among men, the brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person.[17] So the ordinances of divine service were planned by Almighty wisdom, as a perpetual adumbration of better things to come. The whole of the ceremonial law was a representation of Christ; the congregation was the Church in miniature; the history of Israel in the wilderness, a prophetic allegory of God's people, bearing on its face the divine image and superscription. All this will be made apparent in the course of our narrative; and it is now mentioned that the reader's attention may be directed, as he proceeds, to so signal and wonderful a proof of Almighty agency.

Under the wise direction of Bezaleel and Aholiab, whom God himself had chosen as the architects, and the united labour of the congregation, both men and women, in preparing all things necessary for the public worship of God, the tabernacle was completed in about seven months. By the danger they had incurred in the apostasy of the golden calf, the people had learned such a lesson of fearful obedience, that, in their offerings for the service of the sanctuary, they exceeded the amount required.[18] Yet, if any one considers the costly workmanship in gold, and silver, and brass, and pre-

[16] Heb. ix. 8; x. 20. Matt. xxvii. 51. St. John i. 14. Heb. i. 3. Col. i. 15 19; ii. 9.

[17] Exod. xxv. 10—22. Rom. iii. 25.

[18] Exod. xxxvi. 3—7.

cious stones, and the magnificent fabrics in wood, and hair, and linen, and leather, and embroidery of all sorts, which they had learned to make in Egypt and had brought from thence, it will be impossible not to see the great wealth possessed, and the unsparing use of it in the adornment of God's tabernacle, and the provisions for his worship.[19]

IV.

On the first day of Nisan, the first month of their second year, which fell as late as the fourth of April, the tabernacle was set up.[20] It was Friday; and that night the lamps were lighted, and on the first Sabbath of their ecclesiastical year, the appointed worship of God began in the wilderness.[21] The ark being placed in the Holy of Holies, the fulness of divine glory rested upon it.[22] The offerings of the flock and of the herd, the perpetual daily morning and evening sacrifice, began. The incense arose from the golden altar. Christ was present with his Church in the wilderness; and thus far his servant Moses was the administrator.[23] A. J. P. 3211 B. V. Æ. 1503.

During the first week, Aaron and his sons were commanded to separate themselves from the congregation, and remain constantly in the tabernacle, as a holy preparation for the priests' office.[24] At the end of that time, or on the second Sabbath, April the twelfth, Moses consecrated them, through the blood of the everlasting covenant. He and Aaron solemnly blessed the people in the words appointed for that purpose;[25] the glory of the Lord appeared to all; fire descended from the divine presence and consumed the holocaust;

[19] Jos. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. vi. A good account of the construction of the tabernacle is given by Lamy, in his Apparatus Biblicus. The reader may also consult with advantage Tornielli Annales Sacri, tom. i. pp. 502—532. Mediol. 1610, fol.

[20] Exod. xl. 2.

[21] The golden number of B. V. Æ. 1503 was xix., and the Sunday letter E. By consulting the tables, and the calendar in the Introduction to this history, the reader can verify all these calculations.

[22] Exod. xl. 17—34.

[23] Lev. vii. 38.

[24] Lev. viii. 31—36.

[25] Numb. vi. 23—27.

and the whole congregation, filled with awe, shouted, and fell on their faces.[26] Nadab and Abihu, two of the sons of Aaron, presuming to take common fire for the sacrifices, were consumed by fire from the Lord, their bodies carried out of the camp, and all mourning for them strictly forbidden.[27] Eleazar and Ithamar, the only remaining sons of Aaron, were the progenitors of all the high priests in the long succession from Moses unto Christ. It was after the death of the sons of Aaron that the great day of atonement was instituted; and the entrance of the high priest into the Holy of Holies was allowed but once a year, as a solemn type of the entrance of Christ into heaven.[28]

The day after the consecration of Aaron and his sons, or Sunday, April thirteenth, was the tenth of Nisan, on which day, by the original law of the Passover, the lambs were to be selected according to the number of their households. On the fourteenth of Nisan, or Thursday, April the seventeenth, the children of Israel celebrated this their great annual festival. The following day was the feast of unleavened bread; and on the nineteenth of April was the great Paschal Sabbath. The following day, therefore, began the computation of the feast of weeks or Pentecost.

A. J. P. 3211.
B. V. Æ. 1503.

V.

On the first day of the second month, which fell on the Sabbath, the third of May, the order was given to number the people, preparatory to their departure from Sinai.[29] The number of males above twenty years old was six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty; so that the whole of the congregation must have exceeded three millions.[30] In

[26] Lev. ix.
[27] Lev. x. 1—7.
[28] Lev. xvi. comp. with Heb. ix.
[29] Numb. i. 1—4.
[30] Numb. i. 5—46; ii. 32. The number of the whole congregation has been estimated variously by travellers. They "probably amounted," says Dr. Robinson, "to two and a half millions, and certainly to not less than two millions." Bib. Researches, vol. i. p. 75. Dr. Olin speaks of them as "two millions." Travels in the East, vol. i. p. 343. But these estimates, made with regard to the passage of the Red Sea, seem purposely to express the *minimum*. Of course,

these the Levites were not included ;[31] and their males alone, from a month upward, amounted to twenty-two thousand. Of these, eight thousand five hundred and eighty were between the ages of thirty and fifty ; and were, therefore, competent to discharge the duties of the sanctuary. They were divided into three communities, or families, as descendants of the three sons of Levi.[32] To the sons of Kohath, the progenitor of Moses and Aaron, was assigned the most honourable, as well as the most laborious, employment ; for they were to bear upon their shoulders the ark, the table, the candlestick, the altars, and the vessels of the sanctuary. The sons of Gershon, stationed behind the tabernacle, on the west, took charge of the various coverings of God's tent, with all the hangings, curtains, and cords. The sons of Merari, on the north, had the boards of the tabernacle, the bars, the pillars, the sockets, pins, and outer cords. The two last families were furnished with covered wagons, drawn by oxen, in which, while on their march, all these materials were packed. Moses and Aaron, with the priests, were stationed on the east, in front of the tabernacle, and had the general oversight of the whole.[33] On the four sides, but at a distance, expressing awful reverence,[34] were encamped the twelve tribes, in the following order :—Judah, as the tribe from which Christ would come in the flesh, had the honour of being placed on the eastern front, supported on the right and left by Issachar and Zebulun. On the south side was Reuben, supported by Simeon and Gad. On the west, behind the tabernacle, were Ephraim, with Manasseh and Benjamin ; and on the north, Dan, with Asher and Naphtali in front and rear.[35] Nothing is

every opinion must be conjectural ; but the fecundity of the nation of Israel, under the divine blessing, was so great that "the land was filled with them." Exod. i. 7. Estimating the males above twenty as a fifth part of the population, cannot therefore be considered as extravagant.

[31] Numb. i. 47—50 ; ii. 33.

[32] Numb. iii. 5—37.

[33] Numb. iii. 38.

[34] Probably the same distance which was afterwards prescribed in crossing the river Jordan. Josh. iii. 4. It was the same distance as a Sabbath day's journey, 2000 cubits.

[35] Numb. ii. 1—31.

said of their wives and children, their household stuffs, beasts of burden, and other domestic animals; nor of the cattle, sheep, goats, and other victims offered in sacrifice. The latter were probably arranged in the space between the tribes and the tabernacle of the congregation, and the former protected in the centre of the several tribes. Each was distinguished by its peculiar banner, bearing various symbols. No man was permitted to separate himself from the tribe to which he belonged; and the prince, or captain, of each tribe was appointed by God himself. Such was the order of encampment.

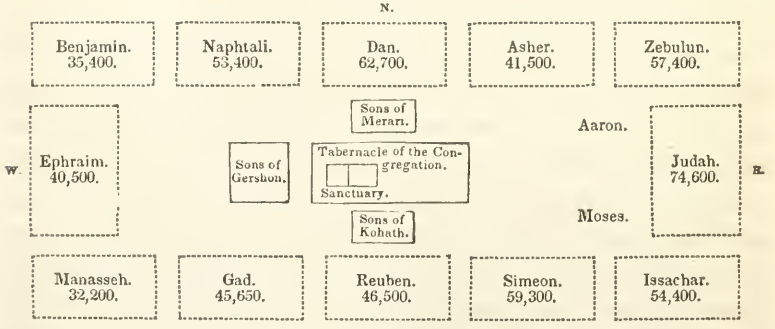
The order of march was somewhat different. The ark, with the pillar of cloud by day and fire by night resting upon it, constantly went before, borne by certain of the sons of Kohath, to find out a place wherein to give them rest.[36] When the cloud or fiery pillar rose up and went forward, whether by day or by night, it was the signal to march; when it stopped, it was the signal to encamp. How long a time they journeyed or rested, it was not for them to determine; and if it be borne in mind that this divine glory resting on the ark was the presence of Christ, the second person of the adorable Trinity, it affords a beautiful and sublime example of the perfect discipline of God's Host, the faith and obedience of the Church. When the ark set forward, Moses said, "Rise up, Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee."[37] No sooner were these words uttered than the Levites, to whom that service was assigned, took down the tabernacle, arranged all things in due order for the march, and the ark, on the shoulders of the sons of Kohath, advanced through the opening ranks, followed by Moses, Aaron, and the priests, till it came again under the pillar of the divine presence. The several tribes having, in like manner, struck their tents, Judah marched first, with Issachar and Zebulun. Then came the Levitical families of Gershon and Merari, conducting the several parts of the tabernacle entrusted to their care, that

[36] Numb. x. 33. [37] Numb. x. 35.

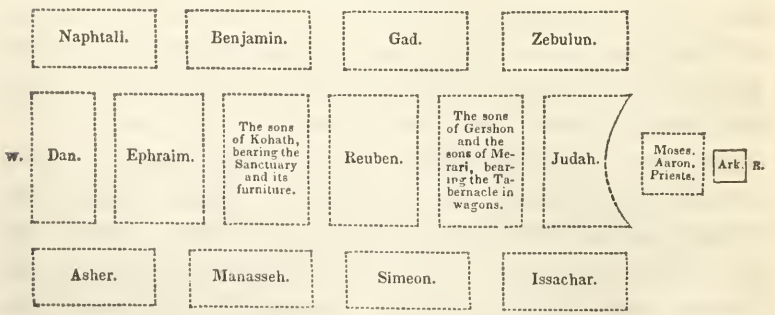
they might be ready to set it up and cover it as soon as the command to encamp should be given. Reuben, with Simeon and Gad, now wheeled from their southern station and followed. Then came the remaining sons of Kohath, bearing the several parts of the sanctuary, with the altars, the table, the candlestick, the laver, and the numerous vessels which pertained to its service. Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, then advanced; and Dan, with Asher and Naphtali, turned from their northern station and formed in the rear. Thus they marched, by day or by night, until the ark with the divine presence rested, and Moses gave the prescribed signal for encampment, "Return, O Jehovah, unto the many thousands of Israel." [38]

These different orders of encampment and march will be best shown by the following diagrams:—

ORDER OF ENCAMPMENT.



ORDER OF MARCH.



No attempt is here made to give proportions or distances.

[38] Numb. x. 13—36.

At the celebration of the Passover it had so happened that certain men were prevented from uniting in it by legal defilement. Their case occasioned the order for all such persons, but no other, on pain of death, to keep the Passover on the fourteenth day of the second month.[39] This was accordingly done on Friday, the sixteenth of May; and on the following Thursday, or May the twenty-second, the twentieth day of the second month, the cloud was taken up from the tabernacle, and the children of Israel departed from Mount Sinai.[40] They arrived there, it will be remembered, on Thursday, the sixteenth of May, in the preceding year; so that they abode three hundred and seventy-two days, or exactly fifty-three weeks, in that one station.

VI.

The cloud rested not till they came to the wilderness of Paran.[41] Three days' journey was sufficient to create a general discontent, and their murmurings, especially on the outskirts of the camp, brought upon them a punishment like that inflicted on the two sons of Aaron. Fire came out from the presence of the Lord, and consumed them.[42] At the intercession of Moses this plague was stayed, and they again hardened their hearts. Excited by the intense desires of the mixed multitude who had accompanied them, they wept for the plenty of Egypt, loathed the food which came down from heaven, and longed for flesh. The anxiety of Moses was so great that he prayed even for death. This gave occasion to the appointment of the seventy elders, to whom was communicated a portion of the inspiration given to Moses, that they might bear with him the heavy burden of such a people. It is important to observe this arrangement by which the organization of the Church in the wilderness was completed. A ruler for each of the twelve tribes had been previously ap-

[39] Numb. ix. 6—14.
[40] Numb. x. 11, 12.
[41] Numb. x. 12.
[42] Numb. xi. 1.

pointed; and now seventy elders and inspectors, or, as they are called in the Greek translation, "presbyters and scribes of the people,"[43] were appointed to aid still further in the government. They were chosen by Moses, and having been assembled around the tabernacle, the glory of the Lord appeared and communicated to them the miraculous gift of prophesying, for that special occasion. Two of the persons thus chosen (for what cause is not explained) remained in the camp, and, when the spirit came upon them, they also prophesied. The meekness of Moses was here eminently conspicuous. Joshua, considering the two who had remained in the camp as having violated the command to appear before God, asked Moses to forbid them; but the miraculous power of God was an infallible sign that they were truly called and appointed; and Moses, free from all selfish or ambitious motives, replied, "Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!" Moses, as the great prophet of Israel, was now the type of the Messiah, and the twelve rulers and seventy elders seem to have been the model on which our Lord, during his ministry on earth, appointed the twelve and the seventy.[44]

A strong wind now brought, in great quantities, a kind of pheasant or large quail, which flew within three or four feet of the ground, for a distance of more than twenty miles around the camp.[45] The people caught and buried them in the burning sand, by which their flesh was dried, and thus a large provision was made for their sustenance. The voracity with which they devoured these fat and delicious birds, was, by a righteous judgment, made the source of punishment;

[43] Numb. xi.16. *Heb.* זִקְנֵי הָעָם וְשֹׁטְרָיו LXX. πρεσβύτεροι καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ. *Vulg.* Senes populi ac magistri. *Eng. trans.* Elders of the people and officers over them.

[44] Numb. xi. 16—30.

[45] See a beautiful picture of this bird in Mr. Bartlett's recent work, "Forty Days in the Desert," p. 40. "We saw here numerous desert partridges, or quails, of which a miraculous supply was afforded to the Israelites on this very spot."

and so great a mortality prevailed, that the place, which from the fire had been called *Taberah*, or the burning, now acquired the new title of *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, the graves of them who lusted.[46]

VII.

Their next station was at Hazeroth; and here a new affliction awaited Moses. His beloved sister, Miriam, who had watched over his infancy, and had hitherto shared his joys and sorrows, was now infirm enough to be jealous of his wife, and envious of his power and authority. Aaron had also the weakness to unite with her in what was really an act of mutiny against God. The high priest, for the sacredness of his office, was spared; but the divine wrath was manifested in a way which effectually humbled both Aaron and Miriam, and magnified Moses in the sight of the whole Church. Miriam suddenly became leprous, and, though healed at the intercession of Moses, was excluded from the camp in a state of excommunication for a whole week,[47] while her brother Aaron, by his very office, was obliged to inflict the sentence.

As soon as Miriam was restored, the cloud was taken up, and the people removed and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.[48] Here, on Sunday, the eighth of June, they celebrated the feast of Pentecost, the anniversary of their solemn covenant with God and the giving of the law. At this time, and from this place, Moses was commanded to send a man from each tribe to explore the promised land, and bring back a report concerning its soil and productions, and the condition and character of its inhabitants. The time of this expedition is ascertained by the observation of the sacred historian, that now "was the time of the first ripe grapes."[49] A MS. calendar, kept by an English gentleman at Sheeraz, in Persia,

[46] Numb. xi. 31—34. Comp. Exod. xvi. 13. Parkhurst, v. שלו. Bochart. Hieroz. Par. ii. lib. i. c. 14. Plin. N. H. lib. x. c. 23. Adam Clarke Com. in loc. Harmer, vol. iv. chap. xi. Obs. lxx. Gleig's Stackhouse, vol. i. p. 540, B. iv. ch. i.

[47] Numb. xii. 1—15.

[48] Numb. xii. 16.

[49] Numb. xiii. 20.

which is nearly in the same latitude with the south of the promised land, gives, in 1787, the following dates. July 6th. Black grapes came into season. July 13th. White grapes came into season. July 22d. Figs came into season. September 6th. Pomegranates came into season.[50] The spies were absent forty days, and brought back grapes, figs, and pomegranates. It is probable, therefore, that they left the camp in July, were absent during the whole month of August, and returned about the beginning of September. With the exception of Caleb and Joshua, they made a discouraging report; not on account of the land, which they admitted to be fertile, but of the inhabitants, as formidable for their strongholds, and for their personal size, and strength, and valour. A frightful rebellion was the consequence. The people determined to choose another leader, and return to Egypt; threatened to stone Joshua and Caleb, who sought to reclaim them to obedience; and would have proceeded to greater violence, if God's terrific presence, appearing in the tabernacle, had not overawed their fury. This was the tenth provocation; and nothing saved them from destruction but the intercession of Moses. The ten, who by their evil report had caused the insurrection, were smitten with death, and all over twenty years of age, Caleb and Joshua excepted, were doomed to die in the wilderness. God sware by himself that they should not enter into his rest. In prophetic judgment, a day was now put for a year; and as forty days were spent in exploring the promised land, so were they condemned to wander forty years, until that immense army should all perish.[51]

By one of those strange revulsions of feeling, which are often seen among masses of men, they were now as anxious to go forward and possess the land, as before they had been refractory. But the Almighty doom was passed, and was irrevocable. Yet, in mercy as well as in judgment, new and

[50] See A. Clarke's ed. of Harmer's Observations, vol. i. ch. i. Obs. xxx., Note.

[51] Numb. xiv.

severe regulations were added, to be observed when they should arrive "in the land of their habitations." This, while it showed God's displeasure against sin, was a pledge that their little ones would be brought into the land they had despised.[52] As an outward sign and memorial of this awful judgment, they were required to wear, perpetually, fringes in the borders of their garments with a ribbon of blue. The custom is observed by the Jewish nation even to this day.

VIII.

It may seem strange that, after so signal a display of God's displeasure, a Levite should be found who could raise a new rebellion; yet the nature of man is always the same, and they who have the greatest privileges are often the most dissatisfied. To an unsanctified mind, familiarity with holy things and persons diminishes reverence. Korah, one of the favoured sons of Kohath, aspired to form a new priesthood. He first drew over to his party some of his own family, and then a few of the tribe of Reuben, who were discontented because they had lost their primogeniture. The conspiracy went so far that two hundred and fifty principal men, counsellors and men of renown, were engaged in the plot. They began by asserting that the whole congregation had an equal right to the priesthood, and that Moses and Aaron were guilty of arrogance in assuming that high prerogative. To this accusation Moses meekly replied that their controversy was not with him and Aaron, but with God; and then, addressing the Levites in particular, he endeavoured to convince them of their own arrogance and folly in slighting the high honours they possessed, and aspiring to what God had placed beyond their reach. Finding all his expostulations vain, he referred the decision to the Almighty. The next day all were assembled at the entrance of the tabernacle, and the sympathies of the people seemed to be on the side of the

[52] Numb. xv.

insurgents. Yet, by God's command, Moses ordered them to separate from Korah, Dathan and Abiram, and they obeyed. No sooner had the two hundred and fifty assumed the censers, and begun to execute the priests' office, than the ground opened beneath the feet of the Levites, and they and all theirs sank down into the mighty gulf, and disappeared forever. At the same time, flashes of fire darted from the divine presence, as in the case of Nadab and Abihu, and consumed the sacrilegious offerers. The censers, thus unlawfully used, were, notwithstanding, considered as hallowed, and were afterwards beaten into plates as a covering for the golden altar during their marches. They thus added to the weight on the shoulders of the sons of Kohath, and served as a perpetual and visible sign of "the gainsaying of Korah."[53]

On the morrow, the murmurings of general discontent were renewed. Because God had punished, by a supernatural death, the invaders of his ministry, the people, with indescribable infatuation, accused Moses and Aaron of having murdered them. The divine presence again interposed in judgment. A pestilence began, so rapid in its work, that before Aaron had time to hasten to the sanctuary and put the sacred fire upon his censer, nearly fifteen thousand were lifeless, — mowed down in ranks as the reaper cuts his corn. The high priest hastened along the line, waving his censer, and the plague stopped, so that he stood between the dead and the living. It was the apt symbol of the great atonement, and the perpetual mediation of the Son of God. But why this great difference between the censer of Aaron and those of the two hundred and fifty? It was a sign to that stubborn people, written in blood, that God would be served only by a priesthood of his own appointment.[54]

To put an effectual stop to all these murmurings, another perpetual and most miraculous sign was given. Twelve rods of the almond-tree, according to the number of the sons of

[53] Numb. xvi. 1—40. [54] Numb. xvi. 41—50.

Israel, with their names written thereon, save that the name of Aaron was substituted for that of Levi, were solemnly laid up before the divine presence in the sanctuary. On the morrow these rods were brought forth, and the rod of Aaron was covered with blossoms, buds, and ripe almonds. The Creator's power alone could do this, and by his command it was placed in the ark, that, by a continual miracle, its blossoms, buds and fruit might testify to successive generations the perpetual efficacy of God's priesthood,[55] and a perpetual warning not to intrude upon its holy functions. For the better regulation of the whole, the rights and duties of the priests and Levites, and their distinction from the congregation, were now prescribed, under penalty of death.[56] The law of the red heifer burnt without the camp, and the ashes of purification, to be used in cases of legal pollution, were all typical of Him who, "that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate."[57]

The rebellion of Korah seems to have been the last of that generation. They appear to have become convinced that opposition to God's will would only hasten their destruction;[58] and they submitted, as slaves submit to the power of their master. For more than thirty-seven years, every event, excepting the number of their marches, is covered in impenetrable oblivion. The whole of that immense multitude who had come up harnessed out of Egypt, as the army of the living God, dropped silently, one by one, into the grave, there to await, in the wilderness, the trump of the resurrection; and we have now to consider the history of that new generation whom God exempted from the doom of their fathers, and permitted to enter into the land of Canaan.

[55] Numb. xvii.
[56] Numb. xviii.
[57] Numb. xix. Comp. with Heb. xiii. 11—13; Exod. xxix. 10—14; Levit. iv. 13—21.
[58] Numb. xvii. 12, 13.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE NEW GENERATION TO THE DEATH OF JOSHUA.

I. Kadesh. — Death of Miriam. — Moses and Aaron excluded from entering the land of promise. II. Peaceable message to the king of Edom. — Israelites turn into Arabia Petræa. — Death of Aaron. — Country of Moab. — The brazen serpent. III. The country of the sons of Lot had been partially conquered by the Amorites, the sons of Canaan. — Victories over Sihon and Og. — Balak and Balaam. — Glimpses of the patriarchal religion corrupted. — Midianites. — Death of Balaam. IV. Preparations to enter the promised land. — The tribes of Reuben and Gad allowed to settle on the east of Jordan. — Reiteration of the law. — Consecration of Joshua or Jesus. — Death of Moses. V. Joshua sends spies to Jericho. — Rahab. — Passage of the Jordan on Friday. — The first Sabbath in the land of rest. — Circumcision preparatory to the first Passover in that rest. — It fell on March 25th, the date of our Lord's passion. — Manna ceases. — Visible manifestation of the Angel-Jehovah. VI. The Canaanites. — Phœnicians. — Their enterprise and extensive migrations. — All suffered extermination. — The history of God's awful government of nations revealed in the history of Israel. — The blessings and curses on Gerizim and Ebal. VII. Division of the land among the tribes. — Rest from war. — The sabbatical year. — The jubilee. — The change of ceremonial in the Passover. VIII. Two general assemblies of the nation. — The first, probably in the second sabbatical year at Shiloh. — The second, at Shechem. — Death of Joshua.

I.

IN the first month of the fortieth year of their wanderings, which began on Thursday, the fourth day of April, they arrived at Kadesh, in the desert of Zin. Here Miriam died; probably, as she was about ten years older than Moses, at the great age of one hundred and twenty-nine years. With the exception of one instance of infirmity, which has been particularly mentioned, she seems to have preserved a blameless character, and to have been eminently beloved for her goodness, and revered for her sanctity.

A. J. P. 3249.
B. V. Æ. 1465.

But the new generation were no better than their fathers, "turning aside like a deceitful bow."[1] The water which had followed them from Horeb[2] having failed, they murmured just as their fathers had murmured in Rephidim.[3] But it is observable that, while God commanded Moses to take the rod, he did not, as in the former case, order him to *smite* with it, but required only that he and Aaron should *speak* to the rock in their presence. This difference, through anger or perturbation of spirit, Moses did not perceive; and, hastily addressing[4] the assembled people, he exclaimed, "Hear now, ye rebels: must we fetch you water out of this rock?" He attributed to himself and Aaron what belonged only to God. When, therefore, contrary to God's command, he lifted up his rod and smote the rock, no water flowed; but when he smote it the second time, God honoured his minister, and the water gushed forth abundantly.[5] Nevertheless, it was necessary to make an example of this act of disobedience; and Moses and Aaron were excluded from the honour of conducting the children of Israel into the land of promise.[6]

II.

From Kadesh messengers were sent to the king of Edom, or Idumæa, requesting a peaceable passage through his dominions; but he refused their request, and therefore the Israelites, as God had given the land to Esau, turned to the right and passed through Arabia Petræa. On their arrival at Mount Hor, Moses was ordered to invest Eleazar with the high-priesthood; and Aaron died on the top of the Mount, in the one hundred and twenty-third year of his age, the first day of the fifth month, or Tuesday, the thirtieth of July. Moses and the new high priest, having buried him, descended

[1] Ps. lxxviii. 57.
[2] 1 Cor. x. 4.
[3] Comp. Numb. xx. 2—6, with Exod. xvii. 1—7.
[4] See Ps. cvi. 33
[5] Numb. xx. 7—11.
[6] Numb. xx. 12.

from the mount, and a solemn mourning was there observed thirty days.[7]

About the beginning of September, the children of Israel moved from Mount Hor, and, making a circuit through the desert, entered by the country of Moab, east of the Asphaltic lake and the Jordan. Faint and discouraged by the toils of the way, they impiously vented their complaints against the Most High, and were therefore punished with fiery serpents, the venomous bite of which caused a great mortality. St. Paul expressly says that, on this occasion, they tempted Christ, and were therefore destroyed by serpents. At the intercession of Moses, God ordered him to erect upon a pole the figure of such a serpent made of bronze; and all who had faith to look upon it were healed. By this example our Lord illustrated the saving influence of his death upon the cross.[8] This sign of God's mercy through Christ was preserved for nearly seven hundred and forty years in the Church; but, in the reformation under king Hezekiah, the children of Israel having burned incense before it, and thus perverted it to be an occasion of idolatry, it was finally destroyed.[9]

III.

The country which, by divine direction, had been assigned to Moab and Ammon, the sons of Lot, had been invaded and partially conquered by the Amorites, the descendants of the fourth son of Canaan. At the time of which we are speaking, they occupied the cities of Bashan and Heshbon, and all the territory to the east of the river Jordan, between the Arnon and the Jabok.[10] We have already seen[11] that while the Israelites were in the wilderness, an inroad had been made among the Canaanites, by Rhameses IV., the king of Egypt, who was the great hornet of the Scriptures, and that his fury

[7] Numb. xx. 22—29. Comp. with xxxiii. 38.
[8] Numb. xxi. 6—9. St. John iii. 14, 15.
[9] 2 Kings xviii. 4. Circ. B. C. 725.
[10] Bochart Geog. Sac. lib iv. cap. 36.
[11] Page 66.

had fallen chiefly upon the Amorites.[12] The victories over Sihon and Og being thus rendered easier, the camp of Israel was soon pitched in the plains of Moab, which lie on the east of the mountainous chain of Abarim and the summit of Nebo.[13] At the approach of this great army, Balak, the king of the Moabites, the recent victories of Rhameses being fresh in his remembrance, was the more terrified when he learned that they had come from Egypt. Instead of depending on his own arms, he sent into Syria for a prophet of the Most High, who was greatly renowned for his wisdom and his sanctity, and his supposed influence with the Almighty. The whole history of Balaam is of great importance, because it throws light on the spiritual condition of the descendants of Noah. Previous to the Abrahamic covenant, all had equally enjoyed, except only by voluntary blindness, the light of God's countenance. Even after that event his mercies continued; and only in proportion as they gave themselves up to idolatry and uncleanness, were the influences of his Spirit gradually withdrawn.[14] Hence we find the institutions of the Church, as they existed in the time of Noah, prevailing more or less in all nations; and there always in greater purity where they had swerved least from God's commandments. And hence it is that occasional glimpses strike our eyes of priests and prophets who still enjoyed the manifestations of the divine presence, and the revelations of his will.[15] Balaam was one of these prophets; but he was a selfish and covetous man, who could not resist the allurements of worldly gain, even when they led to the violation of his duty. God overruled his wickedness then, as he does always, for the promotion of his own glory. Instead of cursing, the prophet blessed the Church; and his sublime prophecies, with regard to David, and to Christ, the son of David, all of which are not even yet

[12] Josh. xxiv. 12.

[13] D'Anville Anc. Geog. vol. i. p. 416, Eng. ed. 1791.

[14] Gen. vi. 3. Rom. i. 21—26.

[15] Gen. xiv. 18. Exod. ii. 16; iii. 1. See Bp. Horsley's Dissertation on the Prophecies of the Messiah, dispersed among the Heathen.

fulfilled, cannot be read without increasing our faith and exciting our admiration.[16] It shows the dreadful wickedness of the prophet's heart, that, notwithstanding these sublime inspirations, and his consequent knowledge of God's favour towards his Church, he was capable of giving that counsel to the king of Moab which would effect, if successful, the destruction of Israel.[17]

The Midianites were descendants of Abraham by the fourth son of Keturah;[18] and they were now leagued in the closest union with the posterity of Lot. Their women seem to have possessed surprising and surpassing beauty; and it was the advice of Balaam that they should be sent into the camp of Israel to entice the men, by their charms, to unite with them in the obscenities of the Phallic worship.[19] The stratagem was fatally successful; and twenty-four thousand men, among whom were many "heads of the people," were its victims. The zeal of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and grandson of Aaron, on this occasion, was rewarded by its being "counted to him for righteousness unto all generations."[20] With the exception of about one hundred and fifty years, the high-priesthood, from Moses to Christ, descended in the family of Phinehas. The Midianites were punished by the total excision of their male population; and none but the female children who were too young to have committed the abominations of their obscene worship were preserved alive. In this general carnage Balaam was slain, and thus reaped the just reward of his iniquities.[21]

IV.

Preparations were now made to enter the promised land; for Moses was soon to be gathered to his fathers, and Joshua,

[16] Numb. xxii.—xxiv. Bp. Newton on the Propheeies. Diss. v.

[17] Numb. xxvi. 16.

[18] Gen. xxv. 2.

[19] Bp. Horsley, Hosea ix. 10. Note q. Baal Peor was the power presiding over procreation. Parkhurst, v. פְּעוֹר. Hieron. Comm. in Oseam. cap. ix. 10. I think, with Mr. Faber, that the Bishop does not do St. Jerome justice in calling his opinion a random guess, that Baal Peor was the Priapus of the Romans. See Origin of Pagan Idolatry, vol. ii. p. 173, and 250—253.

[20] Ps. cvi. 28—31.

[21] Numb. xxv., xxxi. 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16.

or Jesus, a name signifying the Saviour, was already chosen as his successor. The new generation who were not included in the enumeration at Kadesh Barnea were now numbered ; and the males, from twenty years old and upward, were six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty, or eighteen hundred and twenty less than the number of their fathers had been thirty-eight years before ! Seven of the tribes, indeed, had increased seventy-four thousand eight hundred men : Manasseh the most, and Judah and Dan the least. On the other hand, Reuben, Simeon, Gad, Ephraim, and Naphtali, had decreased sixty-one thousand and twenty ; and the tribe of Simeon *alone* had lost thirty-seven thousand one hundred.[22] The presumption is that the *losing* tribes had been the most rebellious ; and as Zimri, who was slain by Phinehas, was one of the heads of the tribe of Simeon, it is probable that a large proportion of the twenty-four thousand who fell on account of the women of Midian were Simeonites.[23] As the host of God, they were commanded to exterminate the wicked descendants of Canaan, (the measure of whose iniquities was now full,) and they were, therefore, to enter the promised land in the order of march, and in battle array. Though their general numbers had decreased, it is important to observe that their *van* and their *rear*, the parts most exposed to attack, were *stronger* than the same tribes had been in the wilderness. The division of Judah, which was always in the *front*, supported by Issachar and Zebulun, had gained fourteen thousand nine hundred ; and the rear-guard, formed by Dan, supported by Asher and Naphtali, was strengthened five thousand six hundred men.[24]

The tribes of Reuben and Gad now petitioned to dwell on the east of Jordan, in the lands conquered from the Amorites, and which originally belonged to the descendants of Lot. The request was granted on a condition which required a

[22] Ad. Clarke Comm. in loc.
[23] Numb. xxvi. 1—51.
[24] Ad. Clarke Comm. in loco.

constant exercise of faith. They were to leave their wives and children and all their possessions exposed on this frontier, and go with the rest to the wars of God, until the promised land should be subdued. A portion of the tribe of Manasseh settled beyond Jordan, on the same conditions; but they who thus petitioned from motives of self-interest for a change in the allotments of God's covenant, were the first who were enticed into idolatry, and the first who were carried captive and dispersed among the nations.[25]

On the first day of the eleventh month, in the fortieth year after the Exodus,[26] or on Sunday, the twelfth of January, Moses began the solemn iteration of the Law to the assembled people. With the exception of Joshua and Caleb, not one of the millions present had any other than childish recollections of the awful glories of Mount Sinai; and now that the great prophet, by whose ministrations the law had been originally promulgated, was to be no more seen, it was needful that he should impress its obligations upon them with the most imposing solemnity. He now for the first time informed them, that, even at Horeb, on the day in which their forefathers had entreated to be spared the terrible appearance and voice of Jehovah speaking in fire, the promise had been given of ANOTHER PROPHET, like unto their present law-giver, who alone would have authority to give them a new law, and to whom, under the same awful sanctions, they must render implicit obedience. That prophet was to be THE LORD JESUS CHRIST. In him the divinity would be veiled in flesh. He would be born in the midst of them, of their own brethren; and there would be no more terrific appearances of His Majesty, like to those of Mount Sinai, until he should come, at the end of the world, to judge the living and the dead. Thus did Moses predict THE INCARNATION. Thus did he lead Israel to CHRIST; showing that

A. J. P. 3250. B. V. Æ. 1464.

[25] Numb. xxxii., comp. with I Chron. v. 25, 26. Ad. Clarke Comm. in loco.

[26] Deut. i. 3.

the whole object of the Mosaic law was to prepare for the coming of that Great Law-giver and Mediator to whom Moses alone bore any resemblance. The law of God, as far as regards his creatures, is immutable. It can be changed only by the authority which enacted it. There never have been, nor will there ever be, but two such prophets and law-givers appointed by God; and those prophets and law-givers were Moses and Christ.[27]

Moses must have died towards the close of January, or early in the succeeding month; for the public mourning occasioned by his death lasted thirty days, and their year ended on the eleventh of February. It was not until this mourning was ended that the command was given to cross the Jordan, after a preparation of three days. One of the last acts of his administration was the solemn consecration of Joshua, or Jesus, the son of Nun, to be his successor, by the laying on of his hands. This was done by God's command. "Take thee Joshua, the son of Nun, a man in whom is the Spirit, and lay thine hand upon him, and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation, and give him a charge in their sight. And thou shalt put some of thine honour upon him, that all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient."[28] And afterwards it is said, "Joshua, the son of Nun, was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him."[29] By that sign, God was pleased to certify him of his gifts. The laying on of hands, as the emblem of power and authority, conveyed from one to another, has ever since been continued in God's Church.

[27] Deut. xviii. 15—19, comp. Deut. xxxiv. 10—12. John v. 45, 46; i. 21, 25; vi. 14. Acts vii. 37; iii. 22. See the parallel between Moses and Christ, well and briefly exhibited in Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. Lond. 1751, vol. i. pp. 196—228. The circumstances of the death of Moses were mysterious; probably to prevent that worship which a superstitious and idolatrous people were always ready to pay to deified heroes.

[28] Numb. xxvii. 18—20. See Deut. xxxi. 7, 8, 14—23.

[29] Deut. xxxiv. 9.

V.

Before the camp of Israel departed from Shittim, in the plains of Moab, Joshua sent two spies to Jericho, who were secreted and saved by a woman of Canaan, named Rahab. For this act she and all her household were preserved, and she afterwards married Salmon, a prince of the tribe of Judah, from whom David, and consequently our Lord himself, were descended.[30]

The spies having returned, after three days' absence, with a favourable report, the order of march was given, and Israel followed the Ark at the reverential distance of two thousand cubits, as it advanced, under the pillar of the divine presence, to the banks of the Jordan. On this occasion the priests were ordered to bear it, and as they came to the brink, and touched the water with their feet, the waves from above rolled back, and those below floated onward, so as to make a passage for that immense army in front of Jericho. The priests that bore the Ark of the covenant of Jehovah stood firm in the midst of the channel, while the several divisions, wheeling to the right and left, passed by, in that awful reverence, the emblematic sign of God-incarnate. No sooner had the last division reached the shore, than a man from each tribe, selected by God's command, took from the channel, where the priests had trodden, twelve stones, to be erected on the spot where the army should lodge that night, as a perpetual memorial of this miraculous passage; and no sooner had the priests who bare the ark lifted up their feet on the dry ground than the conglomerated waters from above began again to roll, and the banks were again covered by its swollen stream.[31]

[30] Joshua ii.; vi. 25. Whether the Hebrew word זוֹנָה meant a harlot or a hostess, is debated. The radical meaning of the word is to encircle or embrace. It is argued, in defence of the latter interpretation, that a prince of Salmon's rank would not have married a woman of abandoned character.

[31] Josh. iii., iv.

This memorable event took place on the tenth day of the first month,[32] which fell that year on Friday, the twenty-first of March. The Israelites left Egypt, and kept their first Sabbath of rest from Egyptian bondage on the first day of their life in the wilderness; and so, forty years after, when "Jesus gave them rest,"[33] they entered the promised land on Friday, and on the first day of their abode in that land of rest and promise the Sabbath was again sanctified. The day of their entrance was that in which, by the law, the paschal lambs were selected; and as no uncircumcised person could eat thereof,[34] it was necessary that the rite which had been omitted in the wilderness should be renewed. This was, under their peculiar circumstances, an act of the most submissive faith in the divine protection; for if their enemies had then attacked them, as Simeon and Levi attacked the men of Shechem,[35] they would have been incapable of resistance. On the following Tuesday, March the twenty-fifth, the very same day of the month on which our Saviour's passion began, and on which he instituted the sacrament of the new law, did the Church of Israel celebrate their first Passover in the promised land. The next day, Wednesday, March the twenty-sixth, was the feast of Unleavened Bread; and on the morrow, "after they had eaten of the old corn of the land," that is, on Thursday, March the twenty-seventh, the manna ceased.[36] Such coincidences are so extraordinary, that they clearly indicate divine agency. And now occurred that mysterious appearance of the second person of the blessed Trinity, which is thus related: "A man stood over against Joshua, with his sword drawn in his hand; and Joshua went unto him and said unto him, Art thou for us or for our adversaries? And he said, Nay, *for I, as Captain of the host of Jehovah, am now come.* And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship, and said unto him, What saith my

A. J. P. 3250.
B. V. Æ. 1464.

[32] Josh. iv. 19.
[33] Heb. iv. 8.
[34] Exod. xii. 48.
[35] Gen. xxxiv. 25.
[36] Josh. v. 2—12.

Lord unto his servant? And the Captain of the host of Jehovah said unto Joshua," as he had formerly said unto Moses, "Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place whereon thou standest is holy. And Joshua did so. And Jehovah said to Joshua, See, I have given Jericho into thy hand."[37]

VI.

The Israelites had now entered into the land of their inheritance; a land given, in the original distribution, to the descendants of Shem, and confined afterwards, in the progress of the divine purposes, to those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It had been usurped by Canaan, whom God had disinherited for his filial irreverence; but his sons, eleven in number,[38] held it in possession, and grew to such extent as to encroach upon the territories of Japhet and Ham as well as those of Shem. By the Greeks they were called Phœnicians, and their colonies obtained possession of the islands of the Mediterranean and the maritime parts of Greece, as well as the African coast to the pillars of Hercules and the opposite shores of Spain. Carthage was founded by them; and they even ventured into the Atlantic ocean, and visited the shores of Cornwall and the southern parts of Ireland. St. Augustine mentions that if any of the rustics in the neighbourhood of Hippo were asked of what country they were, they uniformly answered that they were Canaanites; and Procopius states that at Tingis, the modern Tangier, two pillars of white stone were to be seen, near a fountain, on which were engraved, in Phœnician characters, inscriptions of the following import: — "We are they who fled from

[37] Josh. v. 13—15; vi. 21, comp. with Exod. iii. 5. The appearances of Christ before his incarnation are summed up in Catcott's Sermons, Lond. 1753, 8vo. pp. 93—155. These visible manifestations are recorded from the fall. See Faber's Three Dispensations, vol. i. pp. 186—192. "Under the several dispensations," he observes, "there was no difference in *the figure* of the vehicle; the difference was not in *the mode*, but in *the duration* of the appearance. From first to last, whenever his visible form is specifically mentioned, it is always declared to be the HUMAN."

[38] Gen. x. 15—19.

THE FACE OF JOSHUA THE ROBBER, THE SON OF NUN."[39] We can, therefore, trace their migrations up to the conquest under Joshua.

But numerous, active, industrious, and warlike as were all the descendants of Canaan, they were equally remarkable for impiety, lust, and cruelty. The most horrid crimes, and the most obscene and bloody rites, universally prevailed; and the indisputable fact, that the whole race have been blotted out from among the children of men, is a fearful proof of the righteous judgments of the Almighty, which slumber not even when they are still, and which sooner or later overtake the incorrigibly wicked. The first to suffer this fate were the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah and the other cities of the plain, which perished by fire from heaven, at the close of the second period of the world's awful drama. Tyre, and Sidon, and Carthage, and all the colonial migrations in Europe and Africa, were long after exterminated by the Greeks and Romans. Thus did the curse of God fall, at various times and by diverse instruments, upon the whole; but at the time of which we are now to treat, there were still seven nations who had filled up the measure of their iniquities; and the children of Israel were appointed as God's army to wipe them from the face of the earth. "Thou shalt consume all the people which the LORD thy God shall deliver thee; thine eye shall have no pity upon them." "The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire: thou shalt not desire the silver or gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee, lest thou be snared therein: for it is an abomination to the LORD thy God. Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thine house, lest thou be a cursed thing like it; but thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it; for it is a cursed thing."[40] It was their lenity, — in itself an act of disobedience, — it was

[39] S. Aug. Epist. ad Rom. inchoat. Opera. Ed. Bened. Antwerp. tom. iii. 679 B. Procop. Cæs. de bel. Vandal, lib. ii. c. x. See Bochart, Canaan, Geog. Sac. c. xxiv.

[40] Deut. vii. 16, 25, 26.

their worldly-mindedness, their self-confidence, their distrust of God's promises, which caused all their ill success. The whole history of Israel is a miraculous revelation of God's government, to train up them, and through them to teach us, to practise implicit faith in the use of God's means, however to our reason they may seem, and in themselves may really be, inadequate to the issue. View the siege of Jericho in this light as an act of faith; view the discomfiture before Ai as the result of a hidden sin; view the victories at Gibeon and at the waters of Merom, over the confederated kings of Canaan, as acts of trust in the divine promises; and their subsequent inability to drive them out as occasioned by their infidelity and distrust; and these examples will lead to the right understanding of all their subsequent history.

The Canaanites fought with the most desperate valour; "for it was of the LORD to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle, that he might destroy them utterly.[41] "None were spared but the Hivites of Gibeon; and this was done because the counsel of the LORD was not asked."[42] The Israelites partook of their food; and among Eastern nations to eat together is, even to this day, an inviolable bond of amity. When the deceit which they had practised was discovered, Joshua condemned them only to the curse which God had originally pronounced upon Canaan, and spared their lives on the condition of their renouncing idolatry, and devoting themselves to the service of the sanctuary.[43]

As soon as the way was cleared to the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, the twelve tribes were there assembled, to pronounce the solemn blessings and curses on the observance or violation of God's law, as Moses, just before his death, had commanded.[44] It was the tenure of their inheritance; the solemn renewal of the Covenant to the generation which

[41] Josh. xi. 20.
[42] Josh. ix. 14.
[43] Josh. ix. 3—27.
[44] Deut. xxvii. and xxviii. Josh. viii 30—35.

entered the land of promise, as that of Mount Sinai had been to the generation which left Egypt. Six of the tribes stood upon Mount Gerizim, and six upon Mount Ebal. The Ark, as the symbol of God incarnate, was in the centre; and there the altar was raised, and whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices of thanksgiving, the voluntary tribute of grateful hearts, were alone offered. The law was read to the whole Church, men, women, little ones, and proselytes;[45] and, as the levites pronounced the blessings and the curses, the whole congregation responded Amen.

Five years did the war of extermination continue, until all in the open country were expelled or destroyed, and those who remained had fled to their fortresses.[46] Joshua then removed his camp from Gilgal to the hill-country, and placed the holy tabernacle in the city of Shiloh. According to Eusebius and St. Jerome, it lay to the north-east of Bethel, about ten or twelve miles from the ancient Sichem, and within the bounds afterwards allotted to Ephraim.[47]

VII.

The Ark being now in its resting place, Joshua, with the assistance of Eleazar the high priest, proceeded, by God's command, to divide the land among the nine tribes and the half of Manasseh, and to appoint the cities of refuge, and the cities of the priests and levites. He then called the children of Reuben and Gad, and the other half of Manasseh, commended them for their good faith in fighting for their brethren, and with a charge to be obedient, and his blessing, ordered them to return to their own possessions, on the other side of Jordan. An incident in this journey exhibits the zeal with which the whole nation were now filled for the strict observance of God's law. The trans-Jordanic tribes, on their arrival

[45] See the passages quoted acc. to the LXX.

[46] Joseph. Ant. lib. v. c. v. § 19, and Josh. xi. 13.

[47] S. Hieron. Op. de Situ et nomin. locorum. Ed. Bened. tom. ii. pp. 481, 482.

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at the river, erected an altar as a testimony that they were not divided from the Church of Israel. This act, which seemed to be the setting up of a separate worship, caused the whole nation to take arms and assemble at Shiloh, to make war upon them. Phinehas, the son of the high priest, and the ten princes of the several tribes, were sent to expostulate with them for this supposed breach of the law; nor was it till they had solemnly vindicated themselves from the charge, that they were permitted to go in peace. A solemn thanksgiving was then observed, by the whole Church, for their innocence.[48]

It was now left to each tribe to subdue the remaining Canaanites, within their respective borders; and the land was solemnly declared to be at rest from war.[49] The time of this rest may be calculated with great precision, from the following circumstance recorded in the sacred narrative. Caleb, the captain of the tribe of Judah, claimed and received the city of Hebron, as a privilege awarded for his good conduct when he was sent from the wilderness of Paran, to spy out the promised land. He was then, in the month of July, forty years old; and at the time of preferring his claim, he said, "Lo I am this day fourscore and five years old."[50] The division took place, therefore, after the month of July, B. V. Æ. 1458. The Israelites crossed the Jordan on the twenty-first of March, B. V. Æ. 1464; and did not commence their operations against Jericho till the month of April. The sixth year of their warfare ended, therefore, about the same time, in the year B. V. Æ. 1458. This was *after the commencement of their seventh ecclesiastical year*, for the new moon of Abib or Nisan[51] fell on the seventeenth of March, and the Passover lamb was killed in the afternoon of Sunday, the thirteenth of that month. It was not till the following July, the fourth or fifth month of the ecclesiastical

A. J. P. 3211. B. V. Æ. 1503.

[48] Josh. xiii.—xxii.
[49] Josh. xi. 23; xiv. 15.
[50] Josh. xiv. 6—14.
[51] Exod. xiii. 4, comp. with xii. 2.

year, that Caleb preferred his claim. Judah and the children of Joseph being provided for, the distribution of land went on for the remaining seven tribes, and three men for each of these tribes were sent out to survey and divide the land.[52] Josephus says that the men thus sent out returned to Shiloh in the seventh month.[53] This was the month Tisri, which began with the feast of Trumpets on Wednesday, the tenth of September. It probably began in so solemn a manner, to denote that it was *the first month of the civil year*, by which computation all contracts were made, and all affairs in the common transactions of life were regulated. On the tenth of that month, (Friday, the nineteenth of September,) was the great day of atonement; and on the fifteenth, (Wednesday, September the twenty-fourth,) the feast of Booths or Tabernacles.[54] It is probable, therefore, that the distribution was completed before the feast of Tabernacles;[55] and that the children of Israel on that day, at Shiloh, solemnly celebrated their rest from war, and their possession of the land of their forefathers. A. J. P. 3256. B. V. Æ. 1458.

It will now be clearly seen, that the seventh or sabbatical year, which the children of Israel, after they had come into the land which God had given them, were required to observe,[56] was to be computed according to the civil, and not the ecclesiastical measure of time. The early and the latter harvests extended from the Passover to the feast of Pentecost, and the gathering of ripe fruits until the feast of Trumpets, with which the civil year commenced.[57] The feast of Taber-

[52] Josh. xviii. 4—6.

[53] Joseph. Ant., lib. v. c. i. § 21.

[54] Lev. xxiii. 27—34.

[55] B. V. Æ. 1458, taken from 4714, gives the corresponding year of the Julian period, 3256, which, divided by 19 and 28, gives the golden number VII., and the solar cycle 8, Sund. let. E. With these the lunations may be found in the calendar of the Council of Nice. Chron. Intr. to the History of the Church, pp. 87—92. For the solar cycle, see p. 98; and for the Hebrew months, turn to the third table of our Lord's ministry, p. 475, of which year the Sunday letter was E. In B. V. Æ. 1458, Shebet began on Friday the 17th day of January; Nisan, March 17th; Sivan, May 15th; Tisri, September 10th.

[56] Exod. xxiii. 11. Levit. xxv. 2—7.

[57] Buhle's Economical Calendar of Palestine, appended to Calmet's Dic. Fragments, 451—464.

nacles was therefore a harvest-home, or solemn thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth during the past year. Then comes the early rain, and the inhabitants begin to plough, and sow their grain for the harvest of the following year.[58] It was a great trial of their faith, that, every seventh year, the land was to lie at rest and enjoy her sabbaths. The spontaneous productions of the soil might be eaten; but there was to be no tillage. All that the earth brought forth was to be considered as common property for the poor as well as the rich — for the servant as well as the master — for the stranger as well as the owner — for the cattle and all the beasts of the land as well as for man. A blessing was pronounced in case of their obedience, that the sixth year should bring forth fruit for three years;[59] and, on the other hand, the breach of this observance, like the breach of the Sabbath day, was an act of sacrilege for which the nation would surely be punished. In fact, the neglect of it, for four hundred and ninety years, occasioned the transportation to Babylon, "until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths; for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years."[60]

Connected closely with the sabbatical year was the Jubilee, or year of release. It bore the same relation to it which Pentecost, or the feast of Weeks, bore to the Sabbath day. It annihilated all debts. It restored to every man all his lands and other possessions, however alienated. It ransomed every Hebrew slave, and brought him back to his own tribe and family, and to the enjoyment of his liberty and property. It was a perpetual agrarian law, keeping the tribes whole and entire, and preserving their genealogies, by the strong bond of self-interest, until Christ should come, of the lineage of David, and the tribe of Judah, when these distinctions would be no longer necessary.

It seems proper to notice here two chronological difficul-

[58] Buhle ut sup. Fragments, 465—467.

[59] Lev. xxv. 21.

[60] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. See Joseph Mede, Disc. xxvii., Works, p. 123.

ties, which have much divided the opinions of the learned: the first, whether, from the entrance into the promised land, the seventh, or the fourteenth, was the first sabbatical year; the second, whether the Jubilee was the seventh sabbatical year, or the year after it. Those who think that the seventh, or year of inheritance, was the first sabbatical year, consider that the cessation of the manna and the eating of the old corn of the land for six years was a virtual fulfilment of the command to till the ground for six years. Not so, reply their opponents. The Israelites were engaged in warfare, and ate only of the spoils of conquest, which they neither sowed nor reaped. The command was, "Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof." This they could not do till they had subdued and divided the land. We must, therefore, count from the autumn in which they solemnly entered upon their inheritance. This is the received opinion of the Jewish nation, who must have known the practice of their forefathers, and this is, therefore, the opinion most generally adopted by Christian commentators and chronologers. As the first year of tillage began on Wednesday, September tenth, B. V. Æ. 1458, so the first sabbatical year began on Friday, the fourth of September, B. V. Æ. 1452.

As to the Jubilee, or year of release, the mode of computation is strictly analogous to that of the day of Pentecost; "seven sabbaths of years were to be numbered, and the trumpet of jubilee was to be sounded on the great day of atonement to hallow the fiftieth year."[61] Was it to be sounded in the beginning of the forty-ninth, or of the fiftieth year? "The truth is," say the authors of the Universal History, "that either hypothesis may be defended from the different expressions used by Moses in the institution of it; and, on the other hand, there are certain difficulties in each of them which cannot be easily solved." They endeavour to

[61] Lev. xxv. 8—10.

reconcile this difference by saying that "it might be called indifferently the forty-ninth or fiftieth year," as it began on the first month of the civil, or the seventh month of the sacred year.[62] But this is an evasion, not a solution of the difficulty. The computation of the *sacred* year is wholly excluded. The *civil* year alone must be considered. If the first sabbatical year began in September, B. V. Æ. 1452, the seventh sabbatical year began in September, B. V. Æ. 1410; and the question still remains, Was that the year of jubilee, or was it the year which began in September, B. V. Æ. 1409? This uncertainty accounts in a great measure for the irreconcilable computations of the ablest chronologers. All attempts have hitherto failed, because there is no specific date of any jubilee observed by the Jewish nation at any period of their history. All attempts, therefore, to form cycles of jubilees must be extremely doubtful until this question can be resolved by positive testimony.[63]

It is proper to notice here the remarkable change in the ceremonial of the Passover, occasioned by the rest of the children of Israel in the promised land. At the time of its institution, they were slaves in Egypt, though about to be delivered from their bondage. They were required, therefore, to eat the Passover in the apparel and posture of men prepared for a journey, with loins girded, feet shod, staves in their hands, and in haste.[64] But now that they had entered into their rest, under Joshua or Jesus, all this ceremonial was reversed. Their great peace-offering, commemorative of blessings bestowed through the blood of the covenant, was to be celebrated by them, as freemen, in the garb and the posture of repose. For this change, indeed, there is no command, and of the time in which it took place there is no mention in the Old Testament; but it is expressly said, in the New, that

[62] Anc. Univ. Hist. 8vo. vol. iii. p. 43, note R.

[63] On the Sabbatical year and the Jubilee, beside the learned work just quoted and the authorities there given, the reader will find two excellent dissertations in Jenning's Jewish Antiquities, Book iii. chaps. ix. and x.

[64] Exod. xii. 11.

our Lord and his disciples ate the Passover in this posture of repose; and the Hebrew commentators on the law universally ascribe the change of ceremonial to the change of their condition as the covenant people of God. It was not their ordinary mode of sitting, but one peculiar to the Passover. The table at which it was eaten was surrounded with couches; and they leaned on the table with their left arm supporting their head, drawing up their feet behind them as far as possible, to denote that they were at rest from walking, and leaving their right arm at liberty to feed upon the lamb. The master thus reclined at the head of the table, and the person he most honoured was placed at his right hand, with his back so turned towards him, that if he addressed any words to the master, he must of necessity throw his head backward towards the master's breast. It was thus that the beloved disciple addressed Jesus at the request of St. Peter,[65] and thus did our Lord represent the poor Lazarus as reclining in familiar converse on the bosom of Abraham.[66] It is probable, for the reasons now assigned, that the change took place at the first Passover after the Israelites had taken possession of their land; and as the solemnity of that possession was at the feast of Tabernacles, the change of ceremonial was introduced in the following spring, the evening of Sunday, April the eighteenth, B. V. Æ. 1457.

VIII.

Two more events only are recorded in the lifetime of Joshua; and these were two general assemblies of the nation. The first was "a long time after the Lord had given rest unto Israel."[67] Josephus says that it was "*after* the twentieth year of Joshua's government."[68] Consequently, it must have been in the second sabbatical year, "in the solemnity of the

[65] John xiii. 25.

[66] Luke xvi. 22. See Lightfoot on the manner of eating the Passover, in his Temple Service as it stood in the days of our Saviour, ch. xiii., with the authorities there cited. Works, vol i. p. 959.

[67] Josh. xxiii. 1.

[68] Antiq. lib. v. c. i. § 28.

year of release, and at the feast of Tabernacles." There was then an express command to gather the people together, men and women and children, and even the "stranger within their gates," to hear the law read.[69] As it was also expressly commanded to "*appear before the Lord in the place which he should choose*," there can be no doubt that it was in Shiloh. In that year the feast of Tabernacles extended from Friday, September thirtieth, to Friday the seventh of October. The sons of Kohath, whose duty it was to read the law to the people from the manuscript of Moses deposited in the Holy of Holies, had no sooner ended, than their aged ruler began to address them, recounting the mercies of God, and exhorting them to continue their present obedience as the only condition of their future prosperity. He ended by adverting to his own death, which could not be far distant, and warned them of the miseries which would follow if they slighted his exhortations.[70]

A. J. P. 3269. B. V. Æ. 1445

We have no means of ascertaining, from the Bible, the length of Joshua's government. We know not his age when he succeeded Moses, though at the time of his death he was a hundred and ten years old.[71] Perceiving that his end was approaching, he "gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem." Eusebius, computing probably six years for the war, and three periods of seven years, makes the duration of his government twenty-seven years. But this arose from his following the Greek version, which substitutes *Shiloh* for *Shechem*. Hence he supposed that the last recorded assembly of the nation was at the commencement of a sabbatical year. The Hebrew text, the Targum, the Syriac, and the Vulgate, read invariably *Shechem*. This shows that it was not a sabbatical year; and, therefore, there seems no reason to depart from the authority of Josephus, who says that he commanded the nation five and twenty years.[72] He was born, therefore,

[69] Deut. xxxi. 9—13.
[70] Josh. xxiii. 2—16.
[71] Josh. xxiv. 29.
[72] Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. c. i. 29.

in Egypt, B. V. Æ. 1549, was forty-five years old at the Exodus, succeeded Moses when he was eighty-five, and died early in the year B. V. Æ. 1439.

Shechem was about forty miles to the north of Jerusalem, and ten from Shiloh, in the plain between Gerizim and Ebal, the mountains of blessing and cursing, and near Timnath-Serah, the abode of Joshua.[73] It was that portion which Jacob gave to Joseph as a peculiar inheritance,[74] and there the children of Israel buried his body, which, by a solemn oath, he had required them to carry out of Egypt.[75] There the Ark was placed when, after the entrance into Canaan, the covenant was renewed; and thither it was easy to convey the aged Joshua, even if he was so infirm as to be carried on his bed. By all these associations the place was hallowed; and when he gave his dying charge, the Ark was probably conveyed from Shiloh, and the several tribes lined the slope of Gerizim and Ebal, in the same order and with the same solemnities as had been observed more than twenty years before, when the blessings and curses enjoined by Moses had been proclaimed. "If it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord," said the dying chief, "choose you this day whom ye will serve; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."[76] The very language shows distrust and apprehension; yet we are assured that "Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that overlived Joshua."[77] Yet the leaven of idolatry was secretly at work; and when all of that generation who were old enough to remember the wonderful guidance from Egypt to Canaan had passed away, it spread itself among their children with frightful rapidity.[78]

[73] Reland. Palæst. 1004—1010.
[74] Gen. xlviii. 22. Calmet's Dict. v. Shechem.
[75] Gen. l. 25, 26. Exod. xiii. 19. Josh. xxiv. 32.
[76] Josh. xxiv. 15.
[77] Josh. xxiv. 31.
[78] Judges ii. 7—13.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANARCHY — THE JUDGES — THE FIRST KING, SAUL.

I. Third sabbatical year. — National assembly at Shiloh. — Visible manifestation of the Angel-Jehovah. — A theocracy. — Christ present with his Church. — Anarchy connected with idolatry as the crime, and servitude as the punishment. II. Cushan, Kishathaim and Othniel. — Eglon and Ehud. — Jabin and Deborah. III. The Israelites again forget God, and are again punished. — Midianites. — Another visible interposition of the Angel-Jehovah. — Gideon. — Another lapse into idolatry brings on a double servitude of the eastern and western tribes. — Jephthah delivers the east. — His important manifesto. IV. Jephthah's daughter. V. War of Jephthah with Ephraim. — Organic varieties of pronunciation. — The south-western tribes suffering from the Philistines. — The Almighty Word now made visible to *them*. — Manoah and his wife. — Samson. VI. The story of Boaz and Ruth, remote ancestors of the Blessed Virgin and her Son. VII. The high-priesthood in the house of Ithamar. — Eli combines, for the first time, the civil with the sacerdotal government. — Hannah, the mother of Samuel. — Her prophetic song. — Ministration of Samuel. — The sons of Eli and their profligacy. — Death of Samson. — The ark taken by the Philistines. — Death of Eli. — Shiloh forsaken. VIII. Samuel judge. — National humiliation and fast. — Battle of Ebenezer and freedom from the Philistine yoke. — The elders ask for a king. — Saul of Benjamin chosen by God. — Afterwards chosen by lot among the people, and anointed. — National attestation to Samuel's integrity. IX. Government of Saul. — First act of disobedience. — War with Amalek and second sin, for which he is rejected. — The spirit of God deserts him. X. Samuel ordered to anoint David. — Its effect on David. — Victory over Goliath. — Love of Jonathan. — Jealousy of Saul and trials of David. XI. Visitation of God on the family of Eli. — Death of Samuel. — Pythoness of Endor. — Samuel's ghost. — Death of Saul.

I.

GOD appointed no successor to Joshua. About eighteen or twenty months after his death began the third sabbatical year; and at the feast of Tabernacles the whole of the tribes were congregated at Shiloh, the original books of the law were brought forth from the Holy of Holies, and the whole were read in the hearing of the people. At this time probably the captain of the Lord's host

A. J. P. 3276.
B. V. Æ. 1438.

who appeared so mysteriously at Gilgal to Joshua, appeared again at Shiloh, reproached the people severely for their disobedience in sparing the accursed race of Canaan, and denounced the evils and the punishment which would inevitably ensue. The terrified hearers wept, and offered sacrifices to appease his wrath; but their repentance was like the summer cloud and the morning dew.[1]

They were now sufficiently warned, and placed upon their good behaviour. Each tribe was governed by its prince or captain, and probably its proportion of the seventy elders;[2] and the common bond, by which the whole were united, was the visible presence at Shiloh resting on the ark, as the prefigurative emblem of God incarnate. The high priest was the appointed minister by whom the divine counsels were communicated; and they were given only when sought for by the people. Eleazar had died about the same time with Joshua,[3] and Phinehas his son, having succeeded to the office of high priest, was the person by whom God made known his will. It was strictly and exclusively a theocracy; Christ being present with his Church in the promised land, as truly and really as he was in the wilderness.[4] To have other gods in his presence, and to bow down to stocks and stones in his sight, were acts of spiritual adultery, and the greatest insult which could be offered to his divine majesty. As he had *redeemed* them from bondage, so did he *sell* them again, though not finally or irrevocably,[5] when their sins exceeded the measure of his mercy. The history of the children of Israel is henceforth only a succession of crimes and punishments, of repentance and relentings. In utter defiance of their Lord's warnings and threatenings, they contracted marriages with the Canaanites, and thus learned to serve the various male and female deities designated under the generic appellations of Baalim and Ashtaroth.

[1] Judges ii. 1—5. On this occasion Shiloh received the name of Bochim.
[2] Numb. ii.; vii. 10; xi. 16.
[3] Josh. xxiv. 33.
[4] Acts vii. 38. 1 Cor. x. 4—11.
[5] Judges iii. 8.

The beginning of the sin of Israel is dated by the prophet Hosea "from the days of Gibeah;"[6] and it is certain that the battle of Gibeah was fought during the pontificate of Phinehas.[7] Consequently we must here place the events recorded in the last five chapters of the book of Judges. Why that accumulation of atrocities is gathered together at the close of the inspired narrative, can be only matter of conjecture. Josephus has restored it to the true order of time;[8] and his order has been generally followed by Christian commentators.[9] Idolatry was begun, by a woman and her son, in Ephraim, where Jeroboam afterwards established it by law; a young levite consented to become the idol priest; with his consent it was stolen from its owner, and publicly set up by the tribe of Dan. Israel tolerated this idolatry, till at length it became as the sin of witchcraft, and led to all uncleanness and violence. The disorders which ensue, when the bonds of religious, moral and civil obligation are totally relaxed, and every man does that which is right in his own eyes, are here fearfully set forth, as a warning, to the end of time, of God's righteous judgments. Idolatry was followed by lust; and a civil war was the consequence of both. The tenth part of the four hundred thousand warriors gathered against Benjamin were slain in two battles; and finally, in the battle of Gibeah and the subsequent flight, that tribe was nearly exterminated. Repentance for this destruction came too late, and led to other deeds of violence equally unjustifiable.

II.

There is no evidence that the sorrow occasioned by the destruction of Benjamin led to any reform in the public morals. The nation continued to sin, until it pleased God to subject them to a foreign invader. The first inroad by which

[6] Hos. x. 9.
[7] Judges xx. 28.
[8] Ant. lib. v. c. ii. §§ 7—12.
[9] Lightfoot in loc. Usher's Annals. Calmet, Art. Micah. Patrick in loc. Anc. Univ. Hist., 8vo., vol. iv. p. 6. Townsend's Old Testament.

they were punished was from the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, afterwards called Mesopotamia, and in modern times Diarbek. Cushan Rishathaim, coming from the north-east, seems to have overrun and rendered tributary the whole territory of the Israelites, and to have kept them in subjection eight years. At the end of this time, God was pleased to raise up a deliverer, in the person of Othniel, the son-in-law of Caleb, of the tribe of Judah. He assumed, or received, by divine direction, the title of SHOPHET, which we have translated *Judge*, and which corresponded with the office of the Shophetim or Suffetes among the Carthaginians, who had a kind of consular power.[10] This office he retained during his life, and under him the land had rest forty years.[11]

After his death, the people having lapsed again into idolatry, Eglon, a successor to Balak, king of Moab, to whom the children of Ammon and Amalek had become tributary, obtained possession of the country around Jericho, and subjected to his yoke Benjamin, Ephraim, and the north-eastern tribes. At the same time the Philistines, who inhabited the maritime parts of Judah, became also scourges to that tribe and to Simeon. At the end of eighteen years, Ehud, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, appointed to carry tribute to the king of Moab, stabbed him in his private apartment, succeeded in escaping over the Jordan, collected an army, and freed the north-eastern and eastern tribes from bondage.[12] Shamgar, a labourer, repulsed the Philistines in the west.[13] The victory of Ehud was so complete, that the eastern tribes enjoyed rest for eighty years.[14] Not so with those on the west. After the death of Ehud, who had kept the Canaanites in check, Jabin, who reigned in Hazor, a city in the territory of Naphtali, on the Samachonite Lake,[15] pushed his conquests to the south, and for twenty years kept the western tribes under the most oppressive subjection. At length, the

[10] Liv. xxx. 7.
[11] Judg. iii. 8—11.
[12] Judg. iii. 12—29.
[13] Judg. v. 31.
[14] Judg. v. 30.
[15] Joseph. Ant. lib. v. c. v. § 1.

prophetess Deborah, under divine inspiration, roused to revolt the neighbouring tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun. Ten thousand of these, with Barak at their head, assembled near Mount Tabor. The rest, excepting a few of Issachar, took no part in the contest. The trans-Jordanic tribes, with Ephraim and Benjamin, who had been so valiant under Ehud, now looked on with apathy. The maritime tribes, Asher and Dan, dispirited and feeble, took refuge in their ships, or abode in their seaports and their inaccessible strongholds.[16] The army of Jabin, under his general, Sisera, assembled on the banks of the Kishon, a small river running to the south of Tabor and falling into the Mediterranean near Aco, or Ptolemais. Sisera was defeated with great slaughter, and was himself slain through the treachery of a woman. The power of Jabin being thus destroyed, the western tribes remained at rest forty years.[17]

III.

The whole country being now peaceful, the Israelites again forgat God, and were again punished by a most severe and general servitude, which continued seven years. The instruments of the divine chastisement were at this time the descendants of Abraham, by Keturah and Hagar, the *natural* against the *spiritual* seed. Their dwelling was eastward of the Dead Sea, extending to Arabia Petræa and the confines of Egypt; and, like the Bedawee Arabs, who now inhabit the same territory, their mode of life was nomadic and their warfare predatory. No sooner was the harvest of the Israelites ripe for the sickle, than their enemies poured in upon them, plundered their substance, and drove the famished and frightened inhabitants into dens and caves of the earth. In this extremity, one of those mysterious appearances took place, which, from the terms of the narrative, cannot have been made by a created spirit. A labouring man, of the half-

[16] Judg. v. 14—18. [17] Judg. iv. v.

tribe of Manasseh, was threshing wheat, about the time of Pentecost, to hide it from the Midianites, whose dreaded incursion was hourly expected. He was poor, and of least estimation in his father's house. Such was the deliverer now raised up, to show that the power was not of man but of God. The host of Midian had crossed the Jordan, and pitched in the valley of Jezreel; and, at the sound of the trumpet of Gideon, thirty-two thousand men assembled from the tribes of Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali. Of these the faint-hearted ones, twenty-two thousand in number, were sent away. Even the ten thousand brave ones who remained were too many for the Lord's purposes. Three hundred only were selected, by a sign which none but Omniscience could give, and these, divided into three companies, put to flight the immense multitudes of Oreb and Zeeb, of Zebah and Zalmunnah. The two former princes were slain during the flight; the two latter when captives, on account of their cruelty towards the brethren of Gideon. One hundred and twenty thousand Midianites were slain, being intercepted between Jezreel and the fords of Jordan. The forces of Zebah and Zalmunnah, 15,000, escaped over the river, but were pursued and overthrown. Midian lifted her head no more; and as long as Gideon lived, which was forty years after his victory, the land remained in quietness.[18]

The death of Gideon was followed by still greater excesses. It seemed as if restraint only sharpened their appetite for the sensual and obscene rites of idolatry. The frightful anarchy, both civil and religious, for forty-eight years, from the death of Gideon to that of Jair,[19] was punished by a double and most grievous servitude, on the east to the Ammonites, and on the west to the Philistines. For eighteen years did the Ammonites oppress the tribes beyond Jordan, and harass by their incursions Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim. This occasioned, at length, a general, though, unhappily, transient,

[18] Judg. vi.—viii.

[19] Judg. ix. x. 5.

reformation. They put away their strange gods, renewed the true worship, prayed for deliverance, and were heard. The men of Gilead, or the half-tribe of Gad,[20] offered to make Jephthah their ruler if he would take the command in the war against Ammon. Jephthah accepted their offer; and the remonstrance and manifesto, which he addressed to the children of Lot, afford a most curious exhibition of the ceremonial then used in the declaration of war. The king of Ammon reclaimed the territory bounded by the Jordan, between the Arnon and the Jabbok, which Israel had taken when they came out of Egypt. Jephthah, in his answer, denies the trespass upon Moab or Ammon, declares that the land was taken not from them but from the Amorites, and affirms the right of Israel, both by conquest from the descendants of Canaan, whom God had ordered them to extirpate, and by peaceable possession for three hundred years. He asked why they had not attempted to recover it within that long period; appeals to themselves whether they would not hold what their God had given them; and commits his cause to the true God, as the just Judge and Arbiter of nations.[21]

This is a most important document as regards chronology. The territory now claimed by the Ammonites was taken from Sihon and Og at the close of the year B. V. Æ. 1465. Three hundred years had since elapsed, including the government of Joshua and all the transactions recorded in the Book of Judges, to the end of the Ammonitic subjugation, and the beginning of Jephthah's command. We cannot, therefore, greatly err in placing the war early in A. J. P. 3550, or three hundred and eighty-eight years before the first Olympiad.

A. J. P. 3550.
B. V. Æ. 1164.

IV.

Connected with the victory of Jephthah was an event which has occasioned a great variety of comment and conjec-

[20] Josh. xiii. 24—28. [21] Judg. x. 6—xi. 27.

ture. As he went to battle, he lifted up his heart to God in prayer, accompanied by a vow that, if victorious, whatever should come forth from his house to meet him should surely be the Lord's property, and should be offered as a whole burnt-offering. His daughter, his only child, was the first who met the eyes of her unhappy father. The vow had been made, and he could not, in conscience, break it. The heroic and religious maiden was the first to claim its fulfilment. She only asked, as a favour, that she might, with her beloved companions, and among her native mountains, bewail her virginity double the usual time of mourning, or one month for her own calamity, and one for the blighting of all her father's hopes. At the expiration of that time, it is said that he did with her as he had vowed. St. Paul mentions his conduct as an illustrious act of faith;[22] and the event was considered as so remarkable that it became an annual custom in Israel to mourn for four days, in remembrance of the daughter of Jephthah, the Gileadite.[23]

That she was obliged to lead a life of perpetual virginity, is expressly said. Such a state was generally considered as a calamity by the women of Israel, probably on account of the high promise to the seed of the woman, in the earliest prophecy of the incarnation.[24] But, beside this, the celibacy of Jephthah's daughter involved the extinction of his whole house, and removed from him his only child, the sole solace and prop of his declining years. For it was her duty, as the Lord's property, to dwell perpetually at Shiloh, in constant attendance on the service of the sanctuary, far from her father, the companions of her youth, and the beloved haunts of her childhood. All this was sufficient cause for lamentation. But the idea that she was put to death by her father, as a consequence of his vow, shocks all the feelings of humanity, is inconsistent with the first principles of the Mosaic law,

[22] Heb. xi. 32.
[23] Judg. xi. 29—40.
[24] Gen. iii. 15.

and was impossible from the very nature of its requisitions. Human sacrifices were among the abominations for which the idolatrous nations were devoted to destruction.[25] The children of Israel were expressly forbidden to act like them in sacrificing their sons and daughters by fire.[26] For the redemption of any persons devoted to God,[27] and even for the very case of Jephthah's singular vow, provision was expressly made;[28] so that he might, with a safe conscience, have redeemed his daughter by the payment at most of thirty shekels of silver. It must be remembered, too, that, by the law, he could not offer any victim as a burnt-sacrifice, excepting where the Lord had chosen to place his name;[29] that is, in the tabernacle of the congregation, before the Lord at Shiloh. None but a levite could kill, and none but a priest could offer any victim. The gloss of the Chaldee Targum on this passage is, therefore, utterly inadmissible: that it was afterwards made a statute in Israel that no man should offer his son or daughter for a burnt-offering; and that Jephthah did not consult Phinehas, the priest; for if he had consulted Phinehas, the priest, he would have redeemed his daughter with money.[30] Phinehas became high priest two hundred and seventy-five years before the event of which we now speak; and Jephthah could not avoid consulting the priests, and, through them, the high priest; and, therefore, must have redeemed his daughter. It is true that, if he had been an idolater, he might have offered her, in any of the high places, to a false god; but he was evidently made the deliverer of his people from the yoke of Ammon, because he was not an idolater;[31] and his whole act is commended by an inspired apostle as an act of faith in the true God. So far from having the power to sacrifice his

[25] Deut. xviii. 9—14.
[26] Deut. xii. 29—31.
[27] Exod. xiii. 11—13.
[28] Lev. xxvii. 2—5.
[29] Deut. xvi. 2, 6, 11, 16, comp. with Lev. i. 2—13; xvii. 3—9.
[30] This Targum, commonly called the Targum of the Psuedo-Jonathan, was a compilation of more ancient paraphrases made as late as the seventh or eighth century after Christ. See Horne's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 200.
[31] Lev. xx. 1—5.

daughter, it is very doubtful whether he could, without her consent, have obliged her to devote herself to perpetual celibacy; it being contrary to the fundamental principles of God's law, permitted only from necessity, and on the condition of entire devotedness to the Creator's service. The vow of Jephthah was rash; and God, while he granted his petition, was pleased to punish him, to serve as a solemn warning against inconsiderate oaths.[32]

V.

The second recorded instance of civil war is also connected with this victory of Jephthah. Ephraim began to assume that arrogant dictation which finally caused the separation of Israel and Judah, and, in its ultimate consequences, the extinction of the ten tribes. It is worthy of observation, that organic varieties of pronunciation had already begun in the Hebrew language; for the men of Ephraim were distinguished from the tribe of Gad by the sibilant letter of the word Shibbo'leth; and forty-two thousand of them were slain as they attempted, in their flight, to recross the passages of Jordan.[33]

While these transactions took place among the north-eastern tribes, the three south-western, Dan, Judah, and Simeon, were suffering under the tyranny of the Philistines. It has already been remarked that these were descended from Mizraim, and, therefore, were not subject to the curse of the Canaanites. Hence, a marked distinction will be observed in the treatment of the two races. As idolaters, the Philistines were punished; but there was no order for their extermination.

The Almighty Word, as Captain of the Lord's host, now

[32] Whoever wishes to examine this question further, may consult Dr. Hales' Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 288—292. Gleig's Edition of Staekhouse, vol. ii. p. 97. Calmet's Dict. art. Jephthah. Dr. Adam Clarke's Com. in loc., and Horne's Introduction, with the authors there quoted, vol. ii. p. 598. It must carefully be observed that Jephthah's vow was a נֶדֶר, and not a חֵרֶם, the difference of which Dr. Hales has well explained, p. 289.

[33] Judg. xii. 1—6.

vouchsafed visibly to manifest himself again for the deliverance of his people. Manoah, a man of the tribe of Dan, was married to a woman who had borne him no children; but who, as the story shows, was faithful and devout. To her this manifestation was first made, with a promise that she should bear a son, who should begin to deliver Israel, if she would devote him to God as a perpetual Nazarite, and lead herself the life of a Nazarite, by abstaining from wine and all intoxicating drinks, and from all food forbidden by the law.[34] She informed her husband of this appearance; and when, in answer to his prayers, it occurred again, she called him, that he might speak to the celestial visitant. Manoah asked his name, and was told that it was what the prophet Isaiah afterwards calls the first among the titles of the Messiah — WONDERFUL.[35] Who can doubt that it was the Messiah himself? While Manoah was offering a sacrifice, and as the flame ascended, the wonderful Being who had appeared to them also ascended, and vanished from their sight. Filled with terror, Manoah said to his wife, "We shall surely die because we have seen God." His more considerate and religious wife replied that if God had designed to kill them, he would neither have accepted their offerings nor promised so great a blessing.[36]

In due time the extraordinary child of this promise was born, received the name of Samson, a diminutive from the word Sun, and was separated by his pious mother as a Nazarite from the womb. Yet, though moved by the Spirit of the Lord, his life was far from being pious, prudent, or pure, and he was remarkable only for miraculous strength of body, and for exhibitions of valour, which, were it not for his faith in the divine promises, would have amounted to rashness. He acted for twenty years as a judge or leader, or, if the term be allowable, as a partisan officer in the wars with the Philis-

[34] For the vow of the Nazarite, see Numb. vi. 1—21.

[35] Judg. xiii. 18. פֶּלְאִי. LXX. *Θαυμαστόν*. Vulg. Mirabile. Isai. ix. 6, פֶּלֶא. Vulg. Admirabilis.

[36] Judg. xiii. 2—23.

tines; but was, finally, foolish enough to violate his vow, and made to suffer a just retribution for his unbridled passions. As far as we are permitted to judge of the divine intentions, the extraordinary birth and conduct of this man were designed to show that physical as well as mental power proceeds from the Almighty; and that, if the nation of Israel were but submissive to his will, one man among them might chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.[37]

VI.

Amid the scenes which have hitherto been presented in sketching the downward progress of the chosen people, there is one beautiful and most touching picture of rural life, which, like a verdant spot in a parched and sandy desert, refreshes our weary sight. It is the story of the early ancestors from whom our blessed Lord, when he came in the flesh, derived his descent. Elimelech, a man of Bethlehem Ephrata, in a time of famine, left his paternal inheritance, and went, with his wife Naomi, and his two sons, Chilion and Mahlon, to live among the idolatrous descendants of Moab. His two sons intermarried with the Moabites, but died without children; and, at the end of ten years, Naomi was also left a widow. She determined to return to her own country, and advised her daughters-in-law to remain with their kindred. Orpah consented; but Ruth, who had become a believer in the true God, was determined, at any sacrifice, to follow her mother. Elimelech was the near kinsman of Salmon, the son of that Nahshon who had been appointed by God to be the prince, or captain, of the tribe of Judah. Salmon had married Rahab, of Jericho; and the fruit of their union was Boaz. He was thus the lord of a large inheritance, which seems to have been transmitted to a descendant bearing the same name as his forefather. At the time of Naomi's return he was old; but, by her advice, Ruth claimed his protection as a kinsman of her deceased husband, and was chosen by Boaz to be his wife.

[37] Deut. xxxii. 30. Josh. xxiii. 10. Judg. xiii. 24, 25; xiv. xv. xvi.

She became the mother of Obed, who was the grandfather of king David; and, consequently, Boaz and Ruth were the remote ancestors of the Holy Virgin and her Son.[38]

VII.

In the mean time, for what reason is not known, the high-priesthood had passed from the house of Eleazar to that of Ithamar, the youngest son of Aaron, and was vested in the person of Eli. He is the first mentioned high priest, of the family of Aaron, who combined the civil administration with the ecclesiastical. When he began to exercise the pontifical functions, we are not informed; but the office of judge was held by him forty years, until the day of his death, at the age of ninety-eight.[39] During his administration, Hannah, the wife of Elkanah, a levite of Mount Ephraim, became the mother of Samuel. As this child was, after many years of barrenness, the son of his mother's prayers, she had consecrated him to God; and at his birth she gave him a name which would constantly remind him of God's mercy, and his

[38] Ruth i.—iv. Josephus, whom I follow in placing the story of Ruth after that of Samson, but without any intention of thereby deciding the chronology, speaks of the migration of Elimelech as occurring during the government of the high priest Eli. But this must have been a mere matter of conjecture. As the capture of Jericho took place near the end of March, B. V. Æ. 1464, and the birth of David cannot be placed later than B. V. Æ. 1099, there were at least 365 years between those two events. Can that space of time have been occupied by only three generations, Boaz, Obed, and Jesse? This appears improbable. Consequently there must have been intermediate descents between Salmon, the husband of Rahab, and Boaz, the husband of Ruth. Calmet (Diet., art. Boaz) mentions an opinion that there were three of this name, the son, grandson, and great-grandson of Salmon. This may well have been; so that in Boaz, the husband of Ruth, were concentrated the privileges and possessions of the eldest born of Nahshon, appointed by God himself to be the prince of Judah. As to the chronology, the sacred historian says only that the events he recorded took place "when the Judges ruled." Ruth i. 1. Hence the opinions of chronologers are very various. Abp. Usher places the removal of Elimelech in the days of Shamgar. Bp. Patrick, because the only famine we read of in the days of the Judges was occasioned by the devastations of the Midianites, thinks it came to pass in the days of Gideon. Townsend has followed this opinion in his chronological arrangement of the Old Testament, and Hartwell Horne inclines to it. Introd. vol. iv. p. 44. Analysis, p. 1, ch. ii. § 4. This, according to my computation, would be from B. V. Æ. 1264 to 1257. Gideon died cir. B. V. Æ. 1217.

[39] 1 Sam. iv. 15—18. From B. V. Æ. 1202 to B. V. Æ. 1162.

own obligations to lead a life of holiness and obedience.[40] As soon as he was weaned, his pious mother took him to Shiloh, and there presented him to the high priest, who, in rites of holy worship, devoted him to the Lord.[41] On this occasion Hannah uttered, by divine inspiration, a prophetic song, descriptive of the mercies and judgments of divine Providence, but more especially remarkable because it predicted Christ in the character and with the name of king, before there was any king in Israel but the Lord Jehovah. From this time forward, the title of king was applied to the Messiah, both in the Old Testament and in the New, as the chief appellative of the blessed seed of the woman.[42]

The ministration of Samuel in the tabernacle at Shiloh began while he was yet a child.[43] Josephus says that he had just completed his twelfth year.[44] If this be true, and it seems not improbable, the coincidence is worthy of observation, that our blessed Lord tarried behind in the temple at the same age.[45] The Israelites had again become so corrupt, and the sons of Eli had, by their enormous wickedness, so debased the priesthood, that the oracular voice from the Holy of Holies had ceased to be heard, and no manifestations of the divine will were vouchsafed to Eli, except by the message of a prophet. That message was one of wrath, denouncing judgments upon his house.[46] But no sooner had Samuel begun to minister, than a voice was heard from the place "where the ark of God was," which, to the inexperienced ears of the child, seemed to be the voice of the high priest himself, calling to him from his bed. Three times was the oracular voice heard, and Eli became convinced that Samuel was chosen to hear the judgment of the Urim and Thummim,

[40] Samuel means, "the Lord hath heard my petition." The reader will do well to consult Bp. Hall's contemplations on Eli and Hannah.

[41] 1 Sam. i. 1—28.

[42] 1 Sam. ii. 1—10. Hales' Chronol. vol. ii. p. 300. Bp. Horsley has given a spirited translation of Hannah's Thanksgiving. Bib. Crit. vol. iv. p. 358. It was the model of the Blessed Virgin's hymn. See Bp. Jebb's Sacred Literature, pp. 392—402.

[43] 1 Sam. ii. 18, 19.

[44] Antiq. lib. v. c. x. § 4.

[45] St. Luke ii. 41—50.

[46] 1 Sam. ii. 27—36.

which had been so long denied to himself. He therefore directed the child, when he should again hear the call, to say, "Speak, O Jehovah, for thy servant heareth." Samuel obeyed, and the voice pronounced a fearful doom: "Behold, I will do a thing in Israel, at which both the ears of every one that heareth it shall tingle. In that day I will perform against Eli all things which I have spoken concerning his house; when I begin I will also make an end. For I have told him that I will judge his house forever, for the iniquity which he knoweth; because his sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not. And therefore I have sworn unto the house of Eli, that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be purged with sacrifice nor offering forever." Such a message the child naturally feared to disclose; but Eli required him to do it, under the solemnity of an oath; and when he had heard the awful denunciation, he meekly exclaimed, "It is Jehovah; let him do what seemeth to him good."[47]

Eli was evidently a good man; but he wanted that firmness which is so necessary for a right administration, either in the church or in the state. Though just and holy himself, he suffered his sons to commit acts of the most flagrant injustice and wickedness; and though he knew all their abominable impurities, he weakly confined himself to expostulation and reproof, instead of removing them instantly from the priests' office. Where the priests are impure, and unpunished, there will always be a most fatal and rapid decay of religion among the people. The first warning received was the hiding of God's presence. The last recorded appearance of the Angel-Jehovah had preceded the birth of Samson; nor was there any "open vision" in the Holy of Holies; so that communications thence had become "precious," because they were rare. But though God would not reveal himself to his high priest in the accustomed way, he first sent a prophet,

[47] 1 Sam. iii. 1—18.

and then raised up the child Samuel to make known his inevitable decree, that the family of Eli should be prematurely cut off, deposed from the high-priesthood forever, and reduced to the lowest state of dependence and want. At the end of the fourth generation from Eli, his descendant, Abiathar, was removed from the office of high priest, at the commencement of the reign of Solomon, and none of his race forever after regained that honour.[48]

A. J. P. 3532. B. V. Æ. 1182.

In the twentieth year of Eli began the double servitude, under the Philistines in the west, and the Ammonites in the east. The latter lasted for eighteen years, when the tribes beyond Jordan were delivered by Jephthah, three hundred years after they first settled the land.[49] But the servitude under the Philistines was much more lasting and more grievous. The western tribes were so entirely subjugated, that, notwithstanding the prodigies of Samson, no general rising took place during the twenty years of his brilliant career. The immense slaughter which he occasioned at his death appears to have roused their courage and induced them to make a united effort against the Philistines. Being defeated, however, with a loss of four thousand men, the elders of Israel determined to bring the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of Shiloh, to save them from the hands of their enemies. This reliance upon the ark, the great symbol of the incarnation, was an evidence of returning faith and love ; and it would, as in the days of Joshua and the capture of Jericho, have been successful, had it been an act of obedience to God's command, and had not the priests which bare it been impure. When it came into the camp, borne by the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, the presence of the Lord of hosts dwelling in glory between the cherubim revived their fainting hopes, and the earth rang again with the shouts of the assembled warriors. The sound reached the camp of

[48] Comp. 1 Sam. ii. 27—36, with 1 Kings ii. 26, 27, and Joseph. Ant. lib. v. c. xi. 5, lib. viii. c. i. 3.

[49] A. J. P. 3550, B. V. Æ. 1164.

the Philistines, and when they learned the cause, it inspired them not only with the terror, but also with the courage, of desperation. Israel was smitten and fled; thirty thousand were slain; Hophni and Phinehas were cut off in their wickedness; the ark of God was taken and carried in triumph to the temple of the idol Dagon. The high priest Eli, with aged steps and a fearful heart, had followed the ark, and was waiting on a seat at the gates of Shiloh, to hear the news of the battle. A fugitive, with his clothes rent and dust upon his head, came along the road, and the wailings of the multitude told that the glory had departed. Eli heard, with fortitude, that the battle was lost, and his sons slain; but when mention was made that the ark of God was taken, he fell from his seat and died.[50] The wife of Phinehas, seized with premature labour, gave, as her spirit departed, a name to the hapless infant, expressive of the great calamity, — Ichabod: *the glory is departed from Israel:* for the ark of God is taken. It was so when the Redeemer of the world expired upon the cross, and the power of the prince of darkness seemed for a time victorious. "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel."[51] But the triumph of the adversary, both in the type and anti-type, was of short duration. The ark led captive its captivity; and the Son of God was victorious by his cross and passion. The idol of the Philistines fell prostrate. His hands and his head, the symbols of power and understanding, were severed from the trunk, and direful plagues, inflicted on the Philistines, forced them to restore their trophy. The ark was borne by milch kine, who, contrary to nature, forsook their calves, and, taking the straight road to a city of the priests, carried it from the territory of the Philistines to Beth-shemesh, in the tribe of Judah. Shiloh was forever forsaken, as a testimony, no doubt, of God's displeasure. The men of Beth-shemesh profanely looked into the ark, and were punished with immediate ex-

[50] 1 Sam. iv. [51] St. Luke xxiv. 21.

cision. It was carried thence to Kirjath-Jearim, the city of woods, forests, or groves, where it remained in the custody of a Levite, Eleazar, the son of Abinadab, for twenty years.[52]

VIII.

A. J. P. 3552. B. V. Æ. 1162.

On the death of Eli, Samuel succeeded him as judge in Israel. As God had forsaken Shiloh, and no other place was appointed to put his name there, the prophet dwelt at Ramah, or Ramathaim Zophim, his birthplace. The name itself denotes an elevated place; and it was situated near the confines of Ephraim and Benjamin. Here he erected an altar to the Lord, and offered sacrifice; and during the whole period in which the ark was in this unsettled and wandering state, we read of sacrifice offered in various places, according as God appointed by his prophet. The desertion of Shiloh made such a deep impression upon "all the house of Israel," that they "lamented after Jehovah,"[53] and opened their hearts to the exhortations of Samuel, who promised them deliverance out of the hand of the Philistines, if they truly repented and turned from their idols to serve the living God. In the twentieth year of Samuel, and the fortieth of their servitude, a solemn service was held at Mizpeh, a city of Benjamin. On this occasion, it is said that they "drew water and poured it out before the Lord, and fasted on that day, and said there, We have sinned against the Lord."[54] It was a solemn day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, a national fast for national sins; but the reason for drawing and pouring out water, which is nowhere commanded in the law, is uncertain, and has, therefore, occasioned various conjectures.[55]

[52] 1 Sam. v. vi. vii. 1, 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. vi. cap. 1.

[53] 1 Sam. vii. 2.

[54] 1 Sam. vii. 5, 6.

[55] Targum pseudo-Jonathan, in loc. They poured forth their heart in penitence, as water. Grotius adopts this interpretation; but most commentators, Jewish as well as Christian, understand it of pouring out material water, and assign various reasons for the ceremony. See Crit. Sac. Lond., and Bp. Patrick in loc.

Tidings of this national gathering at Mizpeh soon reached the lords of the Philistines, and, justly considering it as indicative of revolt, they determined, by immediate and vigorous measures, to quell the insurrection. A formidable force advanced to attack the children of Israel, who, oppressed and dispirited, would have fallen before them, if they had relied only upon their own strength. But they entreated Samuel to intercede continually with God for their preservation, which he did by prayer and sacrifice; and the Lord discomfited their enemies with such slaughter that a single battle removed from their shoulders the yoke of servitude. To commemorate this great event, Samuel erected a monument of stone, giving to it the name of Ebex-ezer, or the Stone of Help, because it was the Almighty Captain of the Lord's host who gave them the victory. Thus were the forty years of servitude ended, eleven hundred and thirty-six years before the Incarnation. The Philistines were so entirely subdued that they came no more into the coasts of Israel, and the hand of the Lord was against them all the days of Samuel.[56]

A. J. P. 3572. B. V. Æ. 1142.

This upright judge continued, through a long life, to exercise his office, taking a yearly circuit for that purpose; but when the infirmities of old age required relief, he gave to his two sons, Joel and Abijah, a subordinate jurisdiction in the southern part of Judæa, making Beersheba the centre of their circuit. The integrity of the father was, however, no patrimony to the sons; and the perversion of judgment, occasioned by their taking bribes, was made the pretext to change an administration established by God himself. The elders of Israel asked for a king, and Samuel was commanded to comply with their request, though it was a virtual rejection of their Almighty Sovereign.[57]

A young man of the tribe of Benjamin, — that very tribe which had been nearly exterminated by the rest, — of exalted stature and noble mien, was chosen by the Angel-

[56] 1 Sam. vii. 3—14. [57] 1 Sam. viii.

Jehovah, and Samuel was ordered to anoint him king over Israel. To fit him for this exalted station, he was ordered to join himself to a school of the prophets. As in the earliest ages the regal and sacerdotal offices were united in all nations, so it was an invariable rule for kings to be educated in the sacerdotal colleges.[58] Saul, from his obscure birth and low parentage, had not even known the person of Samuel.[59] He was entirely ignorant of all that pertained to the prophetic office; and it was, therefore, a source of general surprise and wonder that such a man as he should be admitted among the prophets.[60] But God, who seeth not as man seeth, was pleased to communicate to him, instantaneously and miraculously, those gifts of his Holy Spirit which made up for the defects of his origin and education, and fitted him for the important office which he was chosen to sustain.[61] These preparations being made, Samuel assembled the people at Mizpeh; and, having again reproached them for rejecting the paternal and indulgent government of their Almighty Sovereign, ordered them to appear in his presence, to choose by lot the king they had desired. The tribe of Benjamin, the family of Kish, and the person of Saul, were successively taken, and the constitution of the kingdom being prescribed in a book, and "laid up before the Lord," Saul was inaugurated, amid the shouts of the people, and solemnly proclaimed king.[62]

A. J. P. 3605. B. V. Æ. 1109.

He began his reign with prudence, moderation, firmness, and valour. His modest retirement to his father's house, his quietness toward those who opposed his government, and the courage and conduct displayed in the rescue of Jabesh Gilead from the Ammonites, all showed the influence of that spirit of wisdom and might which had been given to him from above. The victory over Nahash consolidated

[58] An instance of this has been given in the education of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter.

[59] 1 Sam. ix. 18, 19.

[60] 1 Sam. x. 11—13.

[61] 1 Sam. x. 6, 7, 9.

[62] 1 Sam. x. 17—25. Joseph. Ant. lib. vi. cap. 4.

his sovereignty. A solemn assembly of the people was called at Gilgal on the day of the wheat-harvest, or early in June.[63] The place was that in which "the Captain of the Lord's host" had appeared to Joshua; and the time was the season of Pentecost, when the law had been given to Moses, and when, after the incarnation and ascension of the Angel-Jehovah, the Holy Ghost would personally descend. Samuel took this opportunity to obtain the national attestation to his own integrity. He intimated that they had now a king, and that his sons were in their power. He briefly recounted the mercies of their Almighty King, reproached them gently for their ingratitude, and warned them that the change now introduced into the form of their civil government created no change in their dependence upon God. If they and their king feared the Lord, his mercies would be continued; otherwise they and their king would perish. He added that he, although no longer their governor, should sin if he did not continually pray for them, and continually teach them the good and the right way.[64]

IX.

Saul must have been between thirty and forty years old when he began to reign, for, in the second year of his reign, his son Jonathan was old enough to have command in the war which was then renewed with the Philistines.[65] In that year the first act of transgression, the first violation of faith and obedience, was committed, in his presuming to offer sacrifice before the arrival of Samuel at Gilgal. Whether he invaded the priests' office, or whether, through impatience, he only violated the strict injunction he had at

A. J. P. 3606. B. V. Æ. 1103.

[63] 1 Sam. xii. 17. Chron. Introd. pp. 365, 480.

[64] 1 Sam. xi. 12—xii. 25.

[65] 1 Sam. xiii. 1, 2. There is evidently an imperfection in the Hebrew text, which shows that, from some unaccountable cause, Saul's age at the time of his inauguration, originally inserted, has been dropped. בֶּן……שָׁנָה. I suppose that it must have been as in 1 Kings xxii. 42, שָׁנָה [שְׁלֹשִׁים וְחָמֵשׁ] בֶּן־. The son of thirty and five years, or thirty-five years old. In the LXX. the verse is omitted; but Origen, in his Hexapla.

first received,[66] he was now warned for the first time that his kingdom should not continue, because he had not kept the commandment of the Lord his God. It is certain that the ark, though its resting place was at Kirjath-Jearim, had been brought to Gibeah; and that Ahiah, the nephew of Ichabod, and the great-grandson of Eli, was there exercising the office of the high-priesthood.[67] It is not likely, therefore, that Saul was yet so profane as to violate the sacerdotal office. Such violation would have been visited with instant death. But he was evidently headstrong and impatient. His rash imprecation, when the Philistines had been so miraculously put to flight before Jonathan and his armour-bearer, was arrogant and impious. It caused the people to sin, and had well nigh brought destruction upon that brave and noble prince. The divine displeasure was manifested, first in the refusal of the oracle to give him counsel, and next in the lots by which the penalty of his curse fell upon his own household. Yet that displeasure was still mingled with mercy. All his enemies on every side, — Moab, and Ammon, and Edom, the kings of Zobah and the Philistines, — were harassed and kept in check, until he committed another and a more grievous offence against the divine sovereignty.[68] The time had now come to punish with utter excision a nation, against whom, nearly four hundred years before, Jehovah had pronounced perpetual war.[69] Amalek had wantonly attacked Israel in the year of the Exodus; for which cause Saul was now commanded, not only to exterminate the nation, but to destroy their flocks and herds and droves. The Kenites, on the contrary, the offspring of Jethro, were spared, on account of the kindness

inserted υἱὸς τριάκοντα ἐτῶν Σαοὺλ ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτόν. Montf. tom. i. p. 286. And so read four MSS. cited by Holmes and Parsons. But thirty seems to have been too young to have a son of the age of Jonathan. Vignoles, cited by Dr. Hales, vol. ii. p. 310, reckons that he was then forty. But this is too much, if Saul reigned (Acts xiii. 21) forty years. Tornielli, who follows the reading of the Vulgate, "Filius unius anni erat Saul cum regnare cepisset," imagines, with St. Gregory and other Latin expositors, that it refers to Saul's goodness when he began to reign; q. d. he was like a child one year old. Annales Sacri, tom. i. p. 701.

[65] 1 Sam. x. 8.

[67] 1 Sam. xiv. 3, 4, 18, 19.

[68] 1 Sam. xiv. [69] Exod. xvii. 8—16.

shown by their ancestors to the chosen people. Such are the dealings of Him who is the Lord of Life, blessing or punishing posterity for the deeds of their forefathers. A mistaken lenity on the part of Saul, in opposition to an express command of God, a lenity arising from partiality and covetousness, exalting human reason and will above obedience, and preferring popularity to duty, was the second offence which the unhappy monarch committed. He endeavoured to cloak it under the pretence of offering sacrifice, and, instead of humbling himself, sought, at first, to justify his conduct. But Samuel sternly rejected his excuses, and pronounced his rejection, irrevocably, from the throne of Israel. He consented, however, at the king's entreaty, to honour him before the people. Yet, from that time forth, he saw him no more; but mourned for him, as long as he lived, in his retirement at Ramah. The Spirit of the Lord now deserted Saul; and, during the rest of his reign, he became continually more and more envious, jealous, cruel, and tyrannical. Thus was the nation punished, according to the judgments pronounced upon them at first; and though sometimes successful, to show them that they were not abandoned, their affairs proceeded from bad to worse, until Saul and Jonathan were slain, and the Israelites utterly discomfited by the Philistines, in the fatal battle of Gilboa.

X.

While Samuel was thus mourning in private for Saul, the Word of the Lord came to him, and commanded him to go to Bethlehem, and there anoint David as successor to the throne. Fearing Saul's wrath, the prophet inquired, and received instruction as to the manner of performing this perilous commission. It is uncertain how old David was at this time. Josephus speaks of him as being still a child;[70] and his occupation, in keeping his father's flocks, which were not numerous,[71] shows that he was still a boy. But, from the

[70] Antiq. lib. vi. cap. viii. sec. 1.

[71] 1 Sam. xvii. 28.

moment he was anointed, "the Spirit of the Lord came upon him." The anointing was not an empty ceremony. A divine power went along with the instituted sign; and inward graces were given to him from above, — graces fitting him for the lofty station to which God had elected him. From thenceforth his natural powers were aided and strengthened, so that he became, to a most eminent degree, a wise, pious, valiant, and accomplished man. But, in addition to these qualities, he became also a prophet of the Most High, and an illustrious type of Him who was equally the root and the offspring of David, the bright and morning star."[72]

Many years after this anointing, when David was still a stripling,[73] he was raised at once to the highest eminence of fame by his victory over the giant, Goliath of Gath. What was more to him, it gained him the affections of the noble-minded Jonathan; and a friendship began between them surpassing the love of women. Who can read the sublime elegy of David, on the death of Saul and Jonathan, without feeling that the love of the two young men for each other was indeed wonderful?[74]

Far different were the feelings of Saul. His jealousy of David was first excited at the public rejoicings in honour of the victory over the Philistines. An ode was sung by the women of Israel, in which it was said that Saul had slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands. This was enough for his irritable temper, chafed as it was, when the Spirit of Jehovah had departed from him, and an evil spirit was permitted to tempt his soul.[75] All the trials which David endured for

[72] Revel. xxii. 16.

[73] 1 Sam. xvii. 56. הַנָּעַר. LXX. Νεανισκος. Vulg. Puer. The original word properly signifies a young man living *obscure* or *concealed* at home under the care of parents.

[74] 2 Sam. i. 19—27.

[75] 1 Sam. xvi. 14—23. This passage is evidently misplaced, and should come in between the 9th and 10th verses of chap. xviii.; for David was then no longer a stripling, but "a mighty, valiant man, and a man of war." Ch. xvi. 18. It was therefore some years after the battle. David had wisely retired from court when he found that Saul was jealous of him; and that feeling in Saul's mind had died away, having no food to keep it alive. He would naturally remember the good qualities of David, and probably his skill in music; but when David returned, his old suspicions were

more than ten years proceeded entirely from the maniac fury of Saul, and his fell purpose to destroy his hated rival. Yet these very trials served, under the influence of divine grace, to heighten and fortify his virtues, and subdue his natural inclination to sin.[76]

The sacred history presents a striking picture of the manner in which the wrath of man is made to execute the just judgments and righteous retribution of God. By the injustice and cruelty of Saul, David becomes an outlaw, and is compelled by his necessities to visit the high priest Ahimelech, at Nob. This occasions the death, not only of the high priest himself, but of eighty-five of the family of Eli. They were now cut off by Saul's fury, because they had supplied the wants of David by an unlawful act, in giving him and his men the shew-bread ; yet this was the fulfilment of a solemn threat, denounced long before upon the house of Eli, because his sons had done evil and he restrained them not.[77] One only escaped, and carried to David the sacred Ephod, by which the high priest obtained answers from the oracle. By this act, the priesthood passed from the service of Saul to that of David. The unhappy king was entirely deserted, and lost the last stay against his utter destruction.[78]

Not long after, at a very advanced age, died the prophet Samuel. The precise time is not recorded in holy Scripture, but may be gathered from subsequent transactions ; and it probably preceded that of Saul about two years.[79] Notwithstanding the progressive wickedness of the nation and their king, the death of this illustrious prophet created the deepest sensation in all hearts, as if it were a signal of God's wrath, foreboding the calamities which were soon to follow it. The

again excited, and he was tempted by the evil spirit to destroy him. Such was Bishop Warburton's view, which has since been adopted by Bp. Horsley and other critics.

[76] 1 Sam. xviii. 10—xx. 42.

[77] 1 Sam. iii. 11—14.

[78] 1 Sam. xxi. xxii.

[79] A. J. P. 3642, B. V. Æ. 1072. The present copies of Josephus, Antiq. lib. vi. cap. xiv. 9, read 22, according to which the death of Samuel was 20 years earlier, or in A. J. P. 3622, B. V. Æ. 1092. But the manuscripts of Epiphanius read *two*. See Hudson and Havercamp, in loc.

worship of idols, and the sin of witchcraft connected therewith, were now for a while discountenanced. But the reformation was transitory ; and the unhappy king, fearful of the gathering hosts of the Philistines, knowing that he was now abandoned by God, and feeling forlorn and disconsolate, had recourse to a woman having "a familiar spirit," or, as it is called in the New Testament, "a spirit of divination."[80] Few subjects have occasioned more controversy than the question whether the spirit of Samuel was actually evoked, or whether the spectre was merely the result of diabolical agency or of magic fraud. Whatever may have been the power of the evil spirit by which the woman was possessed, it is plain, from the narrative, that God permitted the spirit of Samuel actually to arise, and sternly to rebuke this last offence of Saul. The immortality of the soul, and its separate existence, until the resurrection, in the invisible region of the departed, is here set forth by an example, more than a thousand years before the incarnation of our Saviour. One example only is recorded, that we may believe, but not presume.

The death of Samuel deprived David also of a spiritual father, whose advice and direction he had constantly sought and obeyed. The sacred historian records several acts of his, after that event, which cannot be defended, and which subsequently brought upon him the righteous judgments of God. His marrying two wives was an irregularity, which Samuel probably would have prevented if he had been living. For this, David was afterwards punished by the conduct of Amnon, the son of one of these wives, and his first-born. It was the beginning of the great miseries which he endured from the conduct of Absalom.[81] His flight, also, to the Philistines, was a desperate measure, in which he did not ask counsel of the Lord. It involved him in difficulties from which

[80] Comp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 7 with Acts xvi. 16. The word אוֹב, here translated "familiar spirit," is rendered by St. Jerome "Pythonem." In the Greek of Acts xvi. 16, πνεῦμα πύθωνος, a spirit of Python, is translated a spirit of divination.

[81] 2 Sam. xiii.—xix.

he could not have been extricated but by the overruling power of Divine Providence. Had it not been for that power exciting the jealousy of the Philistine lords, he might have been obliged to become a traitor to save his own life; and, as it was, he was forced to dissemble, to equivocate, and to practise acts of hypocrisy totally at variance with his own candid, ingenuous, and open character. His implicit faith, his dutiful submission, his general integrity, his unwavering opposition to idolatry, obtained for him the name of "the man after God's own heart;" but his frailties and his crimes are recorded for our admonition, that even the wisest and the most virtuous may not be high-minded, but fear.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN OF DAVID.

I. First in Hebron, then in Jerusalem. — History and conquest of that city. — Philistines defeated. II. The ark brought from Kirjath-Jearim. — Uzzah. — Obed-Edom. — Second procession. — The Psalms composed for the occasion. III. David regulates the Tabernacle service. — Courses of priests and Levites. — Book of Psalms. IV. David's prosperity. — Prepares to build a temple on Mount Zion. — Vision of the Almighty Word to Nathan. — Literal translation of his prophecy, 1 Chron. xvii. and 2 Sam. vii. — David, prostrate before the ark, expresses his gratitude for the revelation concerning Christ. V. David's prosperity occasions the great sins of his life. — Uriah and Bathsheba. — The punishment in his future life. — Offence of numbering the people. — The pestilence. — Site of the future temple designated by the Angel-Jehovah. VI. David devotes the remainder of his life to prepare for building the temple on Mount Moriah. — His immense treasures. — The sources of his wealth considered. VII. The ritual of the future temple arranged. — Probable reasons of the changes; but all under divine direction. — Last words of David. — The coming of the Prince of Peace.

I.

DAVID was thirty years old when he began to reign in Hebron.[1] An opposition, begun by Abner, the general-in-chief under Saul, placed Eshbaal, or Ish-bosheth, on his father's throne. But he was a feeble prince, who, at the age of forty, had not vigour enough to sustain his own power; and the defection and tragic death of Abner led to the conspiracy, which, at the end of two years, deprived him of his crown and his life.[2] The moderation and magnanimity of David, during the civil war which this opposition occasioned, led the tribes of Israel to acknowledge his sovereignty, and he was again solemnly anointed at Hebron.

A. J. P. 3645.
B. V. Æ. 1069.

[1] 2 Sam. v. 4.

[2] 2 Sam. ii. 8—iv. 12.

But the jealousy which had long existed between Judah and Ephraim, became constantly more and more intense and permanent.

After reigning seven and a half years at Hebron, David gained possession of the hill of Zion, and thenceforward made it his permanent residence. The ancient Salem, the city of Melchisedek, having been possessed by the shepherd Canaanites, received from them the name of their father Jebus. Amid the varied fortunes of their race, they, on account of their kindness towards the posterity of Jacob, had been spared long after the rest had been subdued or exterminated. There seems even to have been a kindly feeling between them and the children of Israel, admitting social intercourse and hospitality.[3] But the time had now arrived in which the inevitable decree of the Almighty against the race of Canaan was to be fully executed. The fortress of Zion, which was the citadel of Jebus, was considered impregnable; and the inhabitants, vainly relying on its strength, had sent an insulting message to David that even their blind and lame could defend it against all his strength.[4] David, therefore, marched against it from Hebron with all his forces, and having first gained possession of the lower city, commenced his approaches upon the citadel. By the promise of great honours and rewards, the king induced his army to exert themselves to the utmost; and it was the good fortune of Joab to first gain the summit by the narrow, precipitous ravines, leading upward between Acra and Moriah, to the hill of Zion. The whole city now received the name of Jerusalem; and the citadel was called the city of David. This success alarmed the Philistines, who had continued quiet since the death of Saul, and a large army was quickly assembled in the valley of Rephaim, on the borders of Judah and Benjamin, and not far distant from Jerusalem.[5] Here they were defeated by

A. J. P. 3652.
B. V. Æ. 1062.

[3] Judges xix. 10, 11.

[4] 2 Sam. v. 6. 1 Chron. xi. 5. Jos. Antiq. lib. vii. cap. iii. § 1.

[5] On consulting Dr. Robinson, I find that he speaks of the plain of Rephaim as extending "nearly to the city," (Je-

David, in two pitched battles, with great slaughter, and never after regained their former power.

II.

The king being now delivered from his enemies, and at rest in a secure and permanent place of abode, his first thought was to prepare also a lasting habitation for the ark of the covenant, the symbol of the incarnate Jehovah. He, therefore, assembled the priests and Levites, and the principal men out of all the tribes of Israel, to the number of 30,000, for the purpose of bringing the ark in solemn procession to Mount Zion.[6] Yet, through inadvertence, an error was committed which cost the life of one man, and, for a time, interrupted their purpose. It was an express provision of the law that, when the ark was to be carried in procession, none but the priests were to *touch* it, and the Levites of the family of Kohath alone were to *bear* it by its staves upon their *shoulders*, but not to *touch* it under pain of death.[7] Instead of attending to this regulation, the example of the Philistines was followed, in placing it upon a cart, drawn by oxen, and driven

rusalem,) and as "terminated by a slight rocky ridge, forming the brow of the valley of Hinnom." — Bib. Researches, vol. i. p. 324.

[6] Delany (Life of David, vol. ii. p. 137) seems to be right in considering this assemblage, now first made at Jerusalem, as that of the feast of Pentecost. The year when David took Jerusalem was B. V. Æ. 1062, corresponding with A. J. P. 3652. The golden number for that year was IV. and the Sunday letter G. The 14th or paschal full moon was April 2, Monday. The sixth of Sivan, usually reckoned as the day of Pentecost, Wednesday, May 23; or, as I reckon it, (counting from the morrow after the great paschal Sabbath, Sunday, April 8,) the 50th day, or Pentecost, was Sunday, May 27. The feast of Trumpets, or the first of Tisri, fell on Thursday, September 13; the great day of atonement on the 22d, and the feast of Tabernacles on Thursday, September 27. The distance of time between Pentecost and Tabernacles was exactly four months. I suppose, therefore, that David's conquest of the city of Jebus and Mount Zion took place early in the year, probably before the Passover. The Philistines, alarmed at his success, assembled in the valley of Rephaim, lying between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, in the month of May; for the exploit of the three captains, who broke through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Bethlehem, to quench the thirst of King David, (1 Chron. xi. 17—19,) was in harvest-time, (2 Sam. xxiii. 13.) If the first procession to bring the ark was at Pentecost, and the ark remained three months in the house of Obed-Edom, the second procession would be at the beginning of Tisri, preceding the day of atonement, when they bewailed their sins before the ark, and then returned to Jerusalem with it, so as to arrive before the feast of Tabernacles.

[7] Numb. iv. 5—15.

by two Levites, the sons of Abinadab. From being so carried, it was shaken at one point of their march, and seemed ready to fall. Uzzah, one of the Levites, presumptuously put forth his hand to save it, and was instantly struck dead. Here were good intentions in doing God service; but good intentions afford no excuse for unlawful actions. A long and irreligious reign, in which the ark, and everything relating to divine worship, had been neglected; the slaughter of the priests, whose duty it had been to attend the tabernacle and study the law; the gross ignorance of holy things, which, in consequence, had overspread the nation; all made it necessary to strike terror into their hearts, by the death of this Levite. In like manner, Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, had been struck dead for offering unhallowed fire; and Korah and his company destroyed for invading the priests' office. The event so terrified David that he desisted from his purpose, and the ark remained three months in the house of Obed-Edom, a Levite of Gath-rimmon.[8] The blessings bestowed, during that time, upon the family of Obed-Edom, convinced David that the displeasure of God did not arise from the removal of the ark; and, having had time to study the law, and arrange the ceremonial according to its precepts, he again "gathered all Israel together at Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the Lord unto his place."[9] Covered by the priests, it was now raised on the shoulders of the Levites. The singers went before, then followed damsels dancing and playing on their timbrels, and then the bands of instrumental music. The several tribes, in martial array, under the captains of their thousands, with their banners and tokens, brought up the rear, and the king went before the whole procession, divested of his royal robes, arrayed as a prophet, and leading in the chorus.[10] For this great occasion he had composed the twenty-fourth, and probably the sixty-eighth, psalm. The latter was sung during the march; for it

[8] This was a Levitical city in the tribe of Dan. Josh. xxi. 23, 24.

[9] 1 Chron. xv. 3.

[10] 2 Sam. vi. 12—19. 1 Chron. xv. 1—28.

begins with the prescribed words of the ritual, when, in the journeyings of the Israelites, the cloud was taken up, and the ark began to move. "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Let them also that hate him flee before him."[11] St. Paul has applied this psalm to the ascension of Christ, and, in consequence of that ascension, to the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost.[12] Well, therefore, may it have been composed for this occasion, when the ark, the symbol of the incarnate Jehovah, was conducted to its resting-place in the city of Jerusalem. Whoever reflects that, until the ascension of Christ, every act of the all-glorious Triune, the self-existent, the incomprehensible Maker and Governor of the universe, was declared to man only through the second person of the Trinity, will understand what is meant in this psalm by praising Him whose name is in Jehovah, and who, in that name, rode on the cherubim through the wilderness. It was Christ who, by the symbol of his presence, brought up the armies of Israel from Egypt. It was Christ, the orphan's father, and the widow's advocate, who brought home his chosen ones into the land of promise. It was Christ who was now ascending to the hill of Zion, which he had chosen for his dwelling above all the hills of lofty brows. Hence, he would go forth conquering and to conquer. In its mystic sense, the Church will ever continue to resound the strains of this sublime ode, till Jesus shall come again in his glory, and ascend, with the embattled legions of his holy ones, into the eternal rest of the heavenly Jerusalem.[13]

[11] Comp. Numb. x. 35 and Ps. lxviii. 1.

[12] Eph. iv. 8.

[13] Such is the general view of this sublime composition taken by the best ancient and modern commentators. The ancients generally explained the Psalms in the mystic sense, as relating to Christ and his Church. Let the reader consult St. August. in loc. Opera, tom. iv. 497. St. Hieron. tom. ii. p. 287, and Vitringa, Obs. Sac. lib. iii. cap. 3. Cassiodorus, Op. tom. ii. pp. 219—226. The modern commentators consulted by the author have been Hammond, Crit. Sacr. Lond. tom. iii. Merrick, Bps. Lowth, Horne, Horsley. Green, Durell, Dimock, Mudge, Adam Clarke, &c. The psalm is divided into parts corresponding, as is supposed, with the several resting-places, where sacrifices and prayers and acts of thanksgiving were offered before the ark. These parts, according to Cassiodorus, were five, each ending with *selah*, meaning, very probably, as Mudge interprets it, "a strain of music lifted higher than ordinary." But Mudge di-

Whatever may have been the occasion and primary signification of this difficult psalm, it seems clear that the twenty-fourth psalm was composed by David, to be sung to the people when the Levites, bearing the ark, had arrived at the summit of Mount Zion. It begins by asserting that Christ, the adorable Jehovah, is entitled to the whole universe, of which he is Creator and Lord; but, on account of man's wickedness, he hath chosen to himself a peculiar people, among whom he vouchsafes to dwell. But he is a righteous and a jealous God; and, as the King of Israel, he requires from his subjects a life corresponding to his character. Who, but the clean in hand and pure in heart, are fitted to approach his sanctuary? Such are the words of warning, by the priests and Levites, to the assembled multitudes. The procession having arrived at the gates of the tabernacle, the Levites within and without, in alternate responses, sing, while the ark is entering, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors! and the King of glory shall enter." The language is magnificent beyond the earthly ceremony. Such, we may well suppose, was the song of angels when Jesus, the great high priest of our profession, bore the ark of his human nature into the holy place not made with hands; and such will be the song of the glorified saints when the incarnate Jehovah shall lead all them that are his to the portals of life everlasting.[14]

III.

Having thus introduced the ark into the tabernacle on Mount Zion, the next object of the king was to regulate, in conformity with the law, the services of the sanctuary. He first appointed a psalm to be sung continually, which, with some additions, was afterwards divided into two, when the

vides the whole psalm into eight parts, i. 1, 2, 3; ii. 4—6; iii. 7—14; iv. 15—18; v. 19—23; vi. 24—27; vii. 28—31; viii. 32—35.

[14] Lowth de Sac. Poes. Hebræor. Præl. xxvii. Ed. Michaelis et Rosenmüller. Lipsiæ. 1815. 8vo. pp. 309—313. Horsley, Psalms, vol. i. pp. 46—49. Bp. Horne's Comm. Also the other works cited on p. 68.

book of Psalms was collected and made a permanent part of the ritual.[15] He also divided the priests into twenty-four courses, to serve in rotation at the altar; and the Levites were divided into a like number of courses, both of singers and porters.[16]

The book of Psalms having been mentioned, it seems proper to advert for a moment to the reason why it was not sooner collected, and also of its perpetual use, as a part of public worship, wherever the name of Christ is named. Why it was not sooner collected, will appear from the fact, that, while the plan of redemption was ever the same in the divine mind, the revelation of it to man was gradual; and all the varied arrangements of human history, connected with the struggle of the original deceiver against the Almighty, have been so ordered as to lead, by slow yet sure steps, to the grand issue of the general judgment. The seed of the woman who was to bruise the serpent's head, had been declared at successive periods to be the descendant of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Predicted by the latter as the Shiloh who was to descend from Judah, no further specification was revealed until the several tribes had renounced the sovereignty of the Angel-Jehovah, and determined to have an earthly king. This king was given to them, in displeasure, in the person of Saul, who for forty years brought upon them, as a punishment for their folly, all the miseries which an ungodly ruler could inflict. This done, the sovereignty was settled upon David and his posterity forever; and it was now declared that when the Angel-Jehovah should become incarnate, it would be in the direct lineage of David. Hitherto, no other writings had been dictated by the Holy Spirit but the books of the law, the annals of the nation kept by the priests and prophets, and such occasional lyric compositions as the course of events had required, either triumphant or elegiac. But now that the

[15] Comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 7—36, with Psalms cv. and xcvi.

[16] Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. vii. Works, vol. i. p. 918.

Messiah's line was seated on the throne, in the person of the sweet singer of Israel, and the ark, the sacred symbol of the Messiah, was brought to repose at his side in the sanctuary of Mount Zion, it was fit that a series of divine hymns should be sung in God's service, in which, under the person of David, ruling over his kingdom, Christ and his Church, during the whole mediatorial dominion, from his first until his second advent, should be foreshadowed. "In the sacred rites of the Hebrews," says Bishop Lowth, "things, places, times, offices, and such like, sustain, as it were, a double character, the one proper or literal, the other allegorical; and in their writings these subjects are sometimes treated of in such a manner as to relate either to the one sense or the other singly, or to both united. For instance, a composition may treat of David, of Solomon, of Jerusalem, so as to be understood to relate simply either to the city itself and its monarchs, or else to those objects, which, in the sacred allegory of the Jewish religion, are denoted by that city and by those monarchs; or the mind of the author may embrace both objects at once, so that the very words which express the one in the plain, proper, historical, and commonly received sense, may typify the other in the sacred, interior, and prophetic sense."[17] This applies exclusively to compositions dictated by the Holy Ghost; no finite mind being capable of conducting this prophetic and mystic allegory.

These observations will account for the perpetual use of the Psalms in every part of the Christian Church; a use which will doubtless be continued to the end of the world, because they are the words of the Spirit; and the third person, the Spirit, now presides in the Church, as the second person of the Trinity did before the incarnation. This, to the pious Christian, will remove every difficulty occasioned by what seems, to the carnal mind, vindictive. As the Psalms are in

[17] Lowth, de Sac. Poes. Heb. Prael. xi. Ed. Michaelis, p. 114. Gregory's Transl. vol. i. p. 236.

more constant use, and have, therefore, a more practical influence than any other part of the Bible, a misinterpretation of them is peculiarly mischievous. Nothing has been more fatal than the attempt, however well meaning it may have been, to connect every psalm with some event in the life of David, as if it were the language of that prince under provocations, wrongs, or miseries, inflicted by his fellow-men, or as a monarch exulting for his personal triumph or prosperity. He himself gave a very different account, when he said, at the end of his life, "The Spirit of Jehovah spake by me, and his word was in my tongue."[18] That the Holy Ghost may have inspired him, on particular occasions, is not denied; nay, indeed, it is often asserted by the Holy Ghost himself. But, then, the language of inspiration was so framed as to express, what none but the Divine Mind could express, a prophetic anticipation of that mystic allegory which makes the Church in one age the type of its existence in all ages. Bishop Horsley has therefore well observed "that many of the Psalms are commemorative of the miraculous interpositions of God in behalf of the chosen people," because "*the history of the Jews is a fundamental part of revealed religion.* Many were probably composed upon the occasion of remarkable passages in David's life, his dangers, his afflictions, his deliverances. But of those which relate to the public history of the natural Israel, there are few in which the fortunes of the mystical Israel, the Christian Church, are not adumbrated; and of those which allude to the life of David there are none in which the Son of David is not the principal and immediate subject. David's complaints against his enemies are Messiah's complaints, first of the unbelieving Jews, then of the heathen persecutors and the apostate faction in later ages. David's afflictions are the Messiah's sufferings. David's penitential supplications are the supplications of Messiah, in agony under the burden of the imputed guilt of man. David's songs of triumph and thanksgiving are Messiah's songs of tri-

[18] 2 Sam. xxiii. 2.

umph and thanksgiving, for his victory over sin, and death, and hell. In a word, there is not a page of this book of Psalms in which the pious reader will not find his Saviour, if he reads with a view of finding him."[19]

IV.

But to return to our history. No sooner had David placed the ark upon Mount Zion, than blessings were showered upon him and his people. Success attended him in all his undertakings, and his arms were crowned with perpetual victory. Filled with gratitude, the pious king wished to show his sense of the divine goodness. He thought it inconsistent with that sense that he should dwell in a costly palace, while the ark of God was covered only by a tabernacle, however richly decorated, and protected by a tent, how impervious soever to outward accidents.[20] He, therefore, resolved to build a splendid temple upon Mount Zion, for the reception of the ark, and was encouraged to do so by the prophet Nathan, to whom he made known his intentions. But that same night the Almighty WORD appeared unto Nathan in a vision, and commanded him to convey a message to David, revealing to him that the Christ or Messiah should descend from his loins, and should raise up a spiritual temple, which, with his kingdom, should be established forever.[21] As this illustrious prophecy has been obscured in many versions, proceeding principally from a misapplication of it to Solomon, a literal translation of the parallel passages in which it appears is here inserted. For the benefit of the English reader, the same Hebrew words in both are translated alike; and wherever additional words are required by our idioms, they

[19] Preface to Bp. Horsley's Book of Psalms, p. x. vol. i. Lond. 1815.

[20] The tabernacle was the *inward*, and the tent the *outward* covering. Both are accurately distinguished in the description of them, Exod. xxvi.; the tabernacle, v. 1—6, 15—35; the tent, v. 7—14, 36, 37. See Bp. Horsley, Bib. Crit. on 2 Sam. vii. 6, and Exod. xxvi., particularly vol. i. pp. 108—113.

[21] 2 Sam. vii. 1—17. 1 Chron. xvii. 1—15. See this subject well treated by Whiston in his "Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies," Appendix xxii. Boyle's Lecture Sermons, vol. ii. pp. 333—340.

are printed in Italics. The divine names are left untranslated, because, in the judgment of the translator, they involve great theological truths; and the remarkable expressions, to which special attention is called, are in small capitals.

1 Chron. xvii.

4. Go and say unto David my servant, Thus saith Jehovah: Thou shalt not build for me the house of resting.

5. For I have not seated myself in a house from the day in which I brought up Israel unto this day; but I have been from tent to tent, and from tabernacle *to tabernacle.*

6. In all my passings to and fro in all Israel, have I ever said a word to any of the tribe-rulers of Israel, whom I have commanded to be as pastors unto my people, saying, Wherefore have ye not built for me a house of cedars?

7. And now thus shalt thou say to my servant, to David, Thus saith Jehovah of Hosts, I took thee from the sheep-cote from behind the flock, for to be preëminent over my people Israel.

8. And I have been with thee in all thy goings, and have cut to pieces all thy enemies from before thee, and have made unto thee a name, as the name of the great ones which are on the earth.

9. And have established a place for my people Israel, and have planted it and tabernacled beneath it, and it shall not be disturbed more, and the sons of evil shall not con-

2 Samuel vii.

5. Go and say unto my servant, unto David, Thus saith Jehovah: Shalt thou build for me a house for my resting?

6. For I have not seated myself in a house from the day of my bringing up the sons of Israel from Egypt even unto this day, but I have been passing to and fro in tent and tabernacle.

7. In all my passings to and fro among all the sons of Israel, have I ever said a word to any one of the tribe-rulers of Israel, whom I have commanded to be as pastors unto my people, even Israel, saying, Wherefore have ye not built for me a house of cedars?

8. And now thus shalt thou say to my servant, to David, Thus saith Jehovah of Hosts, I took thee from the sheep-cote from behind the flock, for to be preëminent over my people, over Israel.

9. And I have been with thee in all thy goings, and have cut to pieces all thy enemies from before thee, and have made unto thee a great name, as the name of the great ones which are on the earth.

10. And have established a place for my people, for Israel, and have planted it and tabernacled beneath it, and it shall not be disturbed more, and the sons of evil shall not con-

tinue to wear it away as in the former time.

10. And as from the days in which I commanded the judges concerning my people Israel, so have I SUBDUED all thy enemies, and have revealed unto thee that a house will Jehovah build for thee:

11. Therefore it shall come to pass that when thy days shall be fulfilled, TO WALK WITH THY FATHERS, then will I establish thy seed after thee, which SHALL BE FROM THY SONS, and I will firmly establish his kingdom.

12. He shall build for me a house, and I will firmly establish his throne even forever.

13. I WILL BE TO HIM FOR A FATHER, AND HE SHALL BE TO ME FOR A SON.

And my mercy will I not turn away from *being* with him, as I made it turn away from him who was before thy face.

14. And I will make him to stand in my house, and in my kingdom, even forever. And his throne shall be established even forever.

15. According to all these words, and according to all this vision, so spake Nathan unto David.

tinue to oppress it as in the former time.

11. And as from the day in which I commanded the judges concerning my people Israel, so have I GIVEN THEE REST FROM all thy enemies, and have revealed unto thee, Jehovah, that a house will Jehovah make for thee.

12. Therefore, when thy days shall be fulfilled, and THOU SHALT LIE DOWN WITH THY FATHERS, then will I establish thy seed after thee which SHALL GO FORTH FROM THY BOWELS, and I will firmly establish his kingdom.

13. He shall build a house for my name, and I will firmly establish the throne of his kingdom even forever.

14. I WILL BE TO HIM FOR A FATHER, AND HE SHALL BE TO ME FOR A SON.

[Whom, in his perverse doings, I will correct with the rod of *mortal* men, and with the smitings of the sons of Adam.]

15. And my mercy shall not turn away from *being* with him, as I made it to turn away from *being* with Saul, whom I made to turn away from before thy face.

16. And thy house shall be made stable, and thy kingdom even forever before thy face. Thy throne shall be established even forever.

17. According to all these words, and according to all this vision, so spake Nathan unto David.

The advantage of this collation must be obvious. Wherever the expressions *vary*, *they illustrate each other*, and often evolve great and important truths. The immortality of the

soul, for example, and its activity in the intermediate state between death and the resurrection, is shown by the comparison of the eleventh verse of 1 Chronicles xvii. with the twelfth verse of 2 Samuel vii. In the latter, the death of David is spoken of under the image of *lying down to sleep with his fathers;* in the former, under that of *walking with them.* The one denotes repose; the other, action. The one is expressive of that rest by which the germ of the glorified body is made to spring from the corruption of the earthly tenement, and the soul is no longer assailed by the lusts and the boastings of her terrestrial existence; the other, of that life in the invisible region of the first-born, where the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord are in joy and felicity.

Notwithstanding all the difficulties which beset the question respecting the date and authorship of the Chronicles, these books doubtless contain passages of great antiquity; and I cannot but look upon the text of this prophecy contained therein as being more ancient than the parallel text in the book of Samuel. Both are of the pure and golden age of the Hebrew language; but that of Chronicles is shorter and more precise, while the additions in that of Samuel seem like the paraphrastic explanations of a later pen. "I brought up Israel," in the one, is "my bringing up the sons of Israel from Egypt," in the other. So "my people," in the former, is "my people, even Israel," in the latter. "I have made unto thee a name," has the epithet added, "a *great* name." "As I mad· it turn away from him who was before thee," is explained as meaning "from being with *Saul.*" Compare also the alterations in 2 Sam. vii. 16, by an extraordinary change of persons, from the corresponding verse, 1 Chron. xvii. 14. These changes seem to me to have been made after the birth, and perhaps during the reign, of Solomon; and especially does the extraordinary addition in the fourteenth verse of 2 Sam. vii. seem to have been written after Solomon had lapsed into idolatry. I dare not say that it is a spurious clause, introduced to turn the prophecy from its

original sense; for the external evidence of manuscripts and versions is strong as to its integrity. But this I will say, that it is the only passage in the whole prophecy which, as usually rendered, can be considered as inapplicable to Christ; and, therefore, if it be genuine, it must be so interpreted as to be consistent with the Messiah's character. "If he commit iniquity," in the received translation, is taken from the Septuagint and the Vulgate. The word *if* is not in the Hebrew; and the relative pronoun must either be translated *whom*, as I have rendered it, or *whosoever*, as rendered by others. In the one case, it relates to Christ suffering under the imputed guilt of man; in the other, to the members of his mystical body, who for his sake are chastised with mercy.[22] That the words, "I will be to him for a Father, and he shall be to me for a son," were spoken of Christ, we have the testimony of the Holy Ghost;[23] and that David so understood it, is apparent from a strict translation of the remaining verses in the two chapters which have now been collated. If it had been a prophecy, merely, that a descendant of his should build a temple, it would not have produced so holy a transport of adoration as that which immediately followed it. The king hastened to the tabernacle, and prostrated himself before the ark, in that posture which is even now practised in the East, in prolonged and deep devotion. He sat upon his knees, and poured forth his gratitude before the oracle, in words of profound humility and rapturous love, which the Holy Spirit hath thus recorded:

1 Chron. xvii.

16. And David the king went and sat in the presence of Jehovah, and

2 Samuel vii.

18. And David the king went and sat in the presence of Jehovah, and

[22] See Bp. Horsley, Bib. Crit. vol. 1, p. 318, for the former sense, and Pierce on Heb. i. 5, Paraphrase, p. 13, for the latter. Bp. H. renders the passage "Insomuch *that when guilt is laid upon him*, although I chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men, yet my mercy shall not depart from him," &c. Mr. Pierce translates, "*Whosoever* shall commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rod of men," &c. "The *whosoever*," he adds, "is to be understood of those who belonged to the Messiah, and were his people or subjects." See also Dr. Hales' Analysis of Sac. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 332, &c.

[23] Heb. i. 5.

said Who am I, O Jehovah Elohim, and what is my house, that thou hast advanced me hitherto?

17. Yet this is a small thing in thy sight, O Elohim; and thou hast spoken concerning the house of thy servant for a great while to come; AND THOU HAST SEEN ME ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF THE MAN *who is* FROM ON HIGH, Jehovah Elohim.

18. What shall David continue more unto thee as to the glory of thy servant, since thou knowest thy servant?

19. O Jehovah! on account of thy servant, and according to thy heart, thou hast made [or done] all this greatness, to make known all the greatnesses.

20. O Jehovah! There is none like thee. And there is no Elohim excepting thee, according to all which we have heard with our ears.

21. And who is like unto thy people Israel, a single nation on the earth, whom the Elohim went to redeem to himself a people, to place for thee a name of great and terrible *things*, to drive out from before thy people, whom thou hast redeemed from Egypt, the nations?

22. And thou hast given thy people Israel to thee for a people even forever; and thou, O Jehovah! hast been unto them for Elohim.

23. And now, O Jehovah! the word which thou hast spoken concerning thy servant and concerning

said Who am I, O my Lord Jehovah, and what is my house, that thou hast advanced me hitherto?

19. Yet even this is a small thing in thy sight, O my Lord Jehovah; and thou hast spoken also concerning the house of thy servant for a great while to come; and THAT *is* THE LAW OF THE MAN, O my Lord Jehovah!

20. And what shall David continue more to say unto thee, since thou knowest thy servant, O my Lord Jehovah!

21. On account of thy word, and according to thy heart, thou hast made [or done] all this greatness, to cause thy servant to know.

22. Therefore art thou magnified, O Jehovah Elohim! For there is none like thee, and there is no Elohim excepting thee, according to all which we have heard with our ears.

23. And who is like unto thy people, like Israel, a single nation on the earth, whom the Elohim went to redeem to himself for a people, and to place for himself a name, and to do to you great and terrible *things*, to thy land from before thy people which thou hast redeemed to thyself from Egypt, the nations and their Elohim?

24. And thou hast firmly established for thee thy people Israel, for thee, for the people even forever; and thou, O Jehovah! hast been unto them for Elohim.

25. And now, O Jehovah Elohim! the word which thou hast spoken concerning thy servant and concerning

his house, let it be firmly founded even forever, and do as thou hast spoken.

24. And let thy name be firmly founded and magnified even forever, saying, Jehovah of Hosts, the Elohim of Israel, is Elohim unto Israel, and the house of David thy servant established before thy face.

25. For thou art my Elohim. Thou hast uncovered the ear of thy servant to build unto him a house. Therefore hath thy servant found to supplicate before thee.

26. And now, O Jehovah! thou art He the Elohim, and thou hast spoken concerning thy servant this goodness.

27. And now, thou art willing to bless the house of thy servant, that it may be forever before thy face. For thou, O Jehovah! hast blessed and art blessed forever.

his house, establish even forever, and do as thou hast spoken.

26. And thy name shall be magnified even forever, saying, Jehovah of Hosts is Elohim over Israel, and the house of thy servant David shall be established before thy face.

27. For thou, O Jehovah of Hosts! O Elohim of Israel! thou hast uncovered the ear of thy servant, saying, A house will I build for thee. Therefore hath thy servant found his heart to supplicate unto thee this supplication [or to offer unto thee this prayer.]

28. And now, O my Lord Jehovah! thou art He the Elohim, and thy words shall be truth, and thou wilt speak unto thy servant this goodness.

29. And now be pleased to bless the house of thy servant, that it may be forever before thy face. For thou, O my Lord Jehovah! hast spoken, and thy blessing will bless the house of thy servant forever.

From the beginning of this act of adoration, it is plain that David contemplated a *very remote descendant ;* and if it had not been for the obscurity thrown over his language by a departure from its strict and literal rendering, it would have been seen that the Messiah, and none other, was the descendant so contemplated. "The law of the man who is from on high," was the everlasting purpose by which "the Word was made flesh." "When these two passages," (2 Sam. vii. 19, and 1 Chron. xvii. 17,) says Bishop Horsley, "are considered in their respective contexts, it is manifest that they are exactly parallel." Hence he translates them thus: "2 Sam.

vii. 19. And this [namely, what was said about his house in distant times] is the arrangement about The MAN, O Lord Jehovah. 1 Chron. xvii. 17. And thou hast regarded me in the arrangement about The MAN that is to be from above, O God Jehovah." "That is," he adds, "in forming the scheme of the incarnation, regard was had to the honour of David and his house, as a secondary object, by making it a part of the plan, that the Messiah should be born in his family. This is indisputably the sense of both passages."[24]

V.

How strange it seems that one who thus feared God, should have fallen into the dreadful crime of adultery! His heart was lifted up by continual victory. Not only the Philistines within his own borders, but the various nations around him, were subdued even to the extent of the grant made in the covenant with Abraham.[25] The prophecies of the subjection of Esau to Jacob were now also fulfilled by the conquest of the Edomites.[26] An insult offered to his ambassadors, by the Ammonites, brought on a very destructive war with that nation, in which all the flower of David's army was engaged, under the command of his most valiant generals. Among these was Uriah the Hittite,[27] who held the distinguished post of armour-bearer to the general-in-chief, and was, therefore, the constant companion and aid of Joab.[28] He had married Bathsheba, the daughter of Ammiel,[29] and, as the Jews maintain, the grand-daughter of Ahithophel the Gilonite,[30] the venerable and wise counsellor of David. While Uriah was with the army, besieging Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites, the

[24] Bp. Horsley's Bib. Crit. vol. i. pp. 350—352, and Dr. Kennicott's Posth. Dissert., to whom he confesses his obligation for the important hint that "The *Man*" and "The Man from above" allude to Christ, and to none else.

[25] Gen. xv. 18.

[26] Gen. xxv. 23; xxvii. 40. Numb. xxiv. 18. 1 Chron. xviii. 12, 13. 2 Sam. viii. 13, 14.

[27] 2 Sam. xxiii. 39. 1 Chron. xi. 41.

[28] Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii. c. vii. 1.

[29] 1 Chron. iii. 5, comp. with 2 Sam. xi. 3.

[30] 1 Sam. xxiii. 34. Eliam is only a transposition of Ammiel. See Calmet's Dict. voc. Ahithophel.

king, walking on the top of his palace to enjoy the cool of the evening, saw the young and beautiful Bathsheba bathing herself in a retired part of her garden. Smitten with her extraordinary charms, he immediately commanded her to be brought to him, and committed a crime which, by the righteous law of God, subjected both himself and her to death.[31] It was not long before they were filled with horrible fears of discovery; and Bathsheba sent to implore the king that he would save her from the ignominy of a public execution. He resorted in vain to the expedient of recalling Uriah from the army; for that brave and high-minded officer, whether he suspected his dishonour, or thought it inconsistent with a soldier's duty to relax the discipline of war, refused the specious indulgence, and returned to the camp without having visited his wife. The commission of one crime leads, by sure and certain steps, to another. David committed murder; and the noble Uriah was sacrificed to hide the guilt of his frail wife and her royal paramour.[32]

The justice of God slumbereth not. Though David had forfeited his life, it did not comport with the divine purposes thus to chastise the progenitor of the Messiah; but the great afflictions of his subsequent life were visitations connected in great measure with these aggravated sins. The ignominy thus inflicted on the house of the aged Ahithophel alienated his affections from the king, and induced him to seek revenge by favouring the rebellion of Absalom. He it was who counselled that unnatural son to violate his father's bed, and thus to inflict upon him publicly, and tenfold more bitterly, the disgrace he had brought upon the family of Bathsheba.[33] The fearful fall of David; the merciful mission of Nathan, which awakened the conscience of the unhappy culprit; the remorse he displayed, and the calamities he suffered, are all faithfully recorded for our admonition, that we should neither presume nor despair.

[31] Levit. xx. 10.
[32] 2 Sam. xi.
[33] 2 Sam. xvi. 20—23.

A second offence, though of a character very different from the first, was that of numbering the people. This act is ascribed, in one place, to "the anger of Jehovah against Israel;" in another, to the seductions of Satan.[31] The two expressions may be easily reconciled. In the struggle between God and the great enemy of souls, a struggle which continues, and will continue, until the day of judgment, the withdrawing of God's power from the soul leaves it a prey to the power of Satan. Continual prosperity had made the nation froward and dissolute, and their king proud and presumptuous. God withdraws his Spirit, and the watchful power of the adversary takes advantage of the consequent weakness to seduce to evil. It was the duty of David and his nation to rely on God's protection, not on the power of numbers. The action was, in itself, indifferent, depending solely on the motive of the agent. Moses numbered the people, but it was in obedience to God's command. David numbers them, without God's command, and from a principle of vain-glory. Nine months and twenty days were occupied in the task, and the whole number of warriors was found to exceed 1,300,000. By the time it was finished, the heart of David smote him, and he repented of his folly. Here no prophet was needed to awaken him; yet was he scourged, though with a choice of punishment, — three years of famine, three months of war, or three days of pestilence. The punishment of his adultery fell upon himself; that of his numbering the people, upon the nation. In great perplexity, he chose pestilence. He and his people could die but once, and it was better to trust in the Lord's mercies, by choosing that which seemed to come more immediately from his hand. But it was no common pestilence. It was the Angel-Jehovah, who now appeared in the exercise of wrath. He who conducted them through the wilderness, — He who appeared to Joshua at Gilgal, — He who threatened the assembled tribes at Shiloh, — He whom they rejected

[31] 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

when they asked for an earthly king: He it was who now appeared from heaven, "the Captain of the Lord's host," sheathing the sword of his indignation over Mount Moriah, where the future temple was now appointed to be placed, and where the flame of sacrifice now first arose, which was to continue till He should come in the flesh, and offer himself a sacrifice for the sins of his people.[35]

VI.

Worn out by afflictions and cares, more than by years, David died at the age of seventy. But for several years previous to that event, he was constantly engaged in preparing for the construction of the temple, which, it had been revealed to him, should be erected by his son Solomon. This revelation, so entirely distinct from that made to Nathan, was probably given just before the birth of Solomon. "The word of the Lord came to David, saying, Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars: thou shalt not build an house unto my name.....Behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his enemies round about; for his name shall be Solomon, and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days. He shall build an house for my name."[36] David was the type of the conquering and triumphant Messiah; Solomon, of the same Messiah as the Prince of Peace, reigning over his Church in rest and quietness. Preparations may be made in the present imperfect state of war and victory; but the spiritual temple will be built in that period of repose and blessedness which is yet in store for the sons of God.

Though David was not allowed to build the temple, yet it was under the divine direction and guidance that he made for it the most minute and most extensive preparations. As Moses received a pattern on Mount Sinai for the erection of the tabernacle,[37] so did David on Mount Zion receive a pattern

[35] Hales' Analysis, vol. ii. pp. 353, 354. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 Chron. xxi.—xxii. 1.

[36] 1 Chron. xxii. 7—10.

[37] Exod. xxv. 8, 9. Heb. viii. 5.

of the temple, "BY THE SPIRIT," which was no less than an architectural plan, containing the drawings and dimensions of all the places and instruments of service of the new sanctuary.[38] "All this," said David, "Jehovah made me to understand in writing, by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern."[39]

He was thus enabled to lay out the whole work, to provide all the materials of construction, and even to weigh with minutest accuracy the gold and silver required for the various instruments, vessels, ornaments, and furniture of the temple. When it is considered how much of that sumptuous building was overlaid with the precious metals, how many precious stones were inwrought, how many costly marbles for its pillars and entablatures, how many magnificent fabrics of all sorts; and that all were paid for by the treasures accumulated by David in the last twenty years of his reign, some idea may be formed of his immense wealth. According to the most accurate tables, a talent of silver was worth 342*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*, sterling, or $1505 62.5.; and a talent of gold £5475, or $24,309.[40] Notwithstanding all his afflictions, he had prepared for the house of the Lord a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, beside brass and iron without weight, timber and stone in abundance, and workmen of every kind, who had been continually employed for many years.[41] Nor was this all. Within the last six months of his life, he assembled the heads of the nation, and after exhorting them to aid his son in the accomplishment of this great work, he proceeded to make a voluntary offering from his private estate of three thousand talents of gold and seven thousand talents of silver. Excited by this example, the chief men of the nation made also their voluntary offerings of gold and silver, brass, iron, and precious stones. Estimating

[38] 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 12.

[39] 1 Chron. xxviii. 19.

[40] See Robinson's Calmet. The calculations are taken from Dr. Arbuthnot's tables, estimating an ounce of silver at five shillings, and of gold at four pounds. Dean Prideaux's estimate is larger, (Connection, pref. x.—xiii.,) but I think less accurate.

[41] 1 Chron. xxii. 14—16.

what our translation calls drams as equal to three Spanish dollars,[42] their offerings in gold and silver alone amounted to $136,631,250! And when we take into account that, before the discovery of America, money was three times as valuable as at present, the offerings of the people amounted to nearly $410,000,000, as now estimated, in addition to the immense sums already hoarded by the king for this great purpose. Into what insignificance do even the proudest fanes of modern times sink, in comparison with a work for which a plan was furnished by divine inspiration, and executed by the ablest architects and artificers then living! And yet David could say, in the name of his people, "O Lord, our God, all this store that we have prepared to build thee an house for thine holy name, cometh of thine hand, and is all thine own. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine; thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all; and in thine hand is power and might; and in thine hand it is to make great and to give strength unto all. . . . . Who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of thee, and OF THINE OWN HAVE WE GIVEN THEE!"[43]

If it be asked how such immense treasures could have been collected in so short a time, not only by the king, but by the whole nation of Israel, it may be replied, that the difference in the monetary system of the ancients, and especially of the Eastern nations, from that which is now in operation, may easily account for it. The whole history of the production and consumption of the precious metals is involved in the answer; and for this the reader must necessarily be referred to the writers on political economy and the wealth of nations. There were four sources from which the revenue of David was derived: agriculture, war, trade, and tribute. The land was

[42] See Robinson's Gesenius, v. אַדַרְכֹן. [43] 1 Chron. xxix.

fertile; and though the nation was populous, there was a large surplus of its staple productions, — corn, wine, and oil. By these David was enabled, as Solomon afterwards was, to pay the king of Tyre for the workmen employed in hewing timber and stone.[44] The numerous wars with the nations around him, in all of which he was successful, transferred to his coffers the immense hoards of treasure which had been accumulated for centuries. Coin hoarded and not circulated, loses nothing by friction; and as the spoils of the vanquished, by common consent, belonged to the victor, the treasures of David were in fact all that he won back of the treasures brought from Egypt, which had been taken by the Philistines, Ammonites, Midianites, and other enemies of Israel, together with all the other wealth hoarded by them and the Edomites, Moabites, and Syrians.[45] The crown alone of the king of Ammon was worth a talent of gold.[46] How great, then, must have been his other treasures! Yet Ammon was far from being the greatest of the nations whom David conquered; and it is probable that from war alone he obtained more than enough to build the temple. But he was also engaged in commerce. After the conquest of Edom, he held the ports of the Red Sea, and his ships traded with India, Persia, Arabia, and the coast of Africa. He had also a yearly tribute from the various conquered nations. The Phœnicians, the great navigators of the Mediterranean, paid him in the precious metals, as well as in building materials and skilful workmen. Add to all these sources the rigid economy of his government. The several tribes furnished and paid for their several contingents in war as well as in peace; and, after the conquest of his enemies round about, the tranquillity of the nation admitted a wise and prudent parsimony.[47]

VII.

But the preparations of David were not confined to the

[44] 1 Kings v. 9—11.
[45] 1 Chron. xviii.
[46] 2 Sam. xii. 30.
[47] Delany's Life of David, chap. xix. vol. iii. pp. 262—279. Jacob's Hist. Inq. into the production and consumption of the precious metals, pp. 66—71.

construction of the temple. He also delivered into the hands of Solomon a new arrangement "for the courses of the priests and the levites, and for all the work of the service of the house of the LORD."[48] The priests, the sons of Aaron, were divided into two houses: the sons of Eleazar and of Zadok, and of Ithamar under Ahimelech. But there were more chief men found of the sons of Eleazar than of the sons of Ithamar; sixteen heads of families of the one, and eight of the other.[49] This gave occasion to the division of the priests into twenty-four courses, named after the chiefs then existing of their respective households. This arrangement was continued through all the subsequent history of the nation, even to the time of our Saviour; for Zachariah, the father of John the Baptist, was of the eighth course.[50]

The division of the priests into twenty-four courses, appears to have governed also the distribution of the levites, whose duty it was to wait upon the priests in the performance of all the different services of the Lord's house. Of those whose age exceeded thirty, the number capable of effective service was 38,000. Twenty-four thousand, or 1,000 for each sacerdotal course, were "to set forward the work of the house of the Lord;" 6,000 were officers and judges among the people; 4,000 were door-keepers, and a like number were appointed to praise the Lord with instruments of music, cymbals, harps, and psalteries.[51] This last number, whose duty it was "to stand, every morning and evening, to thank and praise Jehovah," were divided according to the three families of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun. "All these were under the hands of their father for song in the house of the Lord, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God, according to the king's order to Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman."[52] That this arrangement was made under divine

[48] 1 Chron. xxviii. 13.
[49] 1 Chron. xxiv. 1—5.
[50] Comp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 10, with St. Luke i. 5.
[51] 1 Chron. xxiii. 3—5.
[52] 1 Chron. xxv. 6.

direction, is expressly asserted in a subsequent part of the sacred history. "Moreover, Hezekiah, the king, and the princes, commanded the levites to sing praise unto the Lord with the words of David, and of Asaph the seer. And he set the levites in the house of the Lord, with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet; for *so was the commandment of the Lord*, (Jehovah,) by his prophets."[53] But it is very remarkable that the regulations thus made under divine direction, and given to Solomon for the service of "the house of resting," differed in several respects from those of the tabernacle. The reader's attention has already been called to the change in the mode of celebrating the Passover, occasioned by the change of condition, when the people of Israel passed from the fatigues of their journey out of Egypt into the repose of the promised land. At the institution of the Passover, the order was given to "eat it with their loins girded, their shoes on their feet, their staves in their hands, and in haste."[54] This was the arrangement under Moses; but when, under Joshua, the typical Jesus, they had entered into their rest, the posture of standing in the manner and garb of wayfaring men was changed to that of reclining on couches, indicating repose after the fatigues of their journey. So was it when the ark, in the peaceful reign of Solomon, was to enter into its final resting-place. The reason of the change demanded a corresponding change in the ritual. As the age of service for the levites, under Moses, had been thirty years and upward unto fifty years,[55] because the severity of the service necessarily excluded the young and the infirm; so now, in the rest, under Solomon, the levites were allowed to serve from the age of twenty years and upward, without limiting the other extreme to fifty. This is the reason assigned expressly for the change: "For David said, The Lord God of Israel hath given rest unto his

[53] 2 Chron. xxix. 30 and 25.
[54] Exod. xii. 11.
[55] Numb. iv. 3, 23, 30.

people, that they may dwell in Jerusalem forever: and also unto the levites; they shall no more carry the tabernacle, nor any vessels of it for the service thereof. For, by the last words of David, the levites were numbered from twenty years old and above; because their office was to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of the Lord, in the courts, and in the chambers, and in the purifying of all holy things, and the work of the service of the house of God."[56]

So it will be when the blessed Prince of Peace shall take possession of the throne of his father David; when the spiritual temple, foretold in the prophecy of Nathan, shall be built; when the knowledge of Jehovah shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the seas; when, in the service of his priests and levites, there shall be "neither beginning of days nor end of life;"[57] and when the kingdom of "THE MAN FROM ON HIGH," the King Messiah, shall be established even forever and ever!

[56] 1 Chron. xxiii. 24—32. [57] Heb. vii. 3.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE REIGN OF SOLOMON TO THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM.

I. The lines of descent from Solomon and Nathan, derived from Bathsheba, terminate in our Lord. — Four blemishes in his maternal ancestors. — No immaculate conception but his own. — Beginning of Solomon's reign good and prosperous. — His wisdom. — Extent of his dominion. II. Building of the temple. — The dates of that event regulate chronology. — Unwarrantable departures from the Bible. — Dedication of the temple. — Psalm cxxxii. — The removal of the ark. — The glory of Jehovah rested upon it. — Solomon's prayer. III. Marriage of Solomon with the daughter of the king of Egypt. — No monuments of the twenty-first Egyptian dynasty remain. — The Egyptian bride, the daughter of Psinaches. — The forty-fifth Psalm. — The Song of Songs. — Doubts whether the bride in this poem was Pharaoh's daughter. — Its meaning, the mysterious union of Christ and his Church. — Solomon's other compositions. — His death.

I.

BOTH Solomon and Nathan were the sons of David by the adulterous Bathsheba. From the former, by direct lineal descent, came Joseph; and from the latter, Mary, the virgin mother of our Lord. As well by adoption as by lineal descent, the royal race of Judah terminated in the lowly Jesus as the King Messiah. In the course of his progenitors in the flesh, it is remarkable that what the world would regard as a taint in human blood occurred at least four times. Ruth, the mother of Obed, David's grandfather, sprang from the incestuous race of Lot; Pharez was the son of Judah by his widowed daughter-in-law; Rahab, the wife of Salmon, was of the race of Canaan, with whom all intermarriages were forbidden, and who, if a hostess, was, from her occupation, at least of suspected fame; and Bathsheba, whatever may have been her subsequent life and character, was guilty of an igno-

minious crime, for which she was punishable with death. Divine Providence, perhaps, allowed these blemishes in the Messiah's human descent, to show that no other immaculate conception was necessary but that of Him who was not born of the will of the flesh, but was conceived of the Holy Ghost in the womb of a pure virgin.

The beginning of Solomon's reign was marked by an act of religious duty, and a corresponding blessing from God, which seemed to promise that he would walk steadfastly in the ways of his father David. Though the ark had been removed to the new tabernacle upon Mount Zion, that erected by Moses, with its furniture, and the original altar of sacrifice, were at Gibeon. When they were conveyed thither, we know not; but it seems to have been an inaugural ceremony to sacrifice to God on that altar; nor was any other allowed, until the threshing-floor of Ornan, on Mount Moriah, was divinely chosen for the temple. The king and the assembled nation, by this solemn act, acknowledged their dependence upon God.[1] It was graciously accepted; and the following night a vision of the Angel-Jehovah bestowed upon the youthful monarch not only what he had asked for, "a wise and an understanding heart," but also that which he had "not asked, both riches and honour."[2] From that time forth he became the greatest of earthly potentates; but it was a conditional covenant, depending on his obedience. "If thou wilt walk in my ways, and keep my statutes and my commandments, as thy father David did walk, then I will lengthen thy days." Filled with gratitude, Solomon returned to Jerusalem, and did homage before the ark with voluntary, votive, and eucharistic oblations.

A. J. P. 3686. B. V.Æ. 1028.

The wisdom of the king was soon made apparent in the peace and prosperity of his kingdom. All Judah and Israel lived in the greatest security; and all the neighbouring nations either paid him tribute, or were at least his friends

[1] 2 Chron. i. 2—7. [2] 1 Kings iii. 5—15.

and allies. His dominion extended over all the territory which God had given to Abraham, from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, and from the river of Egypt to the mountains of Cœle-Syria. His fame is still preserved in the East, under the title of Soliman Ben-Daoud; and the most extravagant stories are still current, that God subjected to his sway not only men, and birds, and animals, and all terrestrial elements, but even good and bad spirits.[3] Strangers visited his capital to see his state, and admire his wisdom and knowledge. Such was his condition for more than twenty years of his reign, during which he continued faithful. At the end of this period, a vision, like that which he had seen in Gibeon, warned him of the fatal consequences of that apostasy into which he afterwards fell.[4]

II.

After what has been said of the preparations made for building the temple, it seems unnecessary to say much as to its completion. Three years of Solomon's reign were spent in perfecting these arrangements; the whole of the stones and timber being so exactly adjusted, that, when the work of building began, "neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron was heard in the house."[5] Apt emblem of that spiritual temple built of living stones, which are hewed and polished amid the tumults of a noisy world, so that there may be only quietness and peace when they come together into God's sanctuary!

At length, in the four hundred and eightieth year after the Exodus, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign, and in the second month of the ecclesiastical year, the king began to build the house of the Lord. The record is made with such solemnity and precision, as would seem to exclude all debate or hesitation; and yet it is scarcely neces- A. J. P. 3689. B. V. Æ. 1025.

[3] D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. Soliman.
[4] 1 Kings ix. 2—10. 2 Chron. vii. 12—22.
[5] 1 Kings vi. 7.

sary to say here, that no date has been more wilfully departed from, in ancient as well as modern times, by Jews as well as Christians, and by men who reverence, as well as by those who disregard, the language of inspiration. For 480 years, the ancient Greek version reads 440. This is the more remarkable, because that version, in general, when it differs from the Hebrew text, lengthens, instead of contracting, the periods of biblical chronology. The Hebrew date occurs with surprising accuracy in every extant manuscript, and in every ancient version not taken from the Greek, — the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Arabic, and the Latin of St. Jerome. The departure from it has been occasioned by the difficult chronology of the book of Judges. It was begun by the Hebrews themselves, though at what time is uncertain; sufficiently long, however, to have become a general opinion. Hence, St. Paul, in speaking to the Jews of Antioch in Pisidia, did not see fit to contest, on such a point, so widely diffused an opinion, but merely qualified it by saying, that, after the division of the land of Canaan by lot, God gave the nation judges for "*about* the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet." It was merely a passing and incidental remark, without the least thought of settling points of chronology, and should not be regarded as opposing a formal and official record of the most exact and decisive character.[6] For such reasons, instead of launching on the dangerous sea of conjecture, it is better to confine ourselves to the express language of Holy Writ. The years of the kings of Israel were counted from the first of Nisan, which, in the 480th year after the Exodus, fell on

[6] See the author's two discourses on Prophecy. Sermon ii. p. 53, and Appendix, from p. 62 to p. 91. It will be seen, on p. 82, that Eusebius reasoned in like manner; and that even the Jewish doctors of his age did not deny the authority of 1 Kings vi. 1, and endeavoured to form a scheme of adjustment, including the servitudes in the reigns of the Judges. It has been shown (p. 100) that the division of the land of Canaan among the tribes took place after July, B. V. Æ. 1458. If, then, the foundation of the temple was in the 480th year after the Exodus, or B. V. Æ. 1025, and the reign of David began 43½ years earlier, or in B. V. Æ. 1069, the whole period from the division till the death of Samuel, even if we place that event 2 instead of 22 years before the death of Saul, could not have exceeded 387 years.

Thursday, the 31st of March. The second month, I-yar or Ziph, which corresponded with the Syro-Macedonian month *Artemisius*,[7] began on Friday, the 29th of April; so that, allowing for any slight variation in the reckoning, the solemnity of laying the foundation of the temple must have taken place about the first of May. Seven years and six months were taken up in building it, and it was finished in the month of Marchesvan or Bul, in the eleventh year of Solomon's reign. That month began on Friday, the 6th of October. The preceding month was the beginning of the civil year; a month devoted by the law to a series of solemnities which required the assemblage of the whole nation.[8] Solomon, therefore, determined to connect with them the dedication of the temple, and for this purpose wrote to the governors and elders of the Hebrews, says Josephus, to assemble the whole nation, that they might see the building, and remove the ark from Mount Zion, and the tabernacle of Moses from Gibeon.[9] Never before or since was there seen a national celebration so varied, so prolonged, or so general. On Thursday, the 7th of September, the year was ushered in by the blowing of the silver trumpets, and a holy convocation assembled to present their voluntary burnt offerings before the Lord. Then came the season of humiliation, when the high priest entered within the veil to make atonement for his own sins and the sins of the people, designed to prefigure the ascension of Christ with his own blood into heaven, to obtain eternal redemption for his people. It was a Sabbath, and coincided that year with the 16th of September. Five days after began the feast of Tabernacles, which terminated on Thursday, the 28th of that month. The following week was occupied in the procession to Gibeon, to bring up the tabernacle of witness erected by Moses, which, with its furniture and utensils, was now deposited in the temple. This done,

A. J. P. 3696.
B. V. Æ. 1018.

[7] Joseph. Ant. lib. viii. c. 3.
[8] Levit. xxiii. 23—36.
[9] Joseph. Ant. lib. viii. c. 4, comp. with 1 Kings viii. 1—4.

the ark of the covenant was also borne in procession from Mount Zion, with similar ceremonies to those which accompanied its progress from the house of Obed-Edom.[10] The 132d Psalm was probably composed by David, to be first used on this occasion, and was sung by the priests and levites as the ark was carried up the steps.[11] It begins with a commemoration of David and his intentions to build a habitation for the mighty God of Jacob. It then alludes to the wanderings of the ark from its first habitation in Shiloh, to its long sojourn in Kirjath-Jearim, the city of woods, and the necessity of going hither and thither to worship in the presence of Jehovah.[12] It then bursts forth in language similar to that of Moses when the ark marched before the people in the wilderness, to find out a resting-place. "Arise, O Jehovah, into thy rest, thou and the ark of thy strength." Then follows a prayer for the priesthood, asked only through the favour of the Anointed Son of David, to whom God had sworn "that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne."[13] The psalm ends with a prediction of conditional blessings, dependent upon faith, obedience, and perseverance. The best Jewish commentators themselves confess that in this psalm, "the Horn of David is the Messiah," and "the lamp is the King which illuminates the nations,"[14] and in the New Testament it is directly referred to in the song of Zachariah.[15] "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David."

The ark being thus conveyed, in solemn procession, into the Holy of Holies, the levites, who had borne it, retired; and then, the whole body of the priests being present, — for the administration by courses had not yet begun, — it was un-

[10] See pp. 138, 139.

[11] Horsley on the Psalms, vol. ii. p. 277.

[12] See Houbigant in loc. tom. iii. p. 187, and Horsley in loc.

[13] Such is the interpretation of this psalm by St. Peter, Acts ii. 30.

[14] R. Saadiah and R. D. Kimchi quoted by Dr. Hammond, and after him by Bp. Horne.

[15] St. Luke i. 69.

covered, and fitted to its place beneath the cherubic emblems, never more, if Israel remained faithful, to be disturbed from its rest. The veil was then let down which concealed it from the view of mortals; and no eye was thenceforward to see it, excepting that of the high priest, on the anniversary of the Atonement. In the mean time, the levites appointed for song, clothed in fine linen pure and white, arranged themselves in three companies, under their respective leaders, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, and stood at the east end of the altar, with instruments of music in their hands. One hundred and twenty priests, with silver trumpets, had their places also assigned them; and when the ark was fixed in its abode, a sudden blast, given and prolonged by distant echoes, communicated to the immense multitude without that God was gone up into his place.[16] Instantly the whole choir lifted up their thousands of voices, accompanied with harps and viols, in the words of the 136th Psalm: "O give thanks unto the LORD, for he is good: for his mercy endureth forever." At this moment, precisely as when Moses first erected the tabernacle in the wilderness, the cloud of the divine presence came rolling into the temple, dark without, but bright within, filling the whole sanctuary with an overpowering effulgence, so that the priests were not able to minister within by reason of the glory.[17] The king was seated on a brazen scaffold, or platform, erected in the midst of the court, before the altar of burnt sacrifice.[18] When the divine presence had passed, he arose, and, breaking the profound silence occasioned by that awful sight, exclaimed, "The Lord hath said that he would dwell in the thick darkness. But I have built an house of habitation for thee, and a place for thy dwelling forever." He then briefly recounted God's mercies to the people, to his father, and to himself, in what might be called the instrument of dedication; and having solemnly

[16] Ps. xlvii. 5.
[17] Comp. Exod. xl. 24, 25, with 2 Chron. v. 11—14 and 1 Kings viii. 10, 11.
[18] 2 Chron. vi. 12, 13.

blessed the congregation, turned his face to the sanctuary, and falling prostrate, with extended arms, uttered that sublime and comprehensive prayer which has been the model ever since in devoting places to the worship of God. No sooner had he risen from his knees, than a flash of fire darted from the divine glory, and consumed the sacrifices on the brazen altar. This descent of hallowed fire from the divine presence was the token of God's favour in the wilderness;[19] a similar descent now was a token of like favour, and also, as in the case of Nadab and Abihu, a warning that no strange fire should, at any time, be offered before Jehovah. Even our living sacrifices must be kindled by a flame from God.

This prophetic prayer ended with an expression which shows clearly that Solomon understood the distinction between himself and that future Son of David, of whom he was only the type: "Jehovah Elohim, turn not away the face of thy MESSIAH; remember the mercies of David thy servant."[20]

III.

The marriage of Solomon with the daughter of the king of Egypt took place while he was building the temple, between the fourth and the ninth year of his reign.[21] No intercourse had existed between the two nations for nearly five centuries. The reign of Rhameses IV., the head of the nineteenth dynasty, ended after the death of Joshua. Several of his sons succeeded him on the throne of Egypt, but did nothing worthy of note. The twentieth dynasty consisted of twelve Diospolitan kings, whose monuments have perished, and of whose names nine only have been found. Of their actions history retains no vestiges; and it is only by probable conjecture that the whole duration of their collective reigns is estimated at 178 years. The twenty-first dynasty began, it

[19] Levit. ix. 24.

[20] 2 Chron. vi. 42, and Dr. Hales in loc. Analysis, vol. ii. pp. 360, 361. The last expression seems to refer to the grateful thanks of David after the prophecy of Nathan. 1 Chron. xvii. 16—20 and 2 Sam. vii. 18—22.

[21] Between B. v. Æ. 1025 and 1020.

is supposed, in the latter part of the government of Samuel, about ten years before the reign of Saul. How strange it is, that, during the whole period from Joshua to Saul, and precisely that period in which, were it never so perfect, it could throw no light upon the Bible, the monumental history of Egypt is to us an entire blank! Even of the twenty-first dynasty no indubitable monuments have been found; for it was of Tanis, in Lower Egypt, the Zoan of the Bible, which is now utterly destroyed; and this may account for the entire destruction of their monuments. The names of seven kings are preserved, five of whom were contemporary with Saul and David. Psinaches, the sixth, began to reign in the same year with Solomon; but, if we may judge from his short reign of nine years, must have been greatly his senior, and consequently may have had a daughter old enough to be his wife. That the marriage took place during her father's reign, appears from the fact that he took Gezer from the Canaanites, and gave it "for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife."[22] And that it was after Solomon had begun to build the temple, is to be inferred from the expression, that "he brought her into the city of David until he had *made an end* of building."[23] Thus the time of the marriage is ascertained within five years. As the Holy Scriptures do not blame Solomon for this act, it is inferred that the Egyptian princess became a proselyte to the true religion. The prohibitions in the law[24] apply only to the Moabites, the Ammonites, and especially the foredoomed race of Canaan; but with all other nations alliances might be made, provided the wife became a member of God's Church. The forty-fifth Psalm is supposed by many to have been composed on this occasion; but there are difficulties in the supposition, which have greatly divided the opinions of commentators. As to its mystical interpretation concerning Christ and his Church, there is the greatest

[22] 1 Kings ix. 16.
[23] 1 Kings iii. 1.
[24] Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3, 4.

harmony. The Chaldee Paraphrast ascribes the psalm itself to the time of Moses, and says expressly that it speaks of the King Messiah. Among the Jewish commentators, Kimchi says, "This psalm is spoken of the King Messiah." St. Paul and the ancient Church apply it exclusively to Christ; and though Clarius and Calvin suppose that it was an Epithalamium or nuptial song, relating to Solomon and his Egyptian princess, yet I cannot trace this opinion higher than their time; and they consider it as belonging in its fullest sense only to Christ and the Church.[25]

But, whatever may be said of the forty-fifth Psalm, it is most certain that the Song of Songs was written by Solomon. Of this there has never been the least doubt in the Church, both before and since the incarnation; and that he wrote it by inspiration, is expressly affirmed by the Jews in the Chaldee Targum, and must be believed, because it has ever formed a part of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is not quoted, indeed, by our Saviour or his apostles in the New Testament; and, so far, the testimony in its favour is defective. But that it was included in the recension of Ezra, there can be no doubt; and this alone is sufficient evidence of its inspiration. As a poem, it is one of the most beautiful productions of Eastern literature. The style is of the purest and most elegant; and whatever may be thought of its impassioned character, which belongs to the genius of Eastern poesy, it is, when rightly interpreted, chaste, modest, and inimitably delicate. Amid the great variety of conjectures

[25] See Alting's note on Heb. i. 8—12. Opera. tom. iv. Hæb. 40—42. Burkii Gnomon Psal. Crit. Sac. Londin. Venema Doederlein, &c. apud Dath, and more especially Bp. Horsley, Psalms, vol. i. p. 114, and notes. Sermons, vol. i. pp. 73—152. He contends strongly against Calvin, supposing him to have been the first who applied it to Solomon and the Egyptian princess. But Isidore Clarius, who was present at the Council of Trent, applied it so too. Neither Luther nor Melancthon seem to have had any such idea. It is certainly a modern opinion; yet the affinity of the psalm to the Song of Songs, of which Solomon was confessedly the author, is so great that St. Augustine and St. Jerome, in their commentaries on the one, continually mention the other. If it be an Epithalamium, Christ is the bridegroom, and the Church the bride; and it relates, as Bp. Horsley remarks, to the second advent.

as to its peculiar structure, we owe to the learning, taste, and acuteness of Bossuet the most probable solution. It is a sort of masque, or sacred allegory, adapted to the nuptial festival of the Hebrews, which, like all other great festivals, occupied a whole week. On the first day the marriage takes place, and the festival ends with a Sabbath. The events of each day are divided into those of the morning and evening. The speakers in the dialogue are a royal shepherd, his lovely bride, and the ten virgins that be her fellows. The friends of the bridegroom attend upon him; and the virgins, like the dramatic chorus of the Greeks, are always present. At one time the scene is laid in the apartments, at another in the gardens, of the seraglio. Now, it is the relation of passing events; and now, the record of wild and feverish dreams. But at all times it is the language of chaste wedded love, and not of the base pleasures of meretricious enjoyment.

With regard to the bride herself, there are many particulars which lead one to doubt whether she could have been the Egyptian princess. The affinity with Pharaoh's daughter seems to have been formed as a measure of worldly policy, without any previous acquaintance with her, on the part of Solomon, or even any interview, until she was conducted to him from her father's court. The bride, in the poem, is the heiress of Baal-hamon,[26] a populous region of vineyards in Judæa, and is sought and won with the approbation of her mother, and as the object of the fondest affections of Solomon.[27] This may, indeed, be a part of the fictitious pastoral; but it seems more applicable to Naamah, the mother of Rehoboam, whose very name signifies loveliness, and who was undoubtedly the first wife of the youthful prince. The consideration of dates places this fact beyond all controversy. Rehoboam was forty-one years old when he ascended the throne; and if Solomon reigned but forty years, he must have been married at the early age of eighteen, and two years

[26] Song of Solomon, ch. viii. 11.

[27] Chap. viii. 5.

before his father's death.[28] There is, however, another circumstance, incidentally mentioned in the poem, which forbids the application of it to Naamah. At the time of his union with her who is called Shelamith, the bride of Shelomo, or Solomon, his haram contained sixty queens, or ladies who had brought dowries with them, and of eighty more who were devoid of patrimony.[29]

In the latter part of his reign his seraglio became much more extensive and magnificent; for at one period it embraced not less than 700 of the former class, and 300 of the latter.[30] If in less than forty years he collected so vast an establishment, and if he began at the commencement of his reign, the numbers mentioned in the poem pertain rather to the period in which he espoused the Egyptian princess, about the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth year of his age. In the view of all these conflicting circumstances, it seems impossible to say, with any greater precision, at what time, or on what occasion, he composed this sublime and beautiful picture of Eastern connubial love. Happily, it is not necessary for its explanation that we should know either its date or its earthly origin. As a poem dictated by the Holy Ghost, it would not and could not have been worthy of its place in the sacred canon, if a greater than Solomon were not here. Marriage, from its very institution, was designed to represent the mysterious union, and the pure and tender love of Christ and the Church.[31] All departure from its sacred bonds, on the part of woman, was the treacherous defection of the Church from the Creator, out of whose side she was formed in the deep trance upon the cross.[32] The tenderness of his love who died for her, and the tenderness of her love who lived only for him,—he, the glory of her life, and she living in bliss only when her Lord is not absent; such are the thoughts which the Song of Solomon should impress on every devout and sanctified soul. Such, amid all

[28] 1 Kings xiv. 21. 2 Chron. xii. 13.
[29] Song, ch. vi. 8.
[30] I have used here the language of Dr. Good. Preface to his translation of the Song of Songs, p. xvi. See 1 Kings xi. 3.
[31] Eph. v. 22—32.
[32] Gen. ii. 21—24.

the verbal differences and shades of meaning of Jewish or Christian, ancient or modern commentators, may safely be received as the inspired and typical sense of what Bishop Lowth calls this "completely elegant and modest poem."[33] It was for the hardness of men's hearts that God suffered the unity of marriage to be violated; and for the same reason the works of the flesh, among which idolatry, false doctrine, heresy, and schism, are included, are, in this world, permitted to interrupt God's love for mankind. But, at the second advent of the Prince of Peace, his bride, the universal Church, clothed in the white robes of his righteousness, will be presented to him all pure and glorious, and will enter with him into the eternal city, bright with the splendors of God and the Lamb.[34]

As the Song of Songs was the production of Solomon's youthful muse, so was the book of Proverbs that of his manhood. It is a didactic poem, full of the wisest maxims for the conduct of life, and well worthy of that bright period when the spirit of wisdom was given to him without measure.[35] The book of Ecclesiastes, on the contrary, was written after his heart had been led astray by the love of women, and he had fallen, through their influence, into the grossest idolatry.[36] The grace of God did not entirely desert him; for he was enabled to awake at the last, to see the vanity of earthly pleasures, and to look forward to a future state, for which the fear of God, and the observance of his laws in this life, can be the only preparation.[37] But, as a king, the inevitable doom was passed. He had turned his heart from God; and, there-

[33] Lect. 31, Ed. Michælis, Leipsig. 1815, p. 350. Canticum Salomonis, in omnibus summe elegans et verecundum.

[34] Revel. xix. 6; xxii. 17, and Lowman's par. and note on ch. xix. 8. Waple remarks that "from Christ's death and resurrection until he is actually married, when his kingdom appears in its glory, (Revel. xxi. 2,) is rather the time of betrothing or espousals than of marriage." Annot. on chap. xix. 7. In other words, the Church, in its militant state, is espoused, and in its triumphant state will be married. Com. Song iii. 6—11, with Rev. xix. 11—16, and Song, chap. viii. 3, with Revel. xxi. 2.

[35] 1 Kings iv. 29—33.

[36] 1 Kings xi. 1—15.

[37] See Horne's Analysis of Ecclesiastes, in the 4th vol. of his Introduction, 7th Ed. Lond. 1834, pp. 123—128.

fore, the glorious kingdom over which he reigned was to be divided, and, with the exception of a small remnant, to be destroyed. For David's sake, this was not done in his lifetime; but he was obliged to witness the gathering storm; and he died in gloomy apprehensions that his adversaries, Hadad, the Edomite, and Rezon, the king of Syria, and, above all, his revolted subject Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, would cause the destruction of his race, the demolition of his temple, and the utter excision of his kingdom.[38]

[38] 1 Kings xi. 23—40.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGDOMS.

I. Early seeds of division between Ephraim and Judah. — Jeroboam's flight into Egypt, to Shishak, the Sheshonk of the monuments, the first king of the twenty-second dynasty. — The contemporary reigns of Judah and Israel divided into two periods. II. Rehoboam prohibited to make war upon Jeroboam, for the recovery of his dominion over Israel. — Jeroboam's establishment of idolatry. — It strengthened for a time the kingdom of Judah. — Rehoboam departs from God and is punished by the invasion of Shishak. — Reflections on Champollion's discovery in 1822. III. Reigns of Ahijah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat, in Judah. — Condition of Israel during the same period. — Elijah, or Elias, the Tishbite. — Union by marriage between the rival houses of Judah and Israel leads to the death of both kings, and the end of the first period. IV. Elisha now the great prophet. — Jehu and his posterity. — Story of Naaman. — Hazael, king of Syria, and his son, Ben Hadad — Jeroboam II., king of Israel. — The prophet Jonah. V. Rise of Nineveh and the Assyrians. — Kingdom of Judah from Athaliah to Jehoash, or Joash. — Death of Zechariah punished. — Jerusalem taken by Hazael. — Joash murdered. VI. Reign of Amaziah. — Regency. — Azariah, or Uzziah. — The prophets Amos and Hosea. — Decline of the kingdom of Israel until the first invasion of the Assyrians. VII. Analysis of the prophecies of Hosea. — Inquiries concerning the lost tribes. VIII. The various theories considered. — Aborigines of America. — India and the Chinese empire. — The Holy Scriptures the only safe guide, and these mention but two colonies, one in Assyria, and one in Media. IX. The kingdoms of Judah during the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz. — The prophets Isaiah and Micah. — Designs of the Syrians and Israel against Judah and the family of David. — Miraculous birth of the Messiah given as a sign of its duration to Ahaz. — Threat, if Ahaz did not remain quiet. X. Further impieties of the king. — Suppression of the temple worship, and the worship of idols introduced there. — The final destruction of the kingdom of Israel.

I.

WE have had occasion frequently to notice the continually rising jealousies of the two most powerful tribes in Israel, Ephraim and Judah. The seeds of division and revolt had long been sown. In the camp, Judah was stationed in the front and Ephraim in the rear. On their arrival in the

promised land, Joshua, of the tribe of Ephraim, was the ruler; but Saul, the first king, had been taken from Benjamin, and the crown was finally settled in a family of Judah. So the ark, which at first abode in the portion given by Jacob as a special inheritance to the sons of Joseph, was now taken from them forever, and removed within the borders of Judah and Benjamin. The arrogant dictation of Ephraim occasioned the second civil war in the time of Jephthah; and when the rebellion of Absalom took place, the jealousy of this tribe brought on a new contest with Judah, and a temporary defection of the ten tribes from David. They were also a more irreligious tribe than Judah. During the disorders which succeeded the death of Joshua and the elders, a woman of Ephraim, and her son, were the first to set up the public worship of idols, and the contagion spread and was tolerated. All these predispositions must be considered in relation to the final revolt.

Doubtless, by motives of conciliation, Solomon was induced to appoint a young man of Ephraim to be "ruler over all the charge of the house of Joseph."[1] Elated with this appointment, he had clothed himself in a new garment, and was leaving Jerusalem, when the prophet Ahijah met him in a solitary place, and revealed to him, by divine command, the greatness which awaited him. In the symbolic manner of prophecy, he caught the new garment, which was probably some badge of the new dignity, and, tearing it into twelve pieces, gave ten to the astonished youth. "Take thee ten pieces," he cried; "for thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Behold, I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee." Thus was Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, appointed, by God himself, to be king over Israel; but it was a conditional appointment, and the terms were declared at the moment with great solemnity. "It shall be, if thou wilt hearken unto all that I command thee, and wilt walk in my ways, and do that is right in my sight,

[1] 1 Kings xi. 28.

to keep my statutes and my commandments, as David my servant did, that I will be with thee, and build thee a sure house, as I built for David."[2] This appears to have been a secret transaction; but it would naturally affect the subsequent conduct of Jeroboam, and that would operate upon the seditious propensities of the ten tribes. Certain it is that the suspicions of Solomon were roused to such a degree that he sought to kill him; and Jeroboam saved his life only by a timely flight into Egypt.[3]

The great discovery of Champollion the younger, that the Shishak of the Bible was the Sheshonk of the monuments, has removed all doubt that he was the first king of the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty. Psusennes II. died in the thirty-ninth year of Solomon; and to the Tanite family succeeded that of Bubastis. The succession of a new dynasty, hostile, perhaps, to that with which Solomon was connected, may account for the favour with which Jeroboam was received, and the subsequent invasion of Judæa.

Notwithstanding the immense number of his wives, Solomon left but one son and two daughters.[4] The latter, whose names were Taphath and Basmath, became the wives of two of his chief officers; and the former, born, as we have seen, before the death of David, and the son of an Ammonitess, became his successor on the throne. The wisdom of Solomon descended not to Rehoboam. The factious and discontented tribes recalled Jeroboam from Egypt, and, with him at their head, on the occasion of assembling at Shechem for the coronation of the king, demanded a redress of grievances. The foolish prince, neglecting the advice of his father's aged counsellors, and listening only to the companions of his youth, returned a rough answer, and thus gave them a pretext for the revolt they had long meditated. Events which subvert a nation's prosperity are traced, in the Scriptures, not to second-

[2] 1 Kings xi. 26—38.
[3] 1 Kings xi. 39, 40.
[4] 1 Kings iv. 11—15.

ary causes, but to the will of Him who hath power like the potter over the clay. "The cause was from JEHOVAH, that he might perform his saying by Ahijah, the Shilonite, unto Jeroboam, the son of Nebat."[5] Thus are the sins and the follies of men made subservient to the purposes of the Almighty; but sins and follies, of necessity, carry with them their own punishment. It deserves to be remarked, as a consequence, that political expediency led to the rejection of the true religion. The golden calves of Dan and Bethel were an imitation of Egyptian idolatry. There were many wicked monarchs in the kingdom of Judah, but not a *single good monarch* in the kingdom of Israel. The ten tribes filled up the measure of their iniquities in the space of 269 years, and were then blotted out, as far as we can now perceive, forever. Their restoration is predicted, indeed, but their present existence is one of those mysteries into which we cannot penetrate. The two remaining tribes were spared, and remain full in our sight even to this day, a perpetual monument both of God's displeasure and of his tender mercy.[6]

According to the rule of computation laid down in the Talmud,[7] the years of the Jewish monarchs were counted from the first of Nisan, the beginning of the sacred year, while those of foreign kings (and such the kings of Israel were now to be considered) followed the civil computation of time, beginning on the first of Tisri. It is important to remark this, because we have now arrived at that period of the sacred history which Dr. Hales justly calls its Gordian knot.[8] The difficulty of harmonizing the contemporaneous reigns of Judah and Israel has principally arisen from two sources: first, an apparent variation in the direct length of their reigns, from the correspondent events of their comparative history; and secondly, from not noticing the two interregnums in the suc-

[5] 1 Kings xii. 15.
[6] 1 Kings xii. 25—33.
[7] Petavius de doctrina Temporum, lib. ix. cap. lx. tom. ii. p. 72. Appendix to the author's two Disc. on Prophecy, p. 100.
[8] Analysis, vol. ii. p. 372.

cession of the kings of Israel. There are two points of time in which the two series of reigns terminate exactly together. The reign of Rehoboam being counted from the first of Nisan, corresponding with Wednesday, March the 12th, and that of Jeroboam, from Friday, the 5th of September, in the same year, the first six reigns of Judah and the first eight of Israel terminated on the same day, when Ahaziah and Jehoram were slain by Jehu. The second series, beginning on the same day with Athaliah and Jehu, was terminated by the capture of Samaria, in the sixth current year of Hezekiah, B. V. Æ. 720. The first series embraced a period of 95 years; the second, of 174 years. After the destruction of the kingdom of Israel, the kings of Judah continued to reign 134 years, until Jerusalem was destroyed by the king of Babylon, in the year B. V. Æ. 586. The duration of the first temple, from the laying of the corner-stone, was, in round numbers, 440 years.[9]

A. J. P. 3726. B. V. Æ. 988.

II.

But to return. Rehoboam fled from Shechem to Jerusalem, and assembled the warriors of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, amounting to 180,000 men, to reduce his rebellious subjects by force. A terrible slaughter would have been the consequence, if God had not commanded them to abstain from civil war, and revealed to them, by his prophet, that the division of the two kingdoms was a divine judgment upon both for their sins.[10]

Though Israel, under the influences of their wicked king, had now become a nation of idolaters, and had formally rejected and forsaken the Almighty Word, committing the sin of spiritual adultery, which led ever to licentiousness of life, yet the mercy and infinite tenderness of their Lord did not

[9] For the details of the adjustment, and the reasons of the differences between Usher, Petavius, Sir John Marsham, and Dr. Hales, not to mention others, the reader is referred to the author's Appendix to his two Sermons on Prophecy, pp. 91—128.

[10] 1 Kings xii. 16—24.

forsake them. From this time forth the divine government displayed itself in sending a series of prophets, to reclaim them by miraculous signs, and by denunciations and warnings of future calamities.

Jeroboam, totally unmindful of the conditions on which the crown was given to him by his Almighty Sovereign, began to establish a religion of his own devising, as soon as he began to reign. He was aware that if his people went up to Jerusalem to worship, it would be difficult to prevent their returning loyalty to the house of David. He therefore resolved to imitate the conduct of Aaron, but, instead of one, to erect two golden calves, at the two extremities of his kingdom. Dan was a town in the tribe of Naphthali, at the foot of Libanus, and near the sources of the Jordan.[11] Bethel, on the contrary, was on the confines of Ephraim and Benjamin, venerated as the spot where Jacob had his memorable vision, convenient to Shechem, the royal residence, and not far from Shiloh, the original abode of the ark and tabernacle. All this was done under the pretext of consulting the convenience of the people. "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem. Behold, *these are thy Elohim, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.*"[12] They were the very words of Aaron; and were now used by Jeroboam as a precedent. He assumed the character of high priest, and endeavoured to make the people forget Jerusalem and their Almighty King, by instituting festivals, consecrating priests, erecting altars, and offering sacrifice and incense to his imaginary deities, after the semblance of the Hebrew ritual. Instead of the feast of Tabernacles, celebrated at Jerusalem for a week, beginning on the 15th of the *seventh* month, he established a feast to be observed at Dan and Bethel, on the 15th and following days of the *eighth* month. This, in the first year of his reign, coïncided with Saturday, or the Jewish Sabbath, and according to

[11] Calmet's Dict. art. Dan.

[12] 1 Kings xii. 28, comp. with Exod. xxxii. 4.

our reckoning, the 18th of October.[13] He himself officiated as high priest at Bethel; and hither, by divine command, came a man of God from Judah, commissioned to pronounce in his presence a solemn WOE, for the impious profanation. "O altar, altar!" he exclaimed, "thus saith the LORD, Behold a child shall be born unto the house of David, JOSIAH by name, and upon thee shall he offer the priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall be burnt upon thee." Josiah was here named 342 years before his birth, and the event predicted came to pass in the 18th year of his reign.[14] At the cry of the prophet, the altar was rent in twain, and the ashes upon it poured out as a sign from Jehovah. The furious king stretched forth his arm, and commanded that the prophet should be seized. It instantly became rigid, so that he could not draw it back again, and his right hand was withered. Frightened and humbled, he entreated the prophet to intercede for him; and God honoured his servant by answering his prayer. The *hand* was restored; but the *heart* of Jeroboam was still hardened. He "returned not from his evil way, but made *again* of the lowest of the people priests of the high places. *Whosoever would, he consecrated him;* and *this thing* became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off and to destroy it from off the face of the earth."[15] The establishment of idol worship, and the impious assumption of the divine prerogative in the consecration of priests, were the sins for which the crown was taken away, and his whole family exterminated, 24 years after his accession to sovereignty.[16]

For a time, the wicked policy of Jeroboam strengthened

[13] 1 Kings xii. 26—33. The reader may easily calculate for himself by the tables in the Chronological Introduction. The golden number of A. J. P. 3726 was II., and its Sunday letter E. With these, the lunations may be found. Marchesvan, the eighth month, began on Saturday, October 4th, and consequently the fifteenth of that month was on Saturday, October 18th. If his reign was reckoned from Tisri, it was a month and a half after his accession; if from Nisan, seven and a half months.

[14] Comp. 1 Kings xiii. 2 with 2 Kings xxiii. 15—20, and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 33.

[15] 1 Kings xiii. 33, 34.

[16] 1 Kings xiv. 20; xv. 27—30.

the kingdom of Judah. Such of the ten tribes as were pious and faithful, and had the power of changing their abode, removed thither from the territories of Israel. The priests and the levites, also, abandoned their possessions in that kingdom, and repaired to Jerusalem. Thus there was a remnant of all the tribes "whose hearts were still turned to sacrifice unto the Lord God of their fathers." The two kings were occupied, the mean while, in fortifying their respective frontiers; and though there was no actual war, preparations were made on both sides to prevent surprise. This state of things continued for three years, during which Rehoboam walked in the ways of David, and the early footsteps of Solomon. But there is a magic power in idolatry and lust, combined as they always are, which entices men to forsake God. The high places, and images and groves, and the sin of Sodom, and all the abominations of the Canaanites, spread over and defiled the land. The wrath of God punished their desertion of his laws, by the hand of a stern avenger, in the person of Shishak, the same powerful monarch who had protected Jeroboam, in Egypt, from the fury of Solomon. In the sixth year of his own reign, and the fifth of Rehoboam, he came up against Jerusalem, with 1,200 chariots, 60,000 horsemen, and an immense body of infantry. The important discovery has already been mentioned, by which the Shishak of the Scriptures is identified with the Sesonchis of Manetho, and the Sheshonk of the monuments; and as this discovery arose from his invasion of Judæa, it is proper here to show how it was effected. The first court of the great palace at Karnak seems to have been entirely added as a portico by the Bubastile kings; and on it is represented, in bas-relief, a victorious monarch, offering a sacrifice to his God, for the conquests which that God had enabled him to obtain. The divinity stretches forth a weapon with one hand, and with the other holds in bondage a multitude of captives, each having on his person a castellated oval, denoting a city, in which is inscribed a hieroglyphic legend. The king is Shishak; and

among other names of Hebrew cities, such as *Mahanaim*, *Beth-horon*, and *Megiddo*, there is one which can mean no other than *Jerusalem* and her king *Rehoboam*. The figure is perfectly preserved, with all the features of the Jewish race; and the inscription, now accurately deciphered, is *Judah-Melek-kah*, or *king of the land of Judah*.[17] It was not until the year 1822 that this refulgent light was thrown on the veracity of the sacred history. Must we not see, in this discovery, a design, darkly unfolded indeed, but, even in its shadows, awfully magnificent? The curtain which veils Omnipotence is occasionally opened, that we may reflect upon the glory of that perfect knowledge which awaits the pure in heart when they shall see face to face, and know even as they are known.

In the affliction occasioned by the invasion of Shishak, the princes of Israel, who were with the king at Jerusalem, humbled themselves before God, and were not destroyed. Nevertheless, Judah was rendered tributary to Egypt, that the difference between God's service and that of the idolatrous kingdoms around them might, by a bitter experience, be impressed upon their hearts.[18]

III.

Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, by his beloved wife, the grand-daughter of Absalom, reigned but three years. Within that time, a severe battle was fought on the confines of the two kingdoms, in which the forces of Jeroboam, though double in number, were put to flight, with immense slaughter,

[17] Rosellini Mon. Stor. tom. ii. p. 496, and tom. iv. pp. 149—161, M. R. plate xi. No. 44, pl. cxlviii. fig. A. pl. cxlix. fig. 1. Champollion. Précis du Système Hieroglyphique, Edit. 2, 1828, tom. i. p. 255. Champollion Figeac, Égypte Ancienne, Paris, 1843, pp. 273, 358, 359, planche 76. The reader who has not access to these works will find much that is interesting on the subject in the 8th and 9th lectures of Wiseman on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion, and in the recent work of Dr. Hawks, entitled "The Monuments of Egypt, or Egypt a Witness for the Bible." Church Review, vol. iii., April, 1850. See, also, the Appendix to this volume.

[18] 1 Kings xiv. 22—31. 2 Chron. xii. 1—16.

by those of Judah. This victory, and the noble expostulation of Abijah which preceded it, lead to the presumption that he became penitent for the sins with which he commenced his reign.[19] Certain it is that his son and grandson, Asa and Jehoshaphat, the sum of whose reigns was sixty-six years, were faithful and religious princes, and their kingdom remained all that time prosperous and happy. The only fault for which Asa was reproved was a want of faith in God's protection. This led him to court the alliance of the king of Syria, in order to procure a diversion in his favour, when Baasha, the king of Israel, attempted to fortify the passage of Ramah. The prosperity of Judah was, for twenty years, so strongly contrasted with the miseries of Israel, that great defections took place from the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon. To prevent this, the king of Israel came up against Judah, in the twenty-fifth year of Asa, and seized and began to fortify a city of Benjamin, but six miles north of Jerusalem.[20]

Upon this, Asa, instead of trusting in God for protection, took of the treasures of the temple and hired an idolatrous king to attack Israel. For this, God severely reproved him, by his prophet, informing him that if he had been faithful, not only Baasha, but the king of Syria himself, would have been defeated by him. Irritated by this reproof, the king imprisoned the prophet, and was punished by disease; and, as he did not look to God for relief, it occasioned his death, in the forty-first year of his reign.[21]

In the mean time, nothing but seditions, conspiracies, and murders, for full thirty-five years, fill up the records of Israel. Four kings pass over this phantasmagoria of crime,

[19] 1 Kings xv. comp. with 2 Chron. xiii.

[20] I here follow Dr. Hales in a conjectural emendation of the text, 2 Chron. xv. 19 and xvi. 1. In these the numbers are evidently corrupt; for Baasha began to reign in the third year of Asa, and Elah his son, in the *twenty-sixth* year of Asa. 1 Kings xv. 33 and xvi. 8. Abp. Usher retained the numbers 35 and 36, and computed from the division of the two kingdoms; but this seems to me forced and arbitrary. According to Dr. Hales' method of solution, the fortification at Ramah was built B. V. Æ. 944, and Baasha died in 942.

[21] 2 Chron. xvi. 1—14.

all pursuing the footsteps of Jeroboam, and each outdoing his predecessor in wickedness. The last, whose name was Omri, was surpassed only by Ahab, his godless son. The statutes of Omri, as a proverbial expression for all abominations, became familiar in men's mouths for ages to come.[22] The marriage of Ahab with the strong-minded, but imperious, hard-hearted, and profligate Jezebel of Tyre, brought his weaker mind under her energetic control; so that he did more to provoke the wrath of God than all the kings of Israel before him.[23] At this juncture appeared that great and mysterious prophet, of whose lineage or early life no account is given, who, like Enoch, before the deluge, was removed in the body from his polluted generation; who appeared, with Moses, in attendance on the Messiah, at the mount of transfiguration; whose representative, at the first advent, was John the Baptist; and who is expected to appear in person before the coming of the great and dreadful day of Jehovah.[24]

Elijah, or, as he is called in the New Testament, Elias, was a man subject to like passions as we are,[25] and yet was made the instrument and minister of the Almighty, both in the infliction and removal of temporal chastisements. Strong in the power of God, and sheltered by that power, he appears, or is concealed; is nourished, or miraculously made to fast; is emboldened to appear before Ahab, or flies despondingly from the fury of Jezebel; is triumphant over the priests of Baal with bitter irony, or is a solitary prophet of the Lord, hunted for his life, and praying to be released from it; stretches himself upon the dead, and at his prayer life is restored, or denounces death upon the worshipper of Baal-zebub, and it cometh to pass; calleth down fire from heaven, and it consumes his enemies, or is carried thither himself in a chariot of flame; they whom he anoints are made kings and prophets, and a double portion of his spirit descends with his

[22] Micah vi. 16.
[23] 1 Kings xvi. 29—33.
[24] Mal. iv. 5, 6.
[25] St. James v. 17, 18.

mantle, as he is seen to ascend on high. Such is the wonderful narrative concerning this mysterious man. His last interview with Ahab was to foretell his death and the death of Jezebel, for killing Naboth under form of law, and taking possession of his vineyard according to her devices.[26]

Elijah was translated in the reign of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and of Jehoram, king of Israel. We can thus fix the date of that event within three, and probably two, years. But there is one event of difficult solution, which, therefore, it is proper to notice in this place. "There came a writing to" Jehoram, king of Judah, the son of Jehoshaphat, "from Elijah, the prophet," predicting the evils which would come upon him, his family, and his people, because of his and their idolatries, and his murder of his brethren. But Jehoram of Judah began to reign after Elijah was translated. Did his writing come from the unseen world? Was he permitted thus to warn the degenerate son of Jehoshaphat, even after he had rested from his labours? The answers are various, according as the spirit of belief or unbelief prevails. The integrity of the text cannot be disputed. There are no various readings in the Hebrew manuscripts, and the ancient versions, unless we except the Syriac, (and that is by no means clear,) are in perfect harmony with the Hebrew.[27] Josephus, also, says that Jehoram, after he had received the government, and while committing his wickedness, "received an epistle from Elijah, the prophet."[28] Lightfoot and Usher suppose that Jehoram acted as viceroy for his father, during the two expeditions of the confederate kings of Israel and Judah against the Syrians and the Moabites. Hales would substitute Elisha for Elijah. Krummacher, a late German writer, "cannot conceal his belief that this is one scriptural instance which teaches us that between the kingdom of the blessed and the dark vale of our pilgrimage

A. J. P. 3810.
B. V. Æ. 904.

[26] 1 Kings xvii.—xxi.
[27] 2 Chron. xxi. 12—15.
[28] Joseph. Antiq. lib. ix. c. 5, 1, 2.

there is not such a vast distance as most persons are apt to imagine." — "In what manner it was done we attempt not to explain, any more than we attempt to explain how this prophet appeared unto Peter, and James, and John, at our Lord's transfiguration on the holy mount. We venture not to explain how far the powers and sphere of action vouchsafed to the 'spirits of just men made perfect' are extended; much less to assert that they bear no relation to the state of the church militant here on earth. It is in this light, therefore, that we receive with simplicity the fact recorded before us."[29]

The horror, occasioned by the defection of Israel from the worship of the true God, had worn away. Men's minds had become accustomed to the sight, if not to the practice, of a false religion. Even the excellent Jehoshaphat, whose reign in other respects is a model for Christian princes, incurred God's displeasure by uniting himself with the wicked Ahab and the execrable Jezebel. He not only confederated with the king of Israel, but allowed his son to marry the daughter of two such atrocious and iniquitous parents. What wonder is it, that, under the influences of such a father and such a mother, the wife of Jehoram should have perverted the heart of her husband, and of her son, Ahaziah! This brought the wrath of the Lord upon the family of Jehoshaphat, as well as on that of Ahab; and both Jehoram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah, were exterminated, in one day, by Jehu, whom the Lord had anointed king over Israel. The vengeance of God was now completed upon Jezebel and all the house of Ahab, as Elijah the Tishbite had predicted.

IV.

Elisha was now the great prophet in Israel. He had been taken from following the plough by Elijah, and was, if possi-

[29] Krummacher's Elijah the Tishbite, New York, 1843, pp. 403—406. See Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. pp. 82—85. Usher's Annals, A. M. 3106. Hales' Analysis, vol. ii. p. 392.

ble, superior in power and influence to his wonderful master. Elijah had, indeed, prepared the way; but his time was shorter, his influence more varied, and what he did gain gave its full momentum to that of his successor. For full sixty years, from the reign of Jehoram to that of Jehoash, did Elisha continue the terror and the wonder of the idolatrous nations around him.[30] In viewing the relative positions and respective characters of these two great prophets, it ought not to excite surprise that, as Elijah and John the Baptist were appointed to be the precursors of the Messiah, so the miracles of Elisha should have greatly resembled those of the incarnate Son of God himself. In the wondrous plan of Omnipotence, it must be recollected by us that he resided at the court of Israel as the plenipotentiary of Christ; thus representing the Almighty Sovereign whom the nation and their kings had rejected, and who, therefore, no longer appeared to them in his own person as the Angel-Jehovah.

Jehu was the instrument of divine vengeance upon the house of Ahab and the priests and worshippers of Baal; but he continued the idolatry of the golden calves, and, by thus making Israel to sin, walked in the ways of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat. For this cause the reign of his family was limited to four generations, though he and they continued on the throne of Israel for more than a century.[31] Jeroboam II., the third in descent, reigned forty-one years, and was the most prosperous of any of the kings of Israel; but the Angel-Jehovah was now silently preparing for the extinction of the kingdom of Israel, though it was permitted to flash upward for a season, like the flame of an expiring taper.[32]

Even in the reign of Jehu, the LORD began to cut Israel

[30] Abulfaragi, according to Dr. Hales, dates his death in the 13th year of Jehoash, and the 36th of Joash, king of Judah. Analysis, vol. ii. p. 396. He therefore computes his ministry from the translation of Elijah 70 years. 2 Kings xiii. 14—25. But there is an anachronism here; for Jehoash of Israel began to reign in the 37th year of Jehoash of Judah. (2 Kings xiii. 10.) The one began to reign B. V. Æ. 887, the other B. V. Æ. 849, and his thirteenth year was B. V. Æ. 837.

[31] 2 Kings x. 29, 30.

[32] 2 Kings xiv. 23—29.

short, by changing the dynasty of the Syrians. Naaman, the general-in-chief of the Syrian host, became a convert to the true faith, having been healed of his leprosy, at the bidding of Elisha, in the mystical waters of Jordan. Probably on account of the open profession of his faith, he had been superseded in his high office, and Hazael had been appointed in his stead. To punish the king of Syria for so great an indignity to the true God, he was smitten with severe illness, during which the prophet Elisha came to Damascus; and Hazael was sent to him with a present from the king, to inquire if he should recover. The prophet replied, "Thou mayest certainly recover; howbeit the LORD hath showed me that he shall surely die." He wept as he said this; and, on Hazael's inquiring the cause, the prophet revealed to him that he should be king of Syria, should lay waste Israel, and with remorseless cruelty exterminate its inhabitants. Hazael murdered his master; and he and his son Ben-hadad became scourges of the house of Jehu, during his reign and that of his son Jehoahaz. But at the expiration of forty-five years, Jehoash ascended the throne of Israel; and though he did evil, and departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam, yet his affectionate lamentation over the dying Elisha obtained for him three decisive victories over Ben-hadad, by which he recovered the cities which his father had lost. His son Jeroboam carried on these successes, recovered Damascus, which David had formerly taken and fortified, and restored the ancient limits of the kingdom of Israel, at the time of its separation from Judah.[33]

These successes of Jeroboam II. were foretold by the prophet Jonah, the son of Amittai;[34] and though this prophecy has not been preserved, and may not have been written, yet we have another prophecy of his, concerning Nineveh, which clearly shows us the method of the Divine government with regard to the rise and fall of nations. It is certain, from this

[33] 2 Kings viii. 7—15; x. 32, 33; xiii. 1—7, 10—25; xiv. 23—29.

[34] 2 Kings xiv. 25.

brief notice by the sacred historian, that Jonah could not have flourished later than the beginning of Jeroboam's reign. A. J. P. 3881. B. V. Æ. 833. He may, indeed, have prophesied earlier; perhaps during the victories over the Syrians, promised to Jehoash by Elisha. As a townsman of Gath-hepher, in the tribe of Naphthali, he belonged to Israel, and not to Judah, and, though somewhat earlier, was contemporary with Amos and Hosea. It was now the divine purpose to raise up another nation, which should successively swallow up Syria and Israel, and thus become the instrument of the Almighty. Jonah was therefore commanded to prepare Nineveh for its approaching honours, by proclaiming the doctrines of repentance, faith, and obedience.

V.

Nineveh, which signifies the dwelling of Ninus,[35] was one of the most ancient cities in the world, having been founded soon after Babylon.[36] It was situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, opposite the modern city of Mosul; and according to Niebuhr,[37] was in lat. 36° 20′ N. Of its extent we can form no idea from the scanty plain on which its ruins still exist, though they are now covered with mounds of earth, the accumulation of nearly twenty-five centuries. "The kingdoms of Nineveh and Babylon were properly," as Bryant observes, "walled provinces. The people ploughed and sowed, and had fruits and pastures, within their walls."[38] This will account for the three days' journey of the prophet in a city where there were six-score thousand persons who could not discern their right hand from their left, and also much cattle. Estimating the children of tender age as one fifth of the population, Nineveh, in the time of which we are speaking, could not have had less than six hundred thousand inhabitants; and yet, as they pursued all their occupations

[35] D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient., Art. Ninvah, or Nin-veh.
[36] Gen. x. 11.
[37] Voyage en Arabie, tom. ii. p. 289.
[38] Analysis of Anc. Mythol. 8vo. ed. 3. Lond. 1807, vol. ii. p. 375.

within its walls, their habitations occupied but a small portion of its vast enclosure. As the messenger of the Almighty entered, he cried with a loud voice, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown." The startled hearers, conscious of guilt, believed and trembled. The matter came to the king, and he arose from his throne, divested himself of his royal robes, put on sackcloth, and sat in ashes. A rigorous fast was proclaimed; fervent prayers were uttered; they turned from their evil ways, and were forgiven.[39] From this time forth the king and his people began rapidly to prosper; but there are no traces in the Scriptures of an Assyrian empire, or even of a kingdom of Assyria, until about seventy years later, when Pul, or Phul, pushed his conquests beyond the Euphrates, and invaded Syria and Israel.[40] It is justly inferred, therefore, that the king of Nineveh, in the time of the prophet Jonah, was the predecessor, and perhaps the father, of Pul; that he was simply the king of Nineveh; but that his son, supposed to be the traditional Belus of the

[39] Jon. i. 2; iii. iv. 11.

[40] We are now (A. V. Æ. 1850) at the threshold of important discoveries concerning the Assyrian empire; and it is proper, therefore, to speak with caution of its history. The French and English nations, in generous rivalry, are pursuing researches which have, even by their initial results, surprised the world. Hitherto every discovery has thrown new light upon the incidental testimony of the Bible, exhibiting, in full relief, its simple accuracy. See "Nineveh and its Remains," by Austin Henry Layard, Esq., D. C. L. New York, Putnam, 1849, 2 vols. 8vo. Introduction. "To limit the foundation of the Assyrian empire to 900 B. C., (B. V. Æ.") Mr. Layard observes, "because Pul, the first Assyrian king mentioned in Scripture, can be proved to have lived about that time, as the authors of the Ancient Universal History and others have done, is, I conceive, quite inconsistent, not only with all historical and traditionary evidence, but with that afforded by the Bible itself. Before the time of Pul, the Jews, having no intimate dealings with Assyria, may not have been affected by events occurring in that country: this would be sufficient to account for there being no earlier mention of it, and would seem to confirm the supposition that Herodotus dates, not from the *foundation* of the Assyrian empire, but from *its spreading over Asia*." Vol. ii. p. 177, note. I have thought it proper to introduce these remarks, because what I have said was written long before the appearance of this interesting account, and was founded principally on the judgment of the authors of the Ancient Universal History, whom he thus censures. But the general positions here advanced are fully supported by Mr. Layard. Gardens and arable lands and pastures for cattle were enclosed, he says, within the walls of Nineveh; and the numbers of its inhabitants and its dimensions must have been such as Jonah describes. See vol. ii. pp. 192—197. "Twenty miles is the day's journey of the East; and we have consequently the three days' journey of Jonah for the circumference of the city. The agreement of these measurements is remarkable."—Note to p. 196.

Greeks, became, by his conquests, the founder of a new dynasty. The subsequent names of the Assyrian monarchs are compounds; Tiglath-Pileser is equivalent to Tiglath-Pul-Assur, which means, according to Dr. Hales, "the tiger-lord of Assyria."[41] For in the Eastern languages the cognate letters P and B are often interchanged; and, therefore, Pul and Bel, or, as in the Hebrew, Baal, is a name of dignity, derived from the title of their divinity. Pul is supposed to have divided his dominions between his two sons, Tiglath-Pul-Assur and Nabon-Assur, or Nabonassar; the one becoming king of Assyria, and residing at Nineveh, the other, king of Babylon. This gave rise to the celebrated æra of Nabonassar, which is known, by astronomical computation, to have begun on the twenty-sixth of February, A. J. P. 3947, or B. V. E. 747.

While the Assyrian empire was thus rising to become the minister of God's punishment on the rebellious house of Israel, we turn to consider the condition of the house of Judah. Athaliah, the impious daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, being informed that Jehu had slain her son Ahaziah and forty-two princes of his family, resolved to destroy all the royal race of David, that she might reign without a rival.[42] But Jehosheba, the sister of Ahaziah, who had married the high priest Jehoiadah, secreted her brother's youngest son, and kept him concealed six years in the temple. Thus did the providence of God prevent the utter extirpation of the Messiah's lineage. After reigning six years, the usurper was put to death, and the young prince was, by the high priest's wise and prudent conduct, placed upon the throne. Under such influences the people were brought back to the worship of God; the monuments of idolatry were destroyed; and the temple, which had been suffered to go to decay, was thoroughly repaired. This last event happened in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, when he was thirty years old; and

A. J. P. 3927.
B. V. E. 887.

[41] Anal. vol. ii. p. 418, note, vol. iv. p. 55. Sir Isaac Newton's Chron. pp. 265—268. Appendix to the author's two Disc. on Prophecy, pp. 128, 129, 140.

[42] 2 Kings xi. 1. 2 Chron. xxii. 10.

during the lifetime of his venerated guardian Jehoiada, he continued steadfast in his duty to God. But, finally, the high priest died at the advanced age of 130 years; and Jehoash, who seems to have been of a pliant temper, governed by outward impulses, rather than by an internal sense of right and wrong, complied with the corrupt desires of the princes of Judah, forsook the house of God, and served groves and idols.[43] In vain did God send prophets to warn his people of their sin. The Spirit of God came upon Zechariah, the son and successor of Jehoiada in the high priesthood; and the king, under the same corrupt influences, ordered him to be stoned in the court of the temple. It was then, as it is now, the custom of the Jews, to give their children double names, having the same or a similar signification. Hence, in the New Testament, Jehoiada is called Barachiah; the one signifying him whom Jehovah knows — the other, him whom Jehovah blesses.[44] The blood of the holy martyr, like that of righteous Abel, cried from the ground against his murderers. Hazael, who had been previously bribed by Joash not to attack Jerusalem, now came against it, and, though his host was small, and that of Judah very great, the Syrians took Jerusalem, and destroyed all the princes of the people, the very persons who had caused the king's perversion. The blood of the son of Jehoiada was avenged; for the king fell by the hands of two of his base-born servants, who alleged his conduct towards Zechariah as an excuse for their treachery.[45]

VI.

Amaziah began his reign with the punishment of his father's murderers, and for some years reigned piously. An act of faith and obedience is recorded of him, for our instruction and admonition. Wishing to reduce the revolted Edomites, he increased his army, which was already 300,000 strong, with

[43] 2 Chron. xxiv. 15—18.
[44] St. Matt. xxiii. 35.
[45] 2 Chron. xxiv. 19—26.

another 100,000 mercenaries of the tribe of Ephraim, for whom he paid in advance one hundred talents of silver.[46] This was an act of reliance, not only upon human aid, but on the aid of men who had revolted from God. A prophet, therefore, was sent to the king, to demand the dismissal of the Israelites, and to threaten him with utter discomfiture if he retained them. "But what shall we do for the hundred talents which I have given to the army of Israel?" inquired the king. "*Lose it*," was the sententious reply; "for Jehovah can give thee much more!" The king obeyed, and was victorious.[47]

Strange to say! after such warning, obedience, and victory, the king embraced the idolatry of the Edomites, whom he had conquered! The ravages committed by the returning Israelites, in their fury at what they considered an insult, probably led Amaziah to demand redress, and to threaten the king of Israel with war in case of refusal. If he had continued faithful, he might have obtained his wishes; but he incurred the anger of the Lord by his idolatry, and turned a deaf ear to a second admonition. Abandoned to his own devices, he was conquered by the king of Israel, who took him captive, plundered the temple and the palace, and broke down the wall of Jerusalem. Amaziah's defeat led to his assassination, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, when he had reigned twenty-nine years.[48]

Although the Scriptures and Josephus say nothing of a regency after the death of Amaziah, yet it appears, from a comparison of dates in the sacred history, that there must have been one for eleven years.[49]

[46] 2 Chron. xxv. 5, 6. This was between six and seven shillings sterling, or more than a dollar and a half for each man.

[47] 2 Kings xiv. 7. 2 Chron. xxv. 5—13. Dr. Hales places this event, by conjecture merely, in the 12th year of his reign, B. v. Æ. 836. Anal. vol. ii. p. 398, bottom.

[48] 2 Kings xiv. 8—20. 2 Chron. xxv. 14—28.

[49] Comp. 2 Kings xiv. 17, with 2 Kings xv. 1, 2, and 2 Chron. xxvi. 1. Lightfoot, followed by Dr. Hales, whose method of synchronism I adopt rather than that of Petavius, of Ussher, or of Sir John Marsham, says the kingdom was governed by *protectors*. Dr. Hales calls this interval an interregnum; but as there was

At the time of his father's death, Azariah, or, as he is elsewhere called, Uzziah, was a child. The government was therefore administered until he was sixteen years old, when he began to reign in person. During the lifetime of Zechariah, who was probably the son of the former Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, but of whom no other mention is made than that he "had understanding in the visions of God,"[50] the youthful monarch was equally conspicuous for his pious obedience, the success of his arms, and the prosperity of his kingdom. He had a well-appointed army of 375,000 men, under the command of 2600 officers of experience and valour; he repaired and strengthened his fortifications; and he seems to have been one of the first inventors of engines for throwing darts and stones. His love of agriculture and the peaceful arts was great; so that, from that source, as well as from the tribute of the Ammonites, Philistines, and other surrounding nations, he became wealthy and powerful. But all this elevation filled his soul with pride, and, by an almost unaccountable infatuation, he invaded the priests' office, and went into the holy place to burn incense before the Lord. Azariah and eighty of the priests hastened to repel the intrusion; but the angry monarch seized a censer and began the office. Instantly the dead whiteness of leprosy rose up in his forehead. It was a civil death, inflicted by the hand of the Almighty. He waited not to be turned out of the temple as a polluted thing, but retired in horror and loathing, an outcast from society, not to be admitted even to burial among the meanest of his subjects.[51]

Previous to this dreadful event, flourished the prophet Amos.[52] He was not of the schools of the prophets, but a

no dispute about the title of the young king, I consider it rather as a regency by the high priest with the great council. See my reasons at large, Two Disc. on Proph. Append. p. 102—105.

[50] 2 Chron. xxvi. 5.

[51] 2 Kings xv. 1—7. 2 Chron. xxvi.

[52] That is, between the accession of Uzziah and the death of Jeroboam II., according to Amos i. 1, fourteen years from B. V. Æ. 807 to B. V. Æ. 793. The prophet says "two years before the earthquake." This earthquake, therefore, must have been before the death of Jeroboam II., while Uzziah was obedient and prosperous; and not on the occa

poor herdsman of Tekoah, in the land of Judah, who was sent to prophesy chiefly against Israel. He denounces the judgments of God against the surrounding nations, who were then the chief enemies of the two kingdoms, but it is only to warn them of still stronger enemies, whom God was about to raise up, even Assyria and Babylon, which would devour all these formidable foes, and turn their thus augmented and agglomerated fury upon Israel first, and finally upon Judah. The idolatry and licentiousness, the luxury and effeminacy, the oppression and rapacity, the deep dissimulation and hypocrisy, of both, are sternly reproved. Jeroboam is threatened with death; the approaching captivity of Israel is foretold; but, in the midst of wrath and righteous retribution, God remembers mercy. Israel shall be sifted from among the nations; the fallen tabernacle of David shall again be reared; the heathen shall seek Jehovah, and be called by his name; and the still future blessings of the Gospel shall be poured upon all the tribes of the still desolate. It is remarkable that, even at this early period, the language of the unlettered herdsman and humble gatherer of the fruit of the sycamore should have in it a richness and sublimity scarcely inferior to that of the most courtly and refined.[53]

In the annals of prophetic inspiration, Hosea is the next in antiquity. He prophesied as early as the reign of Jeroboam II., king of Israel, and as late as that of Hezekiah, king of Judah. The space of time from the death of the one to the accession of the other was sixty-eight years.[54] Allowing, therefore, that he prophesied in each of these reigns but one year, and that he was married, in obedience to the divine command, when he began to prophesy, at the age of twenty-

sion of his sin in the invasion of the sacerdotal office, as Josephus relates, Ant. lib. ix. cap. x. § 4. The fissure in the roof of the temple, and the sunbeam shining upon the king's face, may have been, as Bp. Lowth supposes, the effect of this great earthquake, which was a remarkable æra, and as such referred to by Amos i. 1, Isaiah v. 25, and Zechariah xiv. 5.

[53] Lowth, Præl. xxi. Ed. Michælis, p. 245.

[54] B. V. Æ. 793—725.

five or thirty, he must have been nearly one hundred years old when he died. His prophecy thus covers the whole of the period which yet remained for the sinful house of Israel to fill up the measure of their iniquities; for the final excision of the ten tribes came to pass in the sixth year of Hezekiah.[55] Though outwardly enlarged and prosperous, through the bravery and successes of Jeroboam II., the kingdom of Israel, after his death, probably on account of the infancy of his son Zechariah, fell into a state of anarchy and disorder, which lasted for twenty-three years.[56] From whatever cause it proceeded, certain it is, that, during this long period, they were so harassed by continual misrule, that they were finally glad to place Zechariah on the throne. He was, however, a weak as well as a wicked prince, and at the end of six months was murdered by Shallum, one of his generals, who seized the sceptre. Thus was the divine promise accomplished,[57] for the extirpation of the house of Ahab, while the house of Jehu was also cut off for similar iniquities. Shallum reigned but one month, and was then slain by Menahem, a rival general.

A. J. P. 3994. B. V. Æ. 720.

The time had now come, in the counsels of Omnipotence, for the growth of the kingdom of Nineveh. Pul, or Phul, the first monarch of Assyria of whom mention is made in the Scriptures, crossed the Euphrates, and began to execute the judgments of the Almighty. Syria and Israel became tributary; and from the latter he exacted one thousand talents of silver, or 1,505,620 dollars, amounting, in the present value of money, to more than four millions and a half. Pekahiah, the son of Menahem, reigned but two years, and was then put to death by one of his captains, Pekah, the son of Remaliah. In his days occurred the first deportation of the ten

[55] 2 Kings xviii. 10. It was in the sixth *current* year of Hezekiah, and at the *end* of the ninth year of Hoshea. Let the reader recollect that the reigns of Judah were computed by the *sacred* year, beginning at the *vernal*, and the reigns of Israel by the *civil* year, from the *autumnal*, equinox.

[56] From B. V. Æ. 793 to the 38th year of Azariah, or Uzziah, B. V. Æ. 770. 2 Kings xv. 8.

[57] 2 Kings x. 30, 31.

tribes by Tiglath, the son of Pul. Zebulun and Naphthali, and the northern trans-jordanic settlers of Gilead, were first carried into Assyria, and this event so weakened the forces of Pekah, that he in his turn fell a victim to the ambition of his general, Hoshea. This assassination produced another period of anarchy for about nine years, at the end of which time Hoshea succeeded in obtaining the contested throne. But his reign continued only nine years, and with his subversion terminated the kingdom of Israel. Probably on the death of Tiglath-Pileser, Hoshea attempted to free himself from the tribute imposed by the king of Assyria. With this object in view, he entered into confederacy with So, the second king of Egypt, of the Ethiopian dynasty, who is called Shabatok in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the monuments. This only accelerated his ruin and the destruction of his kingdom. Shalmaneser, who had succeeded his father, Tiglath-Pileser, on the throne of Assyria, invaded Israel, took Hoshea prisoner, and, at the end of three years, captured and destroyed Samaria. With the exception of some fugitives into Egypt, and such righteous persons as had taken refuge in the kingdom of Judah, the whole of the ten tribes were now carried captive into that part of Assyria which stretched from the ancient Persia to the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus.[53]

VII.

This brief history of the decline of Israel, during the last seventy-five years of its existence as a distinct nation, will prepare the reader to understand the sublime, but abrupt and obscure, prophecies uttered successively by Hosea, during nearly the whole period in which the kingdom was thus reeling and tottering to its fall. "He describes," as Bishop Horsley has justly observed, "with much more exactness than any other prophet, the distinct destinies of the two great

[53] 2 Kings xv. xvii.

branches of the chosen people, the different judgments impending on them, and the different manner of their final restoration.[59] The marriage of the prophet with the wanton, "Gomer, the daughter of Diblain," was the prophetic symbol of the Angel-Jehovah's union with the children of Israel, in the holy covenant at Mount Sinai. The first fruit of this marriage was a son called JEZRAEL, or "the seed of God," — the genuine sons of God, begotten of him to a lively hope, and heirs of the heavenly promises. But the wanton Gomer became faithless to her lord, and, by promiscuous intercourse with the gods of the nations, brought forth two other children, which were not his. The first of these was a daughter; thus indicating, by the weakness of her sex, the infirm and weak kingdom of Israel, under the influence of Jeroboam's sin, and all the attendant disorders of a licentious and profligate idolatry. Her name was LO-RUHAMAH, variously translated, by St. Peter and St. Paul, "the unpitied" and "the unbeloved."[60]

There is no variation in the sense; because God's love to man is always an exercise of mercy. The second of this spurious race was of a firmer constitution, and therefore is represented as a son; but, being equally depraved, his name is LO-AMMI, to denote that he is not the seed of Jehovah, though still unbanished from God's house. It is the kingdom of Judah, which, though scarcely less wicked, has still remained united to the royal lineage of the Messiah. The different punishments inflicted on Lo-Ruhamah and on Lo-Ammi are proportioned to these distinctions, and are described by appropriate imagery. Infinite in mercy, Jehovah hath not utterly cast away the adulterous Gomer and her sinful progeny. For a season, indeed, he discards her and them, allowing only a scanty pittance for support in their state of exile; but he holds out offers of mercy in case of repentance, and threatens with still greater rigour, only in the event of

[59] Bib. Crit. vol. iii. p. 236, Hosea.

[60] 1 Pet. ii. 10. Rom. v. 25.

continued obduracy. The distress of the husband, occasioned by the treachery of his wife and the profligacy of her children, is feelingly described. The punishments inflicted on them will be finally successful. *Lo-Ruhamah* disappears, and is apparently lost forever. *Lo-Ammi* is only banished, but is constantly kept in view; is in ruin and degradation, without territory, without civil government, without sacrifice; but marvellously preserved, and endued with a masculine strength of suffering beyond example. Both will hereafter forsake their evil courses. *Lo-Ruhamah*, restored to love and mercy, will be called *Ruhamah*, "the pitied and the loved one." *Lo-Ammi*, become, by repentance and conversion, *Ammi*, the people of the Redeemer, will return in the latter days, and seek Jehovah their God and David their king. Both will become *Jezreel*, the genuine sons of God; and, under the conquering guidance of the Messiah, will be reëstablished in their own land, and made to dwell there in righteousness, prosperity, and peace.

The promises of restoration are held out to *Israel* as well as to *Judah*. Israel, therefore, though *hidden*, is not *lost*. Though her bow has been broken in Jezreel, and she has been utterly taken away, yet there will be hereafter another day of Jezreel, in which Judah and Israel shall be reünited under one head.[61] The prophet Amos foretold that God would "sift them from the nations with whom they are now mingled, as one that sifteth wheat in a sieve, so that not a grain shall fall to the ground."[62] This will be accomplished in His own good time; but now where are they? *No satisfactory answer has hitherto been, or perhaps ever can be, returned, until the time of fulfilment shall come.* The intense and prying curiosity both of Jews and Christians has in vain been exercised on this interesting inquiry. The only substantial history of the lost tribes is the apocryphal book of Tobit; and that is only of one family of the tribe of Naphthali, highly

[61] Hos. i. 11. [62] Chap. ix. 9.

seasoned with the marvellous, and mingled with much that is incredible. Yet it describes them as living in Ecbatana and Rages, cities of Media, and speaks of the destruction of Nineveh, foretold by the prophet Jonah, as having occurred before the death of Tobias. The false Esdras, which, from internal evidence, was written by a converted Jew, in the reign of Trajan,[63] is the first work which speaks of the ten tribes as living in a far distant country, "where *never mankind dwelt;*" whither they arrived after a voyage "over the waters," and a journey "of a year and a half;" and where they were exercising the rites of the Jewish religion, keeping there "their statutes, which they never kept in their own land."[64]

After the discovery of America, the heated imaginations of travellers, commentators, and historians, saw, in the aborigines of the western continent, the characteristics of the Hebrew race. It was supposed that from Media they had crossed Armenia, or the Caspian, penetrated into the Asiatic Tartary, and so, traversing Siberia, had passed by Behring's Straits into the remote region "where never mankind dwelt before," and of which the very existence had been so long unknown. Aaron Levi, a Jew, who took the alias of Antonio de Montesinos, published a relation, in 1644, of his having found, behind the Cordilleras, a nation who pronounced the Hebrew words of Deut. vi. 4: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." Deceived by this relation, a learned Rabbi Menasseh published a book, entitled "The Hope of Israel," which he dedicated to the English Parliament, and presented to Oliver Cromwell, by whom he was well received. This led to a book by Mr. Thomas Thorowgood, a bachelor of divinity, and a correspondent of Eliot, the missionary, the object of which was to add new probabilities "that those Indians are Judaical." [Lond. 4to. 1660.] The opinion spread with rapidity. William Penn himself said of the Delaware Indians, that "The faces of the inhabitants,

[63] From A. V. Æ. 97 to A. V. Æ. 116.

[64] 2 Esdras xiii. 39—50.

especially of their children, are so very like the Jews, that when you look upon them, you would think yourself in the Jews' quarter in London." After mentioning some customs which he thought resembled the "new moons," the "first fruits," and the "feast of Tabernacles," he adds, that "their language is masculine, short, concise, and full of energy, in which it much resembles the Hebrew."[65] It is now well known that all this is the offspring of pure imagination. Lafitau, who had well examined the manners of the American savages, declares that their religious rites are common to all the Gentile nations, as well as to the Jews; that many of their usages are absolutely opposed to what is essential in the law of Moses; and that the concealed country of the false Esdras, on which the whole theory is built, had its origin in Rabbinical dreams and chimeras.[66] As for the American languages, they have not the least affinity with the Hebrew, but belong, both by etymology and grammatical forms, to another class of human speech. It has been supposed that the Hebrew words, Jehovah and Hallelu-jah, are in use among the Indians. If it were so, it would not prove that they are of Hebrew descent. The ancient Greeks began and ended their pæans in honour of Apollo with *Elleleu-Je;* and the Hebrew nation altogether abstain from the use of the sacred name, Jehovah. But it is most probable that the early hunters and traders mistook, for these sacred words, the very guttural *Ho-ho-ho*, with which the Indians in council express their approbation. Conrad Weiser, an interpreter among the Delawares, translated it *Yo-wah;* and Adair says that they exclaim, *Yo-he-wah*. They sacrifice, it is true; and their months are lunar; but what nation has yet been found in which sacrifices are not offered, and the revolutions of time marked by moons? The Indians sacrifice dogs, and eat their flesh; the law of

[65] Present State of the Lands of the English in America, pp. 156 and 143, quoted in Gleig's Stackhouse Hist. of Bible, vol. ii. p. 431, and Basnage Hist. des Juifs, lib. vii. c. 4, tom. ii. p. 66. The former calls him *Sir William*, and the latter *le Chevalier* Penn! titles which the plain Quaker would have held in abomination.

[66] Lafitau Mœurs des Sauvages. Paris 1724, 4to. tom. i. pp. 412—416.

Moses[67] forbade even the price of a dog to be offered to God; and the prophet[68] could think of no stronger figure to represent the divine abhorrence than the sacrifice of dogs and swine.[69] Finally, the Indians, instead of being preserved by divine Providence, are wasting away like an exhalation from the earth; whereas the ten tribes are kept by the wonderful power of God, are to be converted to the true faith, and, reunited with the other two tribes, are to come again into their own borders, when the Lord God shall give unto Jesus the throne of his father David.[70]

The conjecture by which the ten tribes have been transported to the peninsula of India and the Chinese empire, has much more ground for its support than that which peopled with them the regions of Asiatic Tartary and America. If there be any force in the argument of the learned and judicious Reland, the land of Ophir, to which Solomon sent his fleets,[71] was the coast of Malabar. It was, therefore, known and visited before the separation of Israel and Judah. On this coast Dr. Buchanan found an ancient colony of Jews, near Cochin. The black Jews differed but little in complexion from the Hindoos. They gave him a written list of sixty-five places where there were colonies. They were also called, by the white Jews, "Benei-Israel, children of Israel, who came from the country of Ashkenaz," (the very country, probably, whither the ten tribes were carried captive,) "from Egypt, from Tsoba, and other places, *besides those who formerly inhabited that country.*" The white Jews also spoke of them with contempt as an inferior race; and in answer to his inquiries about the ten tribes, the black Jews mentioned, as a common belief, that the great body of the

[67] Deut. xxiii. 18.

[68] Isa. lxvi. 3.

[69] See the author's Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes, in the third vol. of the New York Historical Society Collections.

[70] St. Luke i. 31—33.

[71] 1 Kings ix. 26—28. 2 Chron. ix. 10. Dissert. Miscel. Pars i. Dissert. iv. de Ophir.

Israelites are to be found in Chaldæa and the contiguous countries.[72]

Thus, in the circling eddies of conjecture, are we left where we began. What God has hidden, man cannot find. From the relations of the Talmudists, and the dreams of an overheated imagination, we must return to the Holy Scriptures, as the only safe guide. "The king of Assyria . . . . . carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them *in Halah* and in *Habor*, by the river of Gozan, and in the *cities of the Medes*. . . . . So was Israel carried away out of their own land to *Assyria unto this day*."[73] Two colonies seem to have been established; one in Assyria, and the other in Media. The Assyrian colony was in that region which is now called Kurdistan. It was situated between the *rivers Chabor and Chalach, in the province of Gozan*. Concerning the first of these streams there is no difficulty; for it is now called Khabour, rises in the mountains near the lake of Van, and falls into the Tigris at Sered. The other is supposed to be the Zab, one of the tributary streams of which is called the Hakiar.[74] The Median colony, though the cities are not

[72] Christian Researches in Asia. Boston, 1811, 8vo. pp. 212—223.

[73] 2 Kings xvii. 6—23.

[74] The learned reader will see that I have followed the reading of the LXX., which is "in Alae and in Abor, *rivers of Gozan*." The English translation follows the Vulgate, "in Hala et in Habor *juxta fluvium* Gozan;" but *juxta* in the Latin, and *by* in the English version, are not in the original; which, according to the present text, is more properly rendered "in Chalach and in Chabor, a river of Gozan." The Greek reads, ποταμοῖς, rivers. Basnage supposes the *Chabor*, called by the Arabian geographer *Alchabor*, to be the river which crosses Mesopotamia and falls into the Euphrates at Kerkisieh, which is also called *Khabour*. But it seems more probable that it was the *Khabour* which falls into the *Tigris*. In the month of September, 1846, Dr. Layard, in his journey to visit the Christians in Kurdistan, "rode for some time *along the banks of the* KHABOUR; *and about five hours and a half from* CHALLEK *forded the* SUPNA, *one of its confluents*."—Nineveh, vol. i. p. 191. I suppose Challek to be the חֲלָח of 2 Kings xvii. 6. The river and the city might have then had the same name. If any one wishes to know the absurd notions which prevailed among the Jews early in the sixteenth century, he has only to consult the Cosmography of Abraham Peritsol, which Hyde has translated, and enriched with learned notes. He makes *the river Gozan* to be the Ganges, and *Chabor* a desert where the ten tribes live in tents, like the sons of Rechab, and where they are subject to many kings, but especially to one great king, David ben Shelomo. In another place he speaks of the Sabbatical river as dividing the Israelites from the Hindoos; and here Gozan figures as a *province* with mountains and rivers. See his work, apud Hyde Syntagma, Dissert. Oxon. 1767, 4to. vol. i. cap. xiv. and xxiv. pp. 110 and 179.

designated, must have been where the apocryphal Tobit placed it, in that part of Persia now called Irak Ajami. Ecbatana is now Hamadan; and Rages is a ruined place, under the modern appellation of Rei, or Rha.[75] If the misnamed Nestorians are the descendants of the ten tribes, it is cheering to think, that, as they were the first of the natural branches who were cut off that the Gentiles might be grafted in, so have they been the first to repent and turn to their Saviour, and, therefore, are grafted in again into the mystical vine. They may yet be the honoured instruments of converting to the true faith their brethren and the Gentiles around them.[76]

IX.

But to return to our history, which, in this examination of opinions, has been too long neglected: The kingdom of Judah, though startled and affrighted by the signal visitations of God's awful judgments upon Israel, was, as we have said, little less corrupted. The pious Jotham, the only king of Judah named without reproach, after a reign of sixteen years from the death of his father, Uzziah, was taken from the evil to come, and his godless son, Ahaz, for a like number of years, occupied the throne. As Israel had been restored to its greatest extent under Jeroboam II., so was it with Judah, in the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham. The former recovered Elath, on the Red Sea, which, about a century before, in the days of Jehoram, had been taken by the Edomites.[77] He was also successful in subduing the Philistines, checking the depredations of the Arabs, and rendering tributary the children of Ammon. These successes were maintained and carried on by his son, who "became mighty,"

A. J. P. 3958 — 3989.
B. V. Æ. 756 — 725.

[75] D'Anville, Anc. Geog. Media.

[76] See Dr. Grant's interesting narrative, and the remarks upon it in the Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church, pp. 490, 491, note 3. Mar Yohannah, a bishop from Ourmiah, when he was in the United States seemed to favour Dr. Grant's idea. I must here observe that I see no reason for the belief that the heresy ascribed to Nestorius forms any part of their profession of faith. See Layard's Nineveh, vol. i. chaps. 6, 7, 8.

[77] 2 Kings viii. 20. 2 Chron. xxi. 8.

says the sacred historian, "because he prepared his ways before the LORD his God."[78] But no sooner had Ahaz come to the throne than all this prosperity vanished. As the Almighty had been preparing for the excision of Israel, so was He now preparing for the punishment of Judah. It here deserves again to be remarked, that, in the tenth year of Jotham, Pul, at his death, divided the kingdom of Assyria, by placing Nabonassar, his youngest son, on the throne of Babylon. This event occurred, as we have already stated, on the twenty-sixth of February, A. J. P. 3967, B. V. Æ. 747. Babylon was to be the scourge of Judah, as Nineveh had been that of Israel. Egypt, also, by a succession of peaceful dynasties, was permitted to gather strength for her approaching conflicts; and, in the fourth year of Jotham, was founded the city of Rome, destined ultimately to absorb Assyria, and Babylon, and Egypt, and all the tributary nations whom they had bent under their dominion. But, not to anticipate, we have here only to remark, that such are the proceedings of Omnipotence, by ways hidden from human foresight, and perceived only by the torchlight of prophetic inspiration, shining in a dark place, and the thoughtful contemplation of history, after the nations of the world have been thus elevated or depressed.

For more than a century Judah had been free from invasion, except in the conflict provoked by Amaziah.[79] The kings had been better than their subjects; and the worship of the true God had always been publicly celebrated in the temple, though there had been much secret idolatry. But Ahaz, at the time of his father's death, was but twenty, or, at most, twenty-five years of age;[80] and, under the corrupt influence of the princes of Judah, seconded, no doubt, by his own depraved desires, all the abominations of heathenism were countenanced by him and them, and now burst forth without

[78] See 2 Chron. from xxvi. 2—15, to xxvii. 1—6.

[79] See 2 Kings xiv. and 2 Chron. xxv.

[80] The latter number is the reading of the LXX.

measure or restraint. To warn them against the consequences of such impiety, God commissioned the prophets Isaiah and Micah. Their writings throw great light upon the enormous wickedness which, like a foul disease, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, polluted the whole nation. Isaiah prophesied, if he outlived Hezekiah, which is somewhat doubtful, about sixty-two years, thirty-seven of which preceded the destruction of Samaria. Micah began later and ended earlier; and it is evident that he was sent both to Israel and to Judah.

At the accession of Ahaz, Retsin or Rezin reigned over the Syrians at Damascus, and Pekah, the son of Remaliah, had been sixteen years on the throne of Israel at Samaria. They considered this as a favourable moment to invade Judah; and their design was to dethrone the new king, to place in his stead a creature of their own, and to exterminate that royal race of David, of which Christ was both the offspring and the root. Ahaz, who had no faith, and no fear of God before his eyes, thought only of strengthening himself against his confederated enemies, by becoming tributary to the king of Assyria. But while he was thus meditating in his heart, God, to convince him of his omniscience, sent the prophet Isaiah with the following message: A. J. P. 3973. B. V. Æ. 741.

"Take heed, and be still; fear not, neither let thy heart be faint;
Because of the two tails of these smoking firebrands;
For the fierce wrath of Retsin, and of the son of Remaliah.
Because Syria hath devised evil against thee:
Ephraim and the son of Remaliah, saying;
Let us go up against Judah, and harass it;
And let us rend off a part of it for ourselves;
And let us set a king to reign in the midst of it;
Even the son of Tabeal.
Thus saith the Lord Jehovah:
It shall not stand, neither shall it be.
Though the head of Syria be Damascus,
And the head of Damascus, Retsin;
Though the head of Ephraim be Samaria,
And the head of Samaria, Remaliah's son:

Yet, within three score and five years,
Ephraim shall be broken, that he be no more a people.
If ye believe not in me, ye shall not be established."[81]

Twenty-one years after this message was delivered, the king of Assyria destroyed Samaria, and carried captive the great body of the nation of Israel. Precisely *sixty-five* years after, when, by the death of Sennacherib, Esar-Haddon became the sole monarch of Assyria, the gleanings of the ten tribes were carried away by him, together with Manasseh, king of Judah.[82] A. J. P. 4038. B. V. Æ. 676.

To convince Ahaz of the greatness of God's power and truth, and, if possible, to excite faith in his heart, he was told to ask any sign he pleased within the whole compass of nature, as a pledge that no design against the house of David should prosper. But the obstinate young king had formed his plan, and declined the proffered mercy, under the pretext of not tempting the LORD. Whereupon, the glorious sign was given of the miraculous birth of Christ, blended with awful warnings of the nation's fate if trust were reposed in the idolatrous kingdoms around them:

"Therefore, JEHOVAH himself shall give you a sign;
Behold, the virgin conceiveth, and beareth a son;
And she shall call his name IMMANUEL, (GOD WITH US,)
Butter and honey shall he eat,
When he shall know to refuse what is evil, and to choose what is good;
For, before this child shall know
To refuse the evil and to choose the good,
The land shall become desolate,
By whose two kings thou art distressed."

This prophecy, notwithstanding its obscurity before its fulfilment, would have carried comfort *even then* to a faithful son

[81] Bp. Lowth's Trans. of Isaiah vii. 9. From the obvious construction of the sentence, and on his authority, I have ventured to transpose the first hemistichs of v. 9.

[82] Esar-Haddon, the Assar-Addin of Ptolemy, the Sargon of Isaiah, and the Sarchedon of Tobit, reigned at Babylon five years in the lifetime of his father Sennacherib, and succeeded him in the kingdom of Assyria, at Nineveh, B. V. Æ. 676, the twentieth year of Manasseh. Isa. xx. 1—3. Tobit i. 21. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. See Appendix to Two Disc. on Prophecy, pp. 119, 138, and Bp. Lowth's Notes on Isa. vii. 8, 9.

of David; for it would have taught him, by a sign which he and his posterity were to wait for, and which could not be mistaken, that his race would still live on the throne of Judah, when both the country of Syria and that of the ten tribes should be desolate and overrun by strangers. But there is no necessity of looking for a germinant accomplishment in the person of any other infant than the Lord Christ Jesus. The eye of Omniscience has no future, even when it looks along the line of more than seven centuries. The subjugation of Syria as a Roman province, and the death of Herod, by which his kingdom, including Israel as well as Judah, was destroyed, took place before our Lord had arrived at that age in which children are weaned from the breast, and can discern good from evil.[83]

To the sign of mercy was added a threat of so remarkable a character, and so connected with the subsequent history of Judah, that it must not here be passed over in silence.

> "But JEHOVAH shall bring upon thee,
> And upon thy people, and upon thy father's house,
> Days such as have not come,
> From the day that Ephraim departed from Judah."

That is, from the days of *Shishak*, or *Sheshonk*, king of Egypt, who protected Jeroboam, invaded Judea, plundered Jerusalem, and made Rehoboam tributary.

> "And it shall come to pass in that day,
> JEHOVAH shall *hist the fly*
> *That is in the utmost part of the rivers of Egypt,*
> And the *bee that is in the land of Assyria;*
> And they shall come, and they shall light all of them
> On the desolate valleys and on the craggy rocks,
> And on all the thickets and on all the caverns."[84]

[83] See Hales' Chronol. vol. ii. p. 419. Bp. Lowth's note to chap. vii. 14—16, in his Isaiah, vol. ii. pp. 82—87. Bp. Horsley's Bib. Crit. vol. ii. pp. 38—50. Vitringa, tom. i. pp. 179—190. And especially compare the language of the contemporary prophet, Micah, chaps. iv. and v.

[84] Lowth's trans. ut sup.

Formerly, when God's people were in the wilderness, He sent the vindictive, voracious and venomous hornet before them, in the person of Rhameses IV., of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty, to weaken the nations of Canaan. Now the same power is described under the similitude of the audacious, tormenting, but contemptible house-fly, coming from *the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt*, and settling in swarms over the kingdom of David. In the sixth year of Ahaz, Egypt was suddenly invaded by the Ethiopians, under Shabak, or Sabbacon, their king; and the only *Ethiopian* dynasty which ever reigned in Egypt continued for forty-four years. This fly came at the *hist* of Jehovah; and we shall have occasion to speak of it hereafter. But, lo! from the north came, at the same *hist*, the *bee* of Assyria, also, settling in swarms over the land, — an insect intelligent, industrious, and persevering, sucking its own nourishment from flowers and fruits of every sort, and armed with a sharp sting, in case of resistance and hostility. Then, glancing at the intention of Ahaz to render himself tributary to Tiglath-Pileser, the prophet changes the imagery, and thus represents the ravages he and his successors would inflict, but only as instruments of the Almighty: A. J. P. 3978. B. V. Æ. 736.

> "In that day JEHOVAH *shall shave by the hired razor,*
> *By the people beyond the River, by the king of Assyria,*
> The head and the hair of the feet;
> And even the beard itself shall be destroyed."

The hairs of the head are those of the highest order in the state; those of the feet, or the lower parts, are the common people; the beard is the king, the high priest, the very supreme in dignity and majesty. The Eastern people have always held the beard in the highest veneration, and have been extremely jealous of its honour. To pluck a man's beard is an instance of the greatest indignity that can be offered.[85] The fulfilment of these threats will now be the subject of our attention.

[85] Bp. Lowth's note on the passage; where see examples, vol. ii. p. 88.

X.

Ahaz hearkened not to the divine counsels, and thus brought on that train of calamities which ended in the Babylonish captivity. He plundered the temple to swell the tribute which he sent to Tiglath-Pileser. The king of Assyria accepted his proposals, took Damascus, slew Retsin the king of Syria, and carried his people into captivity. This temporary triumph of his own devices led Ahaz to commit a further act of impiety. He went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-Pileser, and saw there a heathen altar, which pleased his taste. He therefore sent a pattern of it to Jerusalem, to be placed in the Temple, in direct violation of the law.[86] Urijah the priest, meanly and wickedly, complied with his command; and idolatry was now admitted, for the first time, within the precincts of the sanctuary.[87]

[86] Exod. xx. 25.

[87] 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

CHAPTER VII.

THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH, FROM THE REIGN OF HEZEKIAH TO THE CAPTIVITY.

I. Resemblance of Hezekiah to David. — Reformation of religion. — His passover. — Objects at which he aimed. — The blessed effects of his reformation. II. Imperfections of Hezekiah. — Want of faith, and its punishment. — Sennacherib. — Tirhakah and the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt. — Destruction of Sennacherib's army. — Hezekiah's illness. — Astronomical phenomenon. — Merodach Baladan's history. — Sinful pride of Hezekiah. III. Manasseh's wicked reign. — Carried captive to Babylon. — Repents; but the doom of Judah irrevocably pronounced. — Isaiah and his prophecies. — Those of Micah. — Nahum. — Joel. IV. Amon's wicked reign. — Josiah. — Influence of pious mothers. — His piety. — Low state of religion in the eighteenth year of his reign. — Josiah interferes with the designs of Pharaoh Necho, and is slain — Necho takes Jerusalem. — Observations on the reformation of religion under Josiah. V. Jehoiakim. — Fall of Nineveh. — Warnings by the prophets. — Joel. — Analysis of his prophecy. — Zephaniah. — Habakkuk. — Obadiah. VI. The great prophet of this period, Jeremiah. — Differences in the arrangement of his prophecies. — Order in which they should be read. VII. Nebuchadnezzar. — First Jewish captives, and among them Daniel. — His interpretation of the vision of the Image. — Its date. — Rebellion and death of Jehoiakim. — Jehoiachin, his son, carried captive to Babylon. — Second captivity, in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar. — Accession of Zedekiah. VIII. The prophet Ezekiel. — Exact dates of his prophecies. — Nebuchadnezzar begins the siege of Jerusalem. — Pharaoh Hophra helps in vain. — Jerusalem taken. — The Temple plundered and burned. IX. The poor of the land left under Gedaliah. — He is treacherously murdered, and the people, contrary to God's command, flee into Egypt. — They perish in the punishment of Pharaoh Hophra. X. Nebuchadnezzar lays siege to Tyre. — Egypt given as a spoil, in the ninth year of Aahmes, or Amasis. — Never recovered. — Its doom as the basest of nations. XI. Judgment upon Babylon. — Nebuchadnezzar punished, after his return from Egypt. — His son, Evil-Merodach, murdered. — Neriglissar and his son. — Nabonadius, or Belshazzar. — His impious feast. — Slain by the Medes and Persians, under Cyrus. — End of the first great monarchy.

I.

THE impious profanation of the temple, mentioned at the close of the last chapter, drew down upon Ahaz the just punishment of the Almighty. He survived Tiglath-Pileser about four years, and was then cut off in his iniquities, at the

early age of thirty-six. But the judgments impending upon the nation for these abominations were retarded by the accession of the pious Hezekiah to the throne of Judah. He was nine years old when his father began to reign; and he grew up in the midst of the most frightful wickedness, without being tainted by its influence. Probably he was under the guidance of a religious mother, Abijah, the daughter of Zechariah. He began a vigorous reformation as soon as he began to reign, and resembled David more than any king who reigned before or after him. The doors of the temple, which had been shut by Ahaz, were opened and repaired, and the sanctuary cleansed. This occurred in the first month of Hezekiah's reign. Counting it from the first of Nisan, which fell in that year on Sunday, the 16th of March, the purification was finished on Monday, the last day of March, or the 16th of Nisan.[1] But it was two days too late to keep the Passover. Availing himself, therefore, of the permission in the law,[2] the king, after due counsel taken, determined to celebrate it, with great solemnity and magnificence, on the fourteenth day of the second month, which fell on Monday, the 28th of April. And, inasmuch as it had not been kept for a long time according to the written law, it was resolved to prolong the observance for two weeks, instead of one, until Monday, the 12th of May, or one week before the feast of Pentecost. Messengers were sent in all directions, to the utmost parts of Israel as well as Judah, exhorting all the children of Israel to turn to the Lord Jehovah, that he might be gracious and return to them. Though this was after the first deportation, and but five years before the final extinction of the kingdom of Israel, the invitation of the king was treated with contempt, and his messengers laughed to scorn. Yet a remnant of Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulun, and some of Ephraim and Issachar, came to Jerusalem, though they had not purified themselves as the laws of the

A. J. P. 3939.
B. V. Æ. 725.

[1] 2 Chron. xxix. 1—19. [2] Numb. ix. 9—14.

sanctuary required. They were, however, received, because they had prepared their hearts to seek God; and the good king prayed for them, that any omission of duty might be pardoned through the blood of the typical lamb.[3]

The reformation of religion, under Hezekiah, aimed at three purposes: the extinction of idolatry, the correction of the nation's morals, and the restoration of God's worship to the divine model established under David. To effect these purposes, he began by an exhortation to the priests and levites. Reformation must begin with the ministers of holy things, that it may effectually spread among the people. The priests seem to have been more corrupt than the levites; for the king addressed himself first to the latter, and the former were too few in number to bear the necessary burdens of their office. He urged them to consider the sins of their fathers, the consequent wrath and temporal judgments of the Almighty, and the sacredness and exclusiveness of their own commission.[4] The levites, and such of the priests as were right-minded, obeyed with alacrity; the priests doing that which they only could do, in cleansing the Holy of Holies, and the sanctuary; and the levites acting as their ministers in the court of the Lord's house.[5] This done, the king gathered the civil rulers, and sanctified himself with them in the sin and trespass offerings, which were typical of His death, without which there could have been no remission of sin, and no sanctification of the human heart. He then proceeded to restore the rites and ceremonies which the law required, and with exact solemnity to renew the magnificent temple-worship with instruments and vocal song, commanded by God, arranged by His prophets, Gad and Nathan, and established by David. In a word, he renewed the use of the book of Psalms. When the burnt offering began, the song of the Angel-Jehovah began also, in alternate response with the trumpets and

[3] 2 Chron. xxx. 1—27.
[4] 2 Chron. xxix. 3—11.
[5] Ib. v. 12—19.

instruments invented by the sweet and inspired psalmist of Israel. When they had made an end of offering, they bowed themselves down and worshipped with lowly reverence, while clouds of incense arose from the golden altar, to represent the prevailing merits of Christ Jesus, which alone can render our prayers acceptable.

The blessed effects of this sudden reformation were exhibited in the zeal with which the people flocked to the Passover, and with which all who were there present, on their return to their several cities, broke in pieces the images, cut down the groves, and threw down and destroyed the high places and altars devoted to idolatrous worship. Nor was this all. The brazen serpent itself, which Moses had cast and erected, by God's command, as a symbol of love and mercy, and as a mean, through faith, of curing disease and preventing death, — the sign which had been for more than seven centuries preserved, venerated as the work of their great lawgiver, and associated, in the hearts of men, with the wonders wrought in the wilderness, — even the brazen serpent itself was broken by the king's command, and called *Nehushtan*, a vile thing of copper, because it had been made the instrument of idolatry.[6] The reason why this destruction was laudable, is obvious. Idolatry leads the soul from the contemplation of the divine nature, and teaches it to worship beings like ourselves, whose lives, at the best, were most imperfect and impure, and often were only so many tissues of crime. The symbolic worship of the serpent was originally the worship of the great enemy of God and man, a being full of subtlety, deceit and poison. In its mildest form, idolatry degrades and vilifies the Incomprehensible and the Almighty ; in its most corrupt, it panders to the worst vices of which man is capable. In proportion, therefore, as the people were reclaimed from their false worship, they became more and more virtuous, more and more prosperous, more and more zealous, more and more

[6] 2 Kings xviii. 4. See p. 88.

liberal and generous. The favour of God towards them was manifested by increased abundance; and plenty, honour and glory, shed their united splendour over all classes of men in that happy kingdom.

II.

Yet were they subject to many afflicting visitations of Providence. Sincerely pious and holy as Hezekiah was, he had weaknesses which led him into sin, and brought upon him and his people most righteous punishment. His story is written for our admonition, and to it we should give most earnest heed. In his fourteenth year, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was permitted to invade Judah. In this emergency, instead of asking counsel of God, who would have delivered him if he had put his undivided trust in divine protection, Hezekiah became a suppliant to the proud and boastful idolater, and paid him the tribute he demanded, three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold.[7] To do this he was obliged to strip the temple of the gold he had dedicated to God, and to empty the sacred, as well as the royal treasury. This had no other effect than to increase the rapacity and insolence of his proud and faithless oppressor. Hezekiah now humbled himself before God, and received comfort. Sennacherib advanced within twenty Roman miles of Jerusalem, and was laying siege to a small town near the great road leading down through the country of the Philistines, into Egypt. Here he heard that Tir-hakah, king of Ethiopia, was come out to fight against him.[8] This monarch was the third king of the Ethiopian dynasty, and had come to the throne of Egypt the year before this invasion of Sennacherib. Nineteen years later, the Ethiopians were expelled from Egypt, by the first of the twenty-sixth dynasty, who was an Egyptian. A monument still exists, at Medinet Haboo, con-

A. J. P. 4002. B. C. Æ. 712.

[7] This enormous sum amounted then to $1,180,956, and would now amount to more than three millions and a half of dollars.

[8] 2 Kings xix. 9.

taining the portrait, as well as the name, of Tahrak, or Tahraka. His name is also found in Ethiopia, at Mount Barkal, with a date of the twentieth year of his reign. We have also the names of his queen, Amentih, of two of his daughters, one of whom is called the divine star Amenates, and probably a son, whose name is obliterated by time.[9] "THE HIST OF JEHOVAH," in the sublime language of the prophet, now brought this fly from the utmost Nile, to encounter the bee of Assyria. Here is one of those fine and spirited touches of prophecy, uttered twenty-nine years before the event, which no pencil but that of Almighty wisdom could give. None but this king of Ethiopia could have come out of Egypt, by the only road which, in the position of the Assyrian army, was practicable.

Sennacherib appears to have raised the siege of Libnah, and marched on the road towards Egypt to meet Tharaka. Both Josephus and Herodotus place the destruction of his army near Pelusium.[10] The story of Herodotus is the heathen version of the stupendous miracle by which, in one night, 185,000 men became the victims of pestilence. Even on the ground of common evidence, Isaiah, who lived at the time, and was knowing to all that he recorded, must be preferred to Herodotus, who wrote from hearsay more than two hundred and fifty years after the event, and when the records of Egypt had been destroyed by Cambyses. Sennacherib returned to Nineveh, where he seems to have spent thirty-seven years of inglorious ease, and at last was slain by two of his sons.[11]

In the same year in which this great deliverance took place, another judgment befell Hezekiah. He was seized with a mortal illness, which, from the description of it, seems to have been the plague. A message was sent to him, by Isaiah, to set his house in order; and we have here a strik-

[9] Roselleni Monum. Storici, tom. ii. p. 109.

[10] Jos. Ant. lib. x. c. 1. Herod. lib. ii. c. 141.

[11] Isa. xxxvi. xxxvii. 2 Kings xviii. 17; xix. 37. 2 Chron. xxxii. 1—23.

ing instance of the rapidity with which God answers prayer. Hezekiah prayed for life, and before Isaiah had gone out of the middle court, he was sent back with another message, prolonging his life for fifteen years. He appears then to have been childless; for Manasseh was but twelve years old when he succeeded him. On this occasion an astronomical phenomenon was given, as a miraculous sign of God's mercy, which has never yet been explained, and which cannot be explained away. The sun's shadow on the dial of Ahaz went back ten degrees. It was observed by the astronomers of Babylon,[12] and was doubtless accurately noted by them at the time of its occurrence. But, as far as they could then perceive, it had no necessary connection with any event in Jewish history; and it was not till eight years after that the message of Merodach, or Berodach, was sent to Hezekiah.[13]

The publication, in 1818, of the complete Chronicon of Eusebius, from the Armenian manuscripts, in which only the first part of it had been preserved, has thrown light into the darkness of Merodach Baladan's history. This name could previously be found nowhere but in the Bible. It was not in the canon of Ptolemy, nor in any other heathen historian then known. But an extract from Alexander Polyhistor, a Chaldæan historian, preserved in the long-lost work of Eusebius, now clears up every difficulty. "After the brother of Senecherib had reigned, and after Acises (or Hagises) had ruled over the Babylonians, and *was killed by Marodach Baladan*, when he had not held the kingdom thirty days; and *Merodach Baladan himself had held it by force six months, he was killed by one Elibus*, who reigned in his stead." The admirable accuracy of the Scripture history is now exhibited even in that passage where it has been most strongly doubted. We learn, from the canon of Ptolemy, that there was an interregnum in Babylon for two years, and that a king named

[12] 2 Chron. xxxii. 31.

[13] 2 Kings xx. 1—12. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24—31. Isa. xxxviii. xxxix.

Belibus, evidently the Elibus of Alexander Polyhistor, then reigned for three years. Ptolemy never mentions any reign which did not continue for at least a year. He therefore passes over Acises and Merodach Baladan in silence, but speaks of Belibus, or Elibus. "He was conquered," says the Chaldæan historian, "in the third year of his reign, by Senecherib, who, having thus the dominion over the Babylonians, appointed his son Assordanius (Esar-Haddon) their king, and he himself retired again into the land of the Assyrians." It was during the six months' reign of Merodach Baladan, that, wishing to strengthen himself against Sennacherib, whose power and vengeance he justly dreaded, he sent the embassy to Hezekiah, in which the defeat of Sennacherib, the subsequent illness of the Jewish monarch, and the wonderful phenomenon which occurred at that time, were skilfully mentioned. The book of Chronicles speaks of the embassy as having been sent by "the princes of Babylon." It was a state of oligarchy and faction. The very diversity of expression corroborates the truth of the Bible narrative.[14]

This embassy from Babylon excited a sinful pride in the heart of Hezekiah, which made him forgetful, for a while, of his dependence upon God, and drew down upon him the displeasure of the Almighty. He showed the Babylonian ambassadors all his treasures; but was immediately reproved, and warned of the approaching captivity which should come upon his sons and upon the nation. He received the message with dutiful submission, thankful that he himself should be permitted to end his days in peace.[15]

III.

Manasseh was so young at the time of his father's death, that he was easily corrupted by the evil counsellors, who had

[14] See Euseb. Chronicon, Pars i. Ed. Venice, p. 42, Milan, p. 19, and Appendix to Two Disc. on Prophecy, pp. 119 and 131—138.

[15] Isa. xxxix. 2 Kings xx. 12—21. 2 Chron. xxxii. 25—33.

been silenced, rather than changed, during the preceding reign. He revived all the abominations of his grandfather, Ahaz, and, if possible, exceeded them. For this cause, God permitted Esar-Haddon to carry him captive to Babylon, on his accession to undivided sovereignty by the death of Sennacherib. This calamity so humbled him, that he turned to the Lord God of his fathers, who graciously heard his prayer and restored him to his kingdom.[16] His repentance was sincere, and his subsequent life exemplary; but the poison of his first example had struck deep into the vitals of his people, and the doom of Judah and Jerusalem was now irrevocably pronounced.[17]

A. J. P. 4038. B. V. Æ. 676.

Though the tradition is uncertain that Isaiah was the person referred to by St. Paul,[18] as having been "sawn asunder," in the days of Manasseh's wickedness, yet it is evident that he lived for some time after the embassy from Babylon, which was but seven years before Hezekiah's death. He was, as St. Jerome says of him, "not so much a prophet as an evangelist."[19] His prophecies of more imminent events range over two hundred years or more, from the conquest of the Assyrians to those of the Medes and Persians. But with these predictions concerning the fate of Israel and Judah, of Assyria and Babylon, of Tyre and Cush, and Egypt, and of all other heathens with whom the chosen people were in any wise connected, there are constant anticipations of far more remote periods, and of events which would befall the Church from the incarnation to the second advent of the Redeemer. The judgments of God, with respect to nations, being in all ages alike, the prophet glances from one to the other, as from nearer to more distant objects in some wonderfully vast and comprehensive diorama, which is continually unrolling itself before him. While his eye is thus rapt in the visions of the future, his tongue describes, not from recollection, but from

[16] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1—13.
[17] 2 Kings xxi. 1—16.
[18] Heb. xi. 37.
[19] Præf. in Isai. Opera, ed. Bened. tom. i. p. 474.

sight. His force of description and splendour of imagery are unrivalled; especially in the last twenty-seven chapters, which, as Bishop Lowth remarks, "constitute the most elegant part of the sacred writings of the Old Testament." On the occasion of Hezekiah's pride and vanity in showing his treasures, Isaiah predicted, more than a century before it came to pass, that all should be carried away to Babylon. But as it is always God's method to console, when he threatens, the prediction of chastisement for sin is accompanied with promises of blessings to faith and obedience. The restoration of the tribe of Judah and the royal house of David "was necessary in the design and order of Providence," as the same excellent critic remarks, "for the fulfilling of God's promises of establishing a more glorious and an everlasting kingdom, under the Messiah. The prophet," therefore, "connects these two events together, and hardly ever treats of the former, without throwing in some intimation of the latter; and sometimes is so fully possessed with the glories of the future more remote kingdom, that he seems to leave the more immediate subject of his commission almost out of the question."[20]

With the book of Isaiah should be read the prophecies of MICAH. His fourth chapter bears a strong resemblance to the second of Isaiah.[21] Like Amos and Hosea, he reproves and threatens with great energy and indignation, and he is remarkable for the animation of his manner, and the strength, pathos and sublimity, of his expressions.[22]

NAHUM probably wrote after the capture of the ten tribes, and JOEL in the reign of Manasseh. The former foretells, with great sublimity, the future falling of God's wrath upon Nineveh, and its utter destruction, at the very moment when, flushed with conquest, it seemed to be established in might and glory; the latter describes, as if it were already passed,

[20] Lowth's Isaiah, note on ch. xl., vol. ii. p. 248.

[21] See Isa. ii. 2—4, and Mic. iv. 1—3.

[22] See Abp. Newcome's Minor Prophets, p. 138.

the infliction of God's wrath upon the wicked, by his three devouring armies, war, famine and pestilence. Borrowing his figure from the infliction of a plague of locusts, which had come upon the land from the north, he clearly predicts the political calamities about to come upon the nation from the same quarter, and its final restoration to a state of happiness and glory. All this shall come to pass in the great and terrible day of Jehovah; but the judgments of God, at the end of one epoch, are typical of those which will come at another; and so are the deliverances and blessings, at the commencement of each restoration, symbolical of the glories of the millennial kingdom.

IV.

Amon was twenty-two years old when he began to reign. He was born, therefore, after the return of his father from Babylon, and, consequently, after his deep repentance and personal reformation. Yet he followed in the steps of Manasseh's early life, "served the idols that his father served," and was therefore visited by God's judgments. At the end of two years, his servants "conspired against" and slew him in his own house. They, in their turn, were slain, and the people raised his son Josiah to the throne, when he was a child only eight years old.[23]

A. J. P. 4074. B. V. Æ. 640.

A. J. P. 4076. B. V. Æ. 638.

"His mother's name was Jedidah, the daughter of Adaiah of Boscath," a city of Judah.[24] The sacred writers are careful to mention the name of the mother of every king; and this probably not without reason. The influence of a pious mother is the ordinary method, under God's providence, of preserving a child in the midst of corrupt example; and even when he has an ungodly father, her teachings will often sink deep and lie dormant for a while, but will afterwards spring up and bear fruit. "In the eighth year of his reign," which

[23] 2 Kings xxi. 19—26. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 21—25.

[24] Josh. xv. 39.

was the fifteenth of his age, Josiah "began to seek after the God of David his father; and, in the twelfth year," or when he was nineteen, "he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places and the groves, and the carved images, and the molten images.[25]

A. J. P. 4083. B. V. Æ. 631.

A. J. P. 4087. B. V. Æ. 627.

The piety of Josiah suspended for a season the doom of his guilty nation. In the eighteenth year of his reign, a discovery was made, which affords a striking example of the low state of religion. The king, having cleansed the land of all open idolatry, determined to repair the temple. For this purpose, he sent to the high priest to collect all the money in the sacred treasury. In the search occasioned by this order, the high priest found the original book of the law. It had been entrusted by Moses to the levites, who bare the ark, with a command to show it publicly every Sabbatical year, and read it to the people. From this book, every king, on his accession to the throne, was to write a copy in his own hand, and for his own use. Yet here we find, not only the king, but even the high priest, entirely ignorant of its existence! "I have found the book of the law in the house of the LORD," said the high priest to Shaphan the scribe, the king's messenger; and he gave it to him to read. After reading it himself, Shaphan brought it to the king. "Hilkiah, the priest," said he, "hath delivered me a book," and he read it in the king's presence; and when the king had heard the words of the law, probably the book of Deuteronomy, "he rent his clothes." Could any narrative express more strongly the frightful ignorance of God's Word! Awe-struck by the threatenings of the violated law, the king sent the high priest and his chief officers of state to inquire of the Lord by the mouth of Huldah, the prophetess. "Tell the man that sent you to me," she said, "Thus saith JEHOVAH: Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the

A. J. P. 4093. B. V. Æ. 621.

[25] 2 Kings xxii. 1, 2. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1—7.

inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read." Four years after, Neko, the second of that name, the son of Psametik, or Psammitichus, ascended the throne of Egypt. He reigned, according to Herodotus, seventeen years; but the father of Grecian history has given a very imperfect account of him, which the sacred history illustrates and explains.[26] In the thirty-first year of Josiah, and the tenth of Neko, the Egyptian monarch came up to fight against Charchemish, a strong fortress of the Assyrians, lying at the confluence of the Khabour and the Euphrates. Either by his ships on the Mediterranean, or by marching along the sea-board in the country of the Philistines, he advanced to the north of Judah, evidently intending to cross by the plain of Jezreel, and thus avoid any collision with the king of Jerusalem. But Josiah, in an evil hour, without any provocation, and without asking counsel of the Lord, determined to throw himself in his way, and intercept his progress. Neko remonstrated in vain, and the appointed death of the Jewish monarch drew near. He went into battle in the valley of Megiddo, and though he had disguised himself, the Egyptian archers shot at and mortally wounded him. His servants brought him to Jerusalem; where he died, amid the universal lamentations of his people. Jeremiah, who had begun to prophesy in the thirteenth year of his reign,[27] composed a lamentation for him, which was made an ordinance in Israel, and continued for many generations.[28] There was abundant cause for lamentation; for, from this time forth, all was calamitous. At the end of three months, Neko, enraged and flushed with victory, took Jerusalem, exacted a fine of one hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold,[29] made Eliakim, the elder brother of Jehoahaz, king, under the name of Jehoiakim, and carried Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, to Egypt, to grace his triumph as a captive.[30] The

A. J. P. 4097. B. V. Æ. 617.

[26] Herod. lib. ii. c. 158, 159.

[27] Jer. i. 2. A. J. P. 4088, B. V. Æ. 626.

[28] 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.

[29] Then amounting to $\$174{,}871\frac{50}{100}$, and now to at least thrice that sum, or more than half a million.

[30] It is apparent that the Magdolum

extirpation of idolatry and uncleanness, the reparation of the temple, the solemn Passover renewed, like that of Hezekiah, and the fulfilment of the prophecy to Jeroboam, of which Josiah was evidently ignorant, are the chief events recorded in his reign. Everything was again restored, "according to the writing of David and the writing of Solomon."[31] That is, the temple service was renewed, in exact conformity to its primitive establishment. The Passover was kept at its appointed time, on the fourteenth day of the first month, which fell that year on Monday, the 17th of April. It was the most remarkable Passover since the days of the prophet Samuel.[32]

V.

Jehoiakim began to reign the year before the fall of Nineveh and the Assyrian empire. All historians agree that the last Assyrian monarch destroyed himself and his treasures; but they have changed or confounded the names of Saracus Nabopollassar and Sardanapalus. The ambitious Nabopollassar, who was the viceroy of this last Assyrian monarch in Babylon, united with the Medes in the conquest of Nineveh, that he might found a new empire, of which Babylon was to be the sole capital.[33] By the terms of

A. J. P. 4107.
B. V. Æ. 607.

of Herodotus was Megiddo, and his Syrian city Cadytis, a corruption of the Hebrew הַקְּדֹשָׁה, the holy city.

[31] 2 Chron. xxxv. 4.

[32] 2 Kings ch. xxii. xxiii. comp. with 2 Chron. xxxiv. to xxxvi. 4. As this was the expiring effort in favour of the true religion, and altogether of so signal a character, it seems proper to enable the reader to make the calculations for himself, which he may do with the help of the Chronological Introduction to this work. The year B. V. Æ. 621, corresponding with A. J. P. 4093, would have been, reckoning backward by the Julian calendar, Bissextile; and it had thirteen lunations. The golden number, according to the Nicene calculations, was VIII., and the Sunday letters B. A. With these data, it will be found that the three great festivals were that year observed as follows: Passover, from Monday, April 17th, to Monday, April 21th. The great paschal Sabbath, Saturday, 22d of April. Pentecost, on or about Sunday, June 11th. Tabernacles, from Friday, October 13th, to Friday, October 20th.

[33] See the chronological account of the Assyrian empire, Appendix to Two Disc. on Prophecy, pp. 128—149. Dr. Hales places the destruction of Nineveh in A. J. P. 4108, B. V. Æ. 606; but not having, when he wrote, the first part of the Chronicon of Eusebius, he made some mistakes, which the discovery of that work has enabled us now to rectify. The Assyrian empire lasted at least 172 years.

the agreement, a Median princess, the daughter of Astyages, was given in marriage to Nebuchadnezzar, who was immediately associated with his father in the new empire. But Nabopollassar died, after reigning one year. His son was then absent from Babylon, having been sent, at the head of a large army, to effect the conquest of Syria, Phœnicia, Egypt, and the neighboring countries. But, on hearing of his father's death, Nebuchadnezzar returned to his capital; and the first year of his sole reign, according to the canon of Ptolemy, began with the 144th year of the era of Nabonassar. A. J. P. 4110. B. V. Æ. 604.

Before we proceed to the final catastrophe of Judah, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, it is proper to speak of the various warnings from the Almighty to his people, sent by his holy prophets. After those which have been already mentioned, JOEL, the son of Pethuel, is the next in the order of time. There is, indeed, no internal evidence by which the exact date of his prophecy can be ascertained; but as he foretells calamities which were to come upon Judah, and mentions Israel only when he speaks of the glories of the latter day, it is conjectured, with great probability, that he prophesied within the first twenty years of the then godless Manasseh.[34]

The word of Jehovah came to Joel, that such a grievous judgment would shortly be inflicted on the nation for their sins, as the oldest had never heard of, and as future generations would keep in traditional memory, by relating it to their children as a most fearful thing. Four different kinds of locusts, each more noxious than its predecessor, would invade the land, like so many devastating armies, cutting off the pro-

[34] Pocock's Comm. on Joel, Works vol. i. p. 213. But Abp. Usher places Joel B. V. Æ. 808, at the beginning of the reign of Uzziah. Townsend seems to follow this opinion, O. T. vol. ii. p. 199, note; but I prefer that of the Seder Olam, an opinion so strangely attributed first to Drusius by Abp. Newcome, Minor Prophets, p. 191. The Abp. must have quoted Drusius hastily, since that commentator says expressly that he prefers the opinion of St. Jerome, who considered Joel contemporary with Hosea.

duce of the soil, and creating, by their ravages, a grievous famine. Nor would this be all; for they would die in heaps, and, by their putrefaction and stench, so infect the air as to bring on a frightful pestilence. The great difference, among Jewish as well as Christian interpreters, has arisen from taking the prophecy *exclusively*, some in the *literal*, and others in the *mystical* sense. That it must be taken in the *literal* sense, seems now to be the settled opinion. No valid objection can arise from the silence of the sacred historians as to any such visitation in the impenitent period of Manasseh's reign; for other visitations of like nature, referred to by other prophets,[35] have been passed over in silence; and none have been recorded for their own sake, but only as incidents preparatory to other events.[36] But to *confine* it to the literal sense is inconsistent with prophetic language generally, and with the analogy of the divine dispensations. There is no more reason to exclude the *mystical* sense, than there is to doubt concerning the bee of Assyria, or the fly of Ethiopia, or the great hornet sent before the children of Israel, or the locusts and scorpions of the Apocalypse, as denoting the armed messengers of God's wrath. The four kinds of locusts to denote the four great empires, the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, connects the various parts of the first two chapters with the third, and is consistent with the application of the prophecy by St. Peter,[37] and the allusions to it in other parts of the New Testament. The punishment of Judah and Israel is not yet terminated, and the consolations with which both are comforted, when they shall have become obedient to their King Messiah, are yet to be fulfilled.[38] As to the style of Joel, a consummate

[35] Amos i. 1. Zech. xiv. 5. Isa. v. 25.

[36] See Bochart de Scrip. Animal. P. ii. lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 482, and Pocock in loc. cap. ii.

[37] Acts ii. 16—21.

[38] Bochart, who throws light wherever he goes, is to be consulted with regard to the locusts, and Dr. Pocock's learned commentary compared with it. In connection with these, Abp. Newcome's Minor Prophets, St. Jerome's commentary, and Calvin's, Lowth the father, the collection of the Critici Sacri Londinenses, &c. &c. &c.

judge has pronounced it to be elegant, perspicuous, copious, and fluent; sublime, animated, and energetic. "Nor," he adds, "is the connexion of the matter less clear and evident, than the complexion of the style: this is exemplified in the display of the impending evils which gave rise to the prophecy; the exhortation to repentance; the promises of happiness and success, both terrestrial and eternal, to those who become truly penitent; the restoration of the Israelites, and the vengeance to be taken of their adversaries.[39] The obscurity of the subject, particularly in the latter part of the prophecy, of which this eminent critic speaks, proceeds entirely from its not being yet fulfilled.

Whatever doubt there may have been as to the time when Joel flourished, there is none as to ZEPHANIAH; for he states that the word of Jehovah came to him in the days of Josiah. His prophecy is short and denunciatory; but it ends, like all the rest of this period, with a glimpse of future glories, when Jehovah, the King of Israel, should be in the midst of Sion, to save both Israel and Judah;[40] to renew his love for them; to bring them back from every land; and to make them a name and a praise, instead of a by-word and reproach. That king is evidently the Messiah; and the fulfilment is yet future.

HABAKKUK was his contemporary; and his vision was of the approaching desolation under the Chaldeans and their ambitious king. Yet he predicts the destruction of Babylon; and darkly adumbrates the restoration of Israel, when Jehovah shall be in his holy temple, and the whole earth silent before him. The ode with which the prophet concludes is one of the sublimest and most perfect examples of lyric poetry. It far surpasses the finest odes of Pindar; and cannot be read, even in the prosaic form of the English translation, without exciting, in all true lovers of poetry, that exquisite pleasure which a sense of the sublime and beautiful always inspires.

[39] Bp. Lowth's Prælections, lect. 21. Gregory's Trans. vol. ii. p. 96.

[40] Ch. iii. 14—20.

Of Obadiah little need be said; because he appears to have prophesied after the capture of Jerusalem, and before the conquest of Idumæa by Nebuchadnezzar; and furthermore, because his prophecy is mainly occupied with the fate of the descendants of Esau. He reproaches them for their hostility towards the descendants of Jacob; and predicts the sway over Edom in the future glories of Israel and Judah, when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of the Angel-Jehovah. With his prophecy should be read the forty-ninth chapter of Jeremiah, to which it bears a great resemblance.

VI.

Jeremiah was the great prophet of this period. He was a priest of Anathoth, a sacerdotal city about three Roman miles north of Jerusalem, within the limits of the tribe of Benjamin.[41] At an early age he was called to the prophetic office, in the thirteenth year of Josiah;[42] and forty years later, when the temple was destroyed and the nation carried captive, instead of accepting that ease and plenty which the king of Babylon would have bestowed, he chose to suffer with his countrymen, though they had branded him as a lying traitor. Having followed a remnant of them into Egypt, whither, contrary to his warning, they had retired, he continued there to remonstrate against their idolatry, and to predict the calamities which would soon overtake them. Tired of such unwelcome truths, the Jews of Tahpanhes are said finally to have stoned him; and, though this tradition may be uncertain, the wickedness and obduracy of their temper render it probable.[43]

It is strange, and hitherto unaccountable, that the book of Jeremiah is differently arranged in the ancient Greek and the Arabic versions, from the existing arrangement in the Hebrew and Syriac, the Chaldee Targum, and the Latin Vulgate. Very little, if any, regard is paid to chronological order; and yet

[41] Reland, Palestina, tom. ii. p. 561.
[42] A. J. P. 4088, B. V. Æ. 626.
[43] Blayney's Jeremiah, Notes, ed. 2, p. 221. Prideaux's Connections, Part i. Book ii. Edinburg, 1799, p. 90.

that order throws the greatest light upon these prophecies; whence they should always be read in strict accordance with the history. What is most remarkable is the extreme confusion of the prophecies in the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah. Many of the latter reign precede those of the former; and in the same reign the last delivered are put first, and the first last. There appear to have been *four* collections of prophecies uttered by this prophet, in the course of at least *forty-two* years. The *first* is that mentioned in ch. xxxvi. 2, as made by divine command. It comprehended all the predictions uttered at various times for more than twenty-two years, as well against other nations as against the Jews. The prophecies against the Gentiles are, in our Bibles, placed by themselves, from the beginning of the forty-fifth to the end of the fifty-first chapters; but they were undoubtedly published in this first collection, made in the year to which we have now brought down the history, the fourth of Jehoiakim and the first of Nebuchadnezzar. It contained the first twenty chapters in their present order, the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth, and the seven chapters already mentioned. The *second* collection is mentioned in chap. xxx. 2; and contained five chapters, from the xxvii. to the xxxi. inclusive. It was probably made after the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah, as may be inferred from ch. xxxviii. 1. The *third* collection was made soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, of other prophecies uttered previously to that event, and it included ten chapters, viz., from xxi.—xxiv., xxxii.—xxxiv., xxxvii.—xxxix. The *fourth* collection, from the xl. to the xliv. chapter inclusive, is the personal narrative of Jeremiah, and his history of those Jews who were left in Judæa by the king of Babylon. The fifty-second chapter was probably added by Ezra as a preface connecting the Lamentations of Jeremiah with his prophecies.[44]

A. J. P. 4110
B. V. Æ. 604.

[44] See Blayney's Jeremiah. Horne's Introduction, ed. 7, vol. iv. p. 193. Townsend's Old Test. vol. ii. p. 385, note and table, pp. 387, 388.

To the Christian, who reads the book of Jeremiah in the order now pointed out, and in connection with the history of the several periods, it will be apparent that the first of these collections of prophecies, previous to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, contained expostulations with the Jews for their apostasy, lamentations over the lost tribes of Israel, threats in case of obduracy, promises in case of repentance, predictions of impending judgments and of imminent destruction, mingled with hopes held out of infinite mercies hereafter, when they shall be converted and become obedient to their King Messiah, — all poured forth with such eloquence and energy, that if we did not know the contrary, we should think no heart so flinty as not to be subdued and softened by them. To these were added denunciations of vengeance against their enemies, the Egyptians, the Philistines, the descendants of Lot, Esau and Ishmael, the inhabitants of Persia, and the empire of Babylon, — all of which have been most awfully fulfilled. The second and third series of prophecies were therefore added, even to the very period of their ruin, foretelling still more particularly the miseries of the approaching captivity, but still holding out hopes of future mercy, the restoration of Israel as well as of Judah, and the glories of Christ's everlasting kingdom. The fourth collection forms a part of the history on which we are now to enter.

VII.

The first year of Nebuchadnezzar corresponded with the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth year of Jehoiakim.[45] He had already, while associated with his

[45] Jerem. xxv. 1. Dan. i. 1. This subject, which has occasioned some difficulty among chronologers, may easily be cleared up. Reckoning the fourth year of Jehoiakim from the first of Nisan, it commenced on Saturday, March 28th, A. J. P. 4110, B. V. Æ. 604. But the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign was the 144th year of Nabonassar, which, according to Ptolemy's Canon, made it begin with the first day of Thoth, coinciding that year with Saturday, January 21st. It began, therefore, 66 days before the end of the third year of Jehoiakim. Nabopollassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, reigned, according to Alexander Polyhister, 20, and according to Berosus and Ptolemy, 21 years; but as

father, besieged and taken Jerusalem; and when he returned to Babylon, after hearing of his father's death, he carried with him a part of the sacred vessels of the temple. Berosus relates that he left the care of *the Jewish captives* to some of his friends, together with those of Phœnicia and Syria. From the book of Daniel we learn that the officer to whom they were confided was named Ashpenaz, and that he was ordered to bring a select number of children, of royal and princely descent, of beautiful persons and great intelligence, to be educated, *for three years*, in the learning and language of the Chaldæans, and then to be made attendants upon his own person. Among these were Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah, who received the Chaldee names respectively of Belteshazzar, Shadrack, Meshach, and Abed-Nego. The deportation of Daniel and his companions took place, therefore, in the third year of Jehoiakim.[46] Dr. Hales thinks that they were carried away "as hostages for the fidelity of the king and his people."[47] Be that as it may, Daniel could not have been carried captive at a later period; for the three years allotted for his instruction ended in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign; and in the same year A. J. P. 4111 B. V. Æ. 605. he was called to interpret the king's vision of the image composed of gold, silver, brass and iron, and having feet part of iron and part of clay. All, as he then foretold, represented the four great empires of the world, from the Babylonian to the Roman.[48]

After three years of submission, Jehoiakim "turned and rebelled against" Nebuchadnezzar. This occasioned constant depredations. Bands of the Chaldees, and Syrians, and

Ptolemy always counts by whole years, it is probable that he died in his 21st current year, or some time before January 21st. Nebuchadnezzar was then in Syria, "and having," says Berosus, "confided the *Jewish*, Phœnician, and Syrian *captives* to the care of some of his friends, returned to Babylon. This was in the year 143 of Nabonassar, the third of Jehoiakim, A. J. P. 4109, B. V. Æ. 605.

[45] Dan. i. 1—7.

[47] Analysis of Sac. Chronol. vol. ii. p. 139.

[48] Dan. ii. Dean Prideaux, (Part i. b. ii. p. 91,) following the erroneous order of Joseph., unaccountably, as I think, places the construction of the golden image after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Moabites, and Ammonites, all in the service of the king of Babylon, harassed the nation of Judah, being sent by Jehovah as the ministers of his wrath. It is probable that during these continual skirmishes Jehoiakim was surprised, and bound in chains, in order to be sent to Babylon; but that having submitted again, he was for a time released.[49] Certain it is that he was not carried thither; and Nebuchadnezzar did not come in person till near the close of his reign. In his wrath he slew Jehoiakim, and treated his remains with the utmost indignity: thus fulfilling the prophecy of Jeremiah, uttered at least eight years before: "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, dragged and cast out beyond the gates of Jerusalem."[50] Jehoiachin, his son, a youth of eighteen, was now placed upon the throne.[51]

He was allowed, however, to reign but three months and ten days; at the expiration of which time, Nebuchadnezzar again came, in person, to besiege Jerusalem. The pliant young king, less stubborn than his father, surrendered, and thus saved his life. The city and temple were again plundered; the king, his mother, his wives, all the princes and mighty men of valour, all the craftsmen and smiths, and, in a word, all but the poorest of the people, "were carried captive from Jerusalem to Babylon."[52] Nebuchadnezzar raised to the vacant throne Mattaniah, the king's uncle, changing his name to Zedekiah, to denote that his accession to a servile sceptre proceeded, not from the *gift*, but from the *justice*, of Jehovah.[53] It was not till "the year was expired," — that is, the eighth

[49] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

[50] Jerem. xxii. 19.

[51] 2 Kings xxiv. 6—9.

[52] 2 Kings xxiv. 11—16. This great event happened in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, which extended from the 20th of January, A. J. P. 4117, B. V. Æ. 597, to the 18th of January, A. J. P. 4118, B. V. Æ. 596. See the column of the æra of Nabonassar in the Chronol. Introduction, p. 126, opposite to A. J. P. 4117, Olymp. xlv. 4. The first of Thoth = Jan. 20th. In A. J. P. 4118, the 1st of Thoth = Jan. 19. It is evident, from this inspection, that Jehoiachin must have been taken captive before the 19th of January, A. J. P. 4118, B. V. Æ. 596. We may, therefore, place that event at the end of the preceding December, and the death of his father, Jehoiakim, three months ten days earlier, in the course of the preceding September.

[53] Such is the meaning of the two names. 2 Kings xxiv. 17.

year of Nebuchadnezzar, — that he "sent and brought" Jehoiachin to Babylon.[54]

VIII.

The prophet EZEKIEL was one of the captives thus taken; and we have the exact date of the revelations he received from God, in the course of his book, marked with such precision that we are enabled to compute their several epochs. He reckons from the last reformation of religion, in the eighteenth year of Josiah, which may have been the year of his birth, and from the commencement of king Jehoiachin's captivity, which was also the date of his own.[55] For the convenience of the reader, we subjoin, in a note, a tabular view of such particulars as will be useful in the study of his prophecies.[56]

According to this chronological arrangement of them, it will be seen that the denunciations of God's wrath against Israel, as well as Judah, continue, with unmingled and almost unrelenting severity, down to the last of December, in the year A. J. P. 4126, B. V. Æ. 588, the ninth year of Ezekiel's

[54] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10.

[55] The former event took place (see p. 225, note) in the year A. J. P. 4093, B. V. Æ. 621; the latter, as we have now seen, at the beginning of A. J. P. 4118, B. V. Æ. 596. Between these two dates twenty-five years had intervened; and therefore, when Ezekiel speaks of the *thirtieth* year as the *fifth* of his captivity, he himself directs us to the year B. V. Æ. 592, as that in which he began to prophesy. Ezek. i. 1.

[56] Ezekiel was probably born in the year of the great revival under Josiah, ... A. J. P. 4093. B. V. Æ. 621. Golden Number. VIII. Sunday Letter. B. A.

He was carried captive with Jehoiachin probably about the end of December, ... A. J. P. 4117. B. V. Æ. 597. Golden Number. XIII. Sunday Letter. G. F.

He therefore was 25 years old, and the dates of his captivity begin with Zedekiah, ... A. J. P. 4118. B. V. Æ. 596. Golden Number. XIV. Sunday Letter. E.

The dates, and other particulars recorded by him, reduced to modern computations, are as follows:

A. J. P.	B. V. Æ.	Gold. Numb.	Sund. Letter.	Day of month.	Day of week.	Jewish computation.	Ezekiel's age.	Ezekiel's capt.	Prophecies.
4122.	592.	XVIII.	G.	June 16.	Satur.	Thammuz 15. Sab.	30.	5	i.—vii.
4123.	591.	XIX.	F.	Sept. 1.	Sund.	Elul 5.	31.	6	viii.—xix.
4124.	590.	I.	E.	July 28.	Mon.	Ab 10.	32.	7	xx.—xxiii.
4126.	588.	III.	B.	Dec. 30.	Frid.	Tebeth 10.	34.	9	xxiv.—xxviii.
4127.	587.	IV.	A.	Dec. 21.	Thurs.	Tebeth 12.	35.	10	xxix.—xxx. 19.
4128.	586.	V	G.	March 15.	Thurs.	Nisan 7.	36.	11	xxx. 20—xxx. 26.
"	"	"	"	May 7.	Mon.	Sivan 1.	"	"	xxxi.
"	"	"	"	July 14.	Satur.	Ab 10. Sab.	"	"	Temple destroyed.
4129.	585.	VI.	F. E.						
4130.	584.	VII.	D.	Feb. 15.	Sund.	Adar 1.	37.	12	xxxii. 1—16.
"	"	"	"	March 1.	Sund.	" 15.	"	"	xxxii. 17—xxxix.
4142.	572.	XIX.	C.	April 13.	Tues.	Nisan 10.	50.	25	xl.—xlviii.

captivity, and *the very day on which Nebuchadnezzar began the siege of Jerusalem.* It is generally supposed that the river Chebar, on the banks of which he dwelt and prophesied, was the Khabour, which falls into the Euphrates; but it has been already stated that there is another Khabour, laid down on modern maps as falling into the Tigris at Sered, near a range of mountains still called *Al Gioudi*, the original seat of the ten tribes at the beginning of their captivity.[57] What reason is there why we may not believe that the captives of Nebuchadnezzar were sent to dwell with Israel in the same region? It was now just four hundred years since the division of the two kingdoms, and the introduction of idolatry as the state religion. Upon the prophet was laid, four years before the siege of Jerusalem, the iniquity of Israel, for 390 days, a day for a year; and then he was required to lay 40 days, each day for a year, for the iniquity of the house of Judah.[58] The whole amount is 430 years; and this period may include the idolatry of Solomon himself. So terrible are the just judgments of God, inflicted upon nations for the sins of their civil rulers!

Ezekiel was 500 miles from Jerusalem; and yet, at the very moment when the king of Babylon commenced his operations to take it by siege, the Word of Jehovah came to his prophet, and ordered him to "write the name of the day;" and under the figure of a seething-pot from the north, which should boil the choicest pieces of the flock, and cause the scum to rise, to denounce woe to the bloody city. "Heap on wood, kindle the fire, consume the flesh, and spice it well, and let the bones be burnt. Then set it empty upon the coals, that the brass may be hot and burn." On Friday, the 30th of December, in the 588th year before the Christian æra, came Nebuchadnezzar, with all his host, and built forts round about Jerusalem. It was the seventh year of Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, the Apries of Herodotus. He succeeded his

[57] See p. 204. [58] Ezek. iv. 4—6.

father, Psametik II., and is named on existing monuments in Egypt, Haphré, or Hophra, which means, in their language, "the sun that rejoiceth the heart." Zedekiah, who began to reign two years before him, claimed his assistance to make head against the fury of the Chaldæans. In vain did the prophet Jeremiah entreat him to submit to the king of Babylon, while there was yet time to obtain mercy. In vain did he assure him, from Jehovah, that the Egyptians would help to no purpose. In vain did he predict that the king of Egypt would himself be punished for interfering with the settled purpose of the Almighty. Zedekiah was inexorable; and the army of Hophra advanced from Egypt. As it approached, the Chaldæans raised the siege, and marched to encounter it. Jeremiah took this opportunity to leave the city, but was apprehended and cast into prison on the charge of treason. It was even intended, by the princes of the nation, to put him to death; but the king, little as he listened to him, was secretly conscious of his integrity, reverenced his authority, and, with the vacillation of a little mind, connived to hide him from their violence.[59] "Son of man," said the Word of Jehovah to Ezekiel, "I have broken the arm of Pharaoh, king of Egypt."[60] This was said on Thursday, the 15th of March, three months before the capture of the city; and it probably indicates the very day on which the prediction of Jeremiah was fulfilled. "Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel: Thus shall ye say to the king of Judah, that sent you unto me to inquire of me: Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt, into their own land. And the Chaldæans shall come again, and fight against this city, and take it, and burn it with fire."[61] Excepting the interruption occasioned by this abortive assistance from Egypt, the siege of Jerusalem continued exactly 530 days.[62] Allowing one hundred for the diversion by Pharaoh Hophra,—and

[59] Jer. xxxvii. 11—21.
[60] Ch. xxx. 20, 21.
[61] Jer. xxxvii. 3—10.
[62] From Dec. 30, A. J. P. 4126, B. V. Æ. 588, to June 13, A. J. P. 4128, B. V. Æ. 586.

the expression, "for many days," used by Jeremiah, seems to warrant such a conjecture,—the period of actual siege was 430 days, corresponding with the number in which Ezekiel was told to bear the iniquities of Israel and Judah. The city was reduced by famine, on the ninth day of the fourth month, Thammuz, or Wednesday, the 13th of June. Zedekiah fled, but was pursued by the Chaldæans, and overtaken in the plains of Jericho. Judgment was given upon him, and he was conducted to Riblah, in Cœle-Syria, into the presence of Nebuchadnezzar, who first slew his sons before his face, then blinded him, and took him in chains to Babylon. Thus were exactly and literally fulfilled the prophecies, so seemingly dissonant, of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The former told the king that he should be taken prisoner, and his eyes should see the king of Babylon; that he should be taken to that city, and there die in peace, with the burnings or interment of his fathers, that is, the honours paid to the kings of Judah.[63] The latter said that he should be brought captive to Babylon, but should not see it, though he should die there. On the seventh day of the following month, Ab, or Wednesday, the 11th of July, his general-in-chief, Nebuzaradan, came to Jerusalem; and on the following Sabbath, or Saturday, July 14th, plundered and burned the city and temple.[64]

IX.

The poor of the land were left to be vine-dressers and husbandmen, and over these the king of Babylon placed Gedaliah to be their governor; but it is very observable that he did not follow the policy and example of the kings of Assyria, in attempting to settle foreign colonies. The land was permitted to lie desolate, that "she might enjoy her Sabbaths." Even so early as when the tabernacle was first reared at Mount Sinai, the prophetic spirit of Moses threat-

[63] Jer. xxxii. 1—5; xxxiv. 3—5.

[64] 2 Kings xxv. 1—21. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11—20. Jer. lii. 4—14.

cned the desolation which was now brought upon the land of promise,[65] because they did not keep the Sabbatical years. The land continued vacant for seventy years, because, for 490 years of their existence as a nation, they had neglected this law.[66]

Scarcely two months had elapsed, after the destruction of the holy city, when Gedaliah was murdered, and all the people that remained, both small and great, fled, for fear of the Chaldæans, into Egypt. This was in direct violation of the will of God, declared to them by the prophet Jeremiah. "All the men of Judah that are in the land of Egypt shall be consumed by the sword and by the famine. And this shall be a sign unto you, saith the Lord, that I will punish you. . . . . *Behold, I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life.*"[67] For seven years after this prophecy, Hophra remained prosperous. "He made war," says Herodotus, "upon Sidon; and his ships, on the Mediterranean, fought with those of Tyre. But, finally, an expedition into Lybia proved disastrous. His army was defeated, with great slaughter, by the men of Cyrene; the friends of the slain rebelled, and a general insurrection of his subjects took place. Amasis, the general whom he sent against them, was proclaimed king by the insurgents, and turned his arms against his master. Hophra, with his Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, 30,000 in number, sought to defend his throne. He thought, says Herodotus, that not even a God could dethrone him. Nevertheless, he was conquered by Amasis, and, for a time, treated with kindness, being kept a prisoner in that which had been his own palace. But, finally, Amasis was obliged to give him up to the fury of the Egyptians. "*They who sought his life*," to use the language of the prophet, strangled and then buried him in the temple of the goddess Neith.[68]

[65] Lev. xxvi. 32—35.
[66] Lev. xxv. 1—7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.
[67] Jer. xliv. 26—30.
[68] Herod. lib. ii. c. 101—109.

This event took place in the twenty-sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar. A. J. P. 4135. B. V. Æ. 579.

XI.

In the second year after the taking of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzer laid siege to Tyre; and in the course of that siege, which lasted thirteen years, he sent part of his forces against the several neighbouring nations, who rejoiced in the humiliation of the chosen people. These events had been foretold by the prophets Amos, Isaiah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Obadiah. The exact fulfilment forms a part of the history of those nations, and is beyond our limits.[69] But with regard to Tyre, and Egypt, and Babylon, the judgments of God are so remarkable that we cannot close this fourth epoch of our history without calling the attention of our readers to their peculiar destiny. The Tyrian annals have so far been preserved by Josephus, in his work against Apion, that their curious and exact coincidence with the Bible chronology affords confirmation strong to our faith in its accuracy.[70] A. J. P. 4130. B. V. Æ. 584.

On Sunday, the 12th of March, the Word of Jehovah came to the prophet Ezekiel, in the land of his captivity, saying, "Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled; yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it."[71] During so long a A. J. P. 4144. B. V. Æ. 570.

[69] It may be useful to the reader to have the following synopsis of the several passages in the prophets in which the punishment of these nations is predicted. It is taken from Dr. Hales' Analysis of Sacred Chronology, vol. ii. p. 452:—"The *Ammonites:* Amos i. 13, 15. Ezek. xxv. 4—10, &c. The *Moabites:* Ezek. xxv. 8—11. Jer. xxv. 21; xlviii. 40—47, &c. The *Edomites:* Amos i. 13—15. Obadiah 10—16. Jer. xlix. 17, &c. The *Arabians:* Jer. xxv. 24, &c. The *Sidonians:* Jer. xxv. 22; xlvii. 4. Ezek. xxviii. 21—23, &c. The *Tyrians:* Isaiah xxiii. 1—15. Jer. xxv. 22. Ezek. xxvi. 7—13; xxvii. 2—36, &c. The *Philistines:* Jer. xxv. 20. Ezek. xxv. 16. Zeph. ii. 5. The *Egyptians:* Isaiah xix. 4—23. Jer. xlvi. 13—26. Ezek. xxix. 2—12; xxx. 20—26; xxxii. 2—16. Joel iii. 19. The *Ethiopians* or *Abyssinians:* Isaiah xviii. 1—7. Ezek. xxx. 4—11.

[70] See Dr. Hales' Analysis, vol. ii. p. 452.

[71] Ezek. xxix. 17, 18.

siege, the inhabitants of that wealthy city had had time to withdraw from the main land, as the Venetians did upon the approach of Attila and his Huns. A new and complete city was built upon what was then a neighbouring island. Thither all that was valuable in the old city was removed; and the king of Babylon and his army were disappointed in their hopes of pillage.[72] We shall have occasion to speak hereafter of the entire completion of the prophecies with respect to Tyre, and we therefore pass to the consideration of the fate of Egypt. It was on the occasion of this disappointment of the Chaldæans, that Egypt was given to them for a spoil, and for wages;[73] because their work was wrought for the Lord God himself. Accordingly, in the month of March, — the time so exactly specified to the prophet, — Nebuchadnezzar advanced with all his forces from Tyre, and, entering Egypt, laid it waste, from Migdol, or Magdolum, the northern frontier, to Syene, on the borders of Ethiopia.[74] This invasion took place in the ninth year of Aahmes, or Amasis, before he had conciliated the affections of his subjects, and while the country was yet weak from the civil war occasioned by their defection from Pharaoh Hophra. Egypt never recovered entirely from this blow; and, therefore, it fell an easier prey to the Persians. From them it passed under the Grecian yoke; was a part of the Macedonian empire for nineteen years; and then formed one of the four kingdoms into which the dominions of Alexander were divided. Ten sovereigns, from Ptolemy Lagus to the celebrated Cleopatra, occupied the throne of the Lagidæ; and the Ptolemaic dynasty gave to the sunset of Egyptian monarchy a gorgeous splendour. After the death of Cleopatra, it became a Roman province. It passed, in A. V. Æ. 641, under the power of the Saracens. The native Egyptians are now serfs, ruled, with a rod of iron, by

A. J. P. 4144. B. V. Æ. 570.

[72] The siege began in A. J. P. 4130, B. V. Æ. 584, and terminated in A. J. P. 4143, B. V. Æ. 571.

[73] Compare Ezek. xxix. 18, with 19 and 20.

[74] Ezek. xxix. 10. See the Hebrew and LXX. Our translation follows the Vulgate.

their Mohammedan masters. The doom of Egypt, so awfully pronounced by the prophet, is plainly sealed: "It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations; for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations."[75]

XI.

"Heap on wood, kindle the fire"—said the Word of Jehovah to Ezekiel, as he saw in his vision the great cauldron of Babylon, boiling in its fury; but finally the Voice added, "Set it empty upon the coals, that the brass of it may be hot and may burn."[76] When Babylon had, by this punishment of sinful nations, fulfilled the judgments for which it was exalted, it was to become itself an example of righteous retribution. After a reign of forty-three years, Nebuchadnezzar died; and, by the death of this mighty conqueror, the power of Babylon was broken. But before his death, he was made to feel the insignificance of his grandeur, when compared with that of the Almighty. The first check received was on the occasion of his erecting the colossal image of gold in honour of his God.[77] Maddened by the refusal of the three faithful Jewish captives to fall down and worship it, he com-

[75] Ezek. xxix. 15.

[76] Ezek. xxiv. 10, 11.

[77] I have already, p. 232, given my reason for differing from Josephus and Prideaux as to the date of the erection of this golden image. Daniel certainly interpreted the *dream* of the statue representing the four monarchies in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, or A. J. P. 4111, B. V. Æ. 603. The erection of the golden image seems to have been caused by the elation of the king's mind on account of Daniel's explanation of the head of gold; and, though no date is given in the Chaldee original, most probably it *soon* followed the interpretation. Josephus unaccountably postpones the dream itself and the erection of the statue to "two years after the destruction of Egypt,"—Antiq. Lib. x. cap. 10; that is, to A. J. P. 4146, B. V. Æ. 568, which was the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar. In the Greek versions of the LXX. and Theodotion, the erection of the golden statue is said to have occurred in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar, that is, in A. J. P. 4127, B. V. Æ. 587. But that date is incredible; for this was the year before the capture of Jerusalem, when the king was not at Babylon. Josephus says that the subsequent vision of the Watchers and the Holy Ones [Dan iv.] occurred soon after the erection of the golden image: that is, even later than B. V. Æ. 568. But that is also incredible; for Nebuchadnezzar reigned but 43 years, and the seven years of his madness ended, and he was restored to his sovereignty, some time before his death. Evil-Merodach succeeded his father A. J. P. 4153, B. V. Æ. 561. His madness must have been a year or two earlier than the date of Josephus.

manded them to be cast bound into the furnace. What was his astonishment, when he saw them, and *a fourth, like the Son of God*, walking at liberty and unharmed amidst the fire! The miracle greatly affected him at the time; but the impression wore off, and, amid the successes of his long reign, was forgotten. On his return from Egypt, laden with spoils, and having under his dominion the vast Assyrian empire, with his own conquests from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, he began the stupendous works which made Babylon the world's wonder. As he surveyed the work from the pensile gardens on the top of his palace, his heart swelled with exultation, as his lips uttered aloud, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built . . . by the might of my power and for the honour of my majesty?" While the word was in his mouth, there fell a voice from heaven: "The kingdom is departed from thee." It was the fulfilment of the warning vision which Daniel had interpreted a year before. He was a raving maniac for seven years. At the end of that period, his understanding was restored; his heart was humbled before God; and he learned "that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will."[78]

A. J. P. 4153.
B. V. Æ. 561.

The feeble and base son of Nebuchadnezzar succeeded his father. The only good action recorded of him was his releasing Jehoiachin, king of Judah, from prison, where he had been cruelly and treacherously kept for thirty-seven years. Evil-Merodach, when he had reigned two years, was insidiously murdered by Neriglissar, who had married his sister. The usurper reigned four years, and left his crown to his youthful son, whose depraved habits were such that he was put to death by the friends of his own dynasty, after he had reigned nine months. As he did not occupy the throne for one year, Ptolemy, according to the system of his canon, omits his name. The crown was then

[78] Dan. iv. See Bp. Horsley's admirable Sermon upon the Watchers and the Holy Ones, vol. ii. pp. 134—170.

offered to Nabonadius, a descendant of Nebuchadnezzar, who is called by Daniel, Belshazzar. The circumstances of his impious feast, and the judgment inflicted on him, are minutely recorded by the prophet Daniel, who was an eye-witness, and a contemporary writer.[79] After a reign of seventeen years, he was slain in the night, at the close of the year, when the combined army of the Medes and Persians took the kingdom. Even so early as in the reign of Ahaz, two hundred years before the event, Isaiah had foretold that "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah."[80] He had named the Medes as the instruments of God's vengeance, when they were still an inconsiderable people. In the reign of Hezekiah, he had pointed out Cyrus by name, as the anointed one, before whom God would open the two-leaved gates.[81] Darius, the Mede, called by the Greeks Cyaxares II., and by the Persian historians Fraiborz, reigned over Babylon, by Cyrus, as his associate or deputy, two years. At his death ended the kingdom of the Medes, and the Medo-Persian empire, or second great monarchy, began with the sole reign of Cyrus.

A. J. P. 4175. B. V. Æ. 539

A. J. P. 4178. B. V. Æ. 536.

We shall have occasion to speak of Babylon again; but it is impossible not to remark here that even the place where this wonder of the world stood cannot now be determined with certainty. "It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. — I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of Hosts."[82]

[79] Dan. v.
[80] Ch. xiii.
[81] See Isai. xiii. 17; xliv. 28; xlv. 1; and consult Vitringa, and Bishop Lowth's Notes.
[82] Isai. xiii. 20; xiv. 23.

THE FIFTH PERIOD.

FROM THE RETURN OF THE JEWS, UNDER THE PERSIAN MONARCHY, TO THE END OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS OF DANIEL, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE.

CHAPTER I.

THE PERSIAN, OR SECOND GREAT MONARCHY.

EXTENDING FROM A. J. P. 4178, B. V. Æ. 536, TO OCT. 1, A. J. P. 4583, B. V. Æ. 3.1, OR 265 YEARS 9 MONTHS.

I. The Jews humbled by their captivity. — First four Persian kings. — The angel Gabriel sent to Daniel. — Seventy weeks of future mercy. II. Literal translation of this prophecy, with notes. III. Succession of kings among the Medes and Persians. — The decree of Cyrus. — He restores the sacred vessels. — Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua, with their colony. — Wealthy Jews remain in Babylon. — The great altar erected again, and worship renewed. — Foundation of the second temple. IV. The substructions of Solomon's temple were then remaining, and still remain. V. Cyrus provides for rebuilding the temple from the tribute of Samaria. — This provokes the jealousy of the Samaritans. — Their history. — Cambyses led by them to reverse the order of Cyrus. VI. Darius Hystaspis raised to the throne. — Renews the order to build the temple. — Haggai, the first prophet after the captivity. — Brief survey of his prophecies. VII. Contemporary with him, Zechariah. — His several visions. VIII. Temple finished. — Second termination of seventy years. — Revolt of Babylonians. — Further vexations of the Samaritans, and appeal to the king for redress. IX. Darius succeeded by Xerxes the Great. — The Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther. — Summary of that Book. — Feast of Purim still observed. X. Artaxerxes Longimanus. — Ezra sent to Jerusalem. — His reformation of abuses. XI. Nehemiah sent. — Carries on the work with activity and vigilance. — Consecration of the city. — Ezra reads and explains the law. — Feast of tabernacles renewed. — Ritual of the temple restored as in the days of David. — Nehemiah returns to Persia. XII. After his departure, great relaxation of discipline. — Malachi sent. — Analysis of his prophecies. — Death of Artaxerxes Longimanus. — Death of his son, Xerxes II., and Sogdianus. — Ochus, or Darius Nothus. — The return of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. — No positive date of that event. — To be ascertained by induction. — Succession of high priests mentioned in his book. — Six generations from Cyrus to Alexander the Great. — Eliashib, high priest when he first came and when he returned. — During his absence, the marriage of the high priest with an Ammonite, the

daughter of Tobiah. — Conduct of Nehemiah on this occasion. XIII. Nehemiah's history ends with the expulsion of Eliashib's grandson from the city, for having married the daughter of Sanballat. — Question considered whether this could have been the Manasses of Josephus. — Denied. — Nehemiah may have lived to the 30th year of Artaxerxes Mnemon, the beginning of Jonathan's pontificate. — Bagoses pollutes the temple, probably after Nehemiah's death. XIV. The story of Manasses from Josephus coëval with the reign of the last Darius. — Another Sanballat, his father-in-law, builds the temple of Gerizim. — Manasses made high priest. — Good brought out of evil. — The Samaritan Pentateuch. — The great heads of Grecian and Oriental philosophy come within this monarchy.

I.

THE excision of the ten tribes, and the sore judgments of war, pestilence and famine, which preceded, and for some years followed, the capture of Jerusalem, had reduced the Church to a feeble remnant. Captives in a strange land, they sat by the rivers of Babylon, and wept at the remembrance of their Sion.[1] That unutterable longing, that pining for their lost home, that sense of moral degradation, and those bitter reproaches, which memory and conscience united to inflict, all had their sweet uses in leading them to repentance and reformation. After the captivity, we hear no more of IDOLATRY. The chastisement of a thousand years was necessary to eradicate the practice of this grievous sin; and now that they kneeled prostrate, with their faces toward Jerusalem, and humbled themselves before God in fasting and prayer, their great advocate, the Captain of the Lord's host, began to work for them a great deliverance. We proceed, therefore, to give a cursory view of their history, under the second of Daniel's four kingdoms, which continued from the first year of the sole sovereignty of Cyrus at Babylon, to the decisive battle of Arbela, by which the empire was transferred from the Persians to the Greeks.

According to the Greek historians, Cyrus, Cambyses, Smerdis the Magian, and Darius the son of Hystaspes, were the

[1] Psalm cxxxvii.

first four monarchs of the Persian empire; but no people were ever more arbitrary than the Greeks in the adaptation of foreign names to their own powers of utterance, and the ancient records of Persia have all been destroyed by the superstitious and fanatical ignorance of their Mohammedan conquerors. Few and scanty, therefore, are our resources, to correct their perversions, or supply their deficiencies. Why these four monarchs should be spoken of in the Hebrew Scriptures under the names of Choresh, Ahhashverosh, Artahhshashtha, and Dareyavesh, must, to a great degree, be matter of conjecture. The Persian traditions give to Cyrus the name and title of Kai Khosru. Cambyses, on the Egyptian monuments, is called Kambouth. That he was the *Ahhashverosh*, or *Ahasuerus*, of Ezra, appea s from the order of the names. It seems to be the Hebrew form, with the aleph prefixed, of the name Xerxes; the native orthography of which was discovered by Champollion to be Kh-sh-i-arsha.[2] The false Smerdis, at his accession, may have taken the name of Artaxerxes, which is said to mean, in ancient Persian, "the mighty king." By the Armenians it is written *Artashir*, and by the modern Persians, *Ardeshir*.[3] Sir John Malcolm derives it from *Oordoo-Sheer*, the lion of the camp; "but nothing," he observes, "can be more fallacious than such etymologies, unless we are well versed in the language of the period at which the title was given."[4] The fourth king, Darius Hystaspis, is called, in the Bible, Dareyavesh, which nearly agrees with the cuneiform inscription at Persepolis, Dary a Wus.[5]

About two hundred and twenty years before the event, Isaiah predicted that, like the long-lived terebinth and oak, "whose substance is in them when they cast their leaves," Judah should cast *her* leaves only in the winter of her afflic-

[2] Gesenius, by Robinson, in v. p. 39. Champollion Précis du Syst. Hierog. p. 232. Planches, p. 18. Epoque persan, pl. 7.

[3] Robinson's Gesenius in v. p. 93.

[4] Hist. of Persia, vol. i. chap. iv. p. 66, note.

[5] Robinson's Gesenius, in v. p. 238.

tion, and be restored again in the spring-time of God's mercy.[6] From the first deportation by Nebuchadnezzar to the first year of Cyrus, were exactly seventy years.[7] Two years before its termination,[8] when Daniel had been in captivity sixty-eight years, we find him searching in the books of Jeremiah's prophecies to see when the "seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem" would be accomplished. In answer to his fervent prayer and deep humiliation, the angel Gabriel was sent, by command of the Divine Word, to tell him that seventy weeks, or seven times the number of the seventy years of desolation, were determined as the great period of probation during which the remnant of the tribes of Israel would again be spared. As, by the common consent of all interpreters, this sublime declaration of God's will is a prophetic outline of events now to be traced, it seems proper, at the beginning, to give as literal a translation as possible. However imperfect it may be, it is the result of a careful examination of the text, and the principal ancient and modern versions.

II.

Daniel ix. 20—27.

20. While I was yet speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin and the sin of my people Israel, and uttering my cry for mercy[9] before the face of Jehovah my Elohim, with respect to the holy mountain of my Elohim;

21. Yea, while I was yet speaking in prayer, lo, the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, (chap. viii. 16—26,) came flying with wearying rapidity,[10] touching me about the time of the evening sacrifice.

[6] Isa. iv. 11—13.

[7] That is, from A. J. P. 4109 to A. J. P. 4178, or from B. V. Æ. 605 to B. V. Æ. 536.

[8] A. J. P. 4176, B. V. Æ. 538.

[9] 20. *Uttering my cry for mercy.*] וּמַפִּיל תְּחִנָּתִי. Theod. genit. absol. ῥιπτοῦντος τὸν ἔλεόν μου. Vulg. Prosternerem preces meas. St. Jerome endeavoured to give the radical meaning of חָנָה, to bend or bow down. The bowing down of soul and body in lowly supplication. Luther has happily expressed it, "und lag mit meinem Gebet." So Milton, even of Paradise, "Lowly they bowed adoring." P. L. v. 144.

[10] 21. *Came flying with wearying rapidity.*] בְּיָעֵף. The lexicographers, generally, give to the root יָעַף the sense of *Lassus, fatigatus est*, weariness or fatigue from a long and rapid flight. But this could not properly apply to a divine or angelic being. It can be said only of those creatures concerning which, in this

22. And he caused me to know, and spake earnestly with me, and said, Daniel, now am I come forth to declare to thee knowledge. Give heed, I pray thee.[11]

23. At the beginning of thy supplication went forth THE WORD,[12] and I am come to inform thee, for thou art greatly beloved: wherefore, understand the speech, and give heed to the vision.

24. Seventy weeks are cut out[13] concerning thy people, and concerning thy holy city, to restrain the transgression,[14] and to finish the sin-offer-

lower world, flight is predicable. The electric telegraph is the only illustration I can think of, as suited to aid our weak conceptions. The wind and the lightning are His material ministers, as angels are His spiritual.

[11] 22. *Give heed, I pray thee.*] בִּינָה. Theod. σύνεσιν. LXX. διάνοιαν. Vulg. ut — intelligeres. The Greek translators considered this word as a noun; St. Jerome as a verb. I am inclined to the opinion of Nordheimer, (Gram. Hebr. Lang. B. ii. chap. iii. § 207,) that it is the imperative with ה paragogic, "for the purpose of softening the *command* into a warm and anxious *request*." Understand, I pray thee; or, what I think better, Give heed — carefully distinguish — I pray thee. Archbishop Cranmer follows Luther in rendering the whole phrase לְהַשְׂכִּילְךָ בִּינָה, Dir zu berichten, to make thee understand it. Geneva Puritan and Bishop's Bible, to give thee knowledge and understanding. The margin of Rec. Vers., to make thee skilful of understanding.

[12] 23. *Went forth* THE WORD.] I understand it here of the personal WORD who became incarnate, Christ in his divine nature. The Jewish commentator, David Levi, admits that דָּבָר, in this verse and in v. 25th, is equivalent to דְּבַר יְהוָה, the Word of Jehovah in v. 2; and that I conceive is uniformly a title of Christ, the divine Logos, (St. John i. 1—14; Revel. xix. 13—15,) who at sundry times and in divers manners spake to the prophets. The learned Dr. Hales renders it "THE ORACLE," (Faith in the Holy Trinity, vol. i. pp. 216—218, and Analysis passim;) and although this departure from the strict rendering is not generally approved, (Holden's Scripture Testimonies, chap. ii. p. 16,) yet his translation of this passage, "At the beginning of thy supplications the Oracle came forth, and I am come to tell thee His response," may, by retaining the word Logos, be safely admitted; for from the fall to the incarnation, all communications from the Holy Trinity were through the second person. "That the PERSONAL WORD or ORACLE," he proceeds to observe, "is meant in this prophecy, appears from the parallel prophecy of *Ezekiel*, evidently alluding to *Daniel's* intercession and supplication for his people, which THE ORACLE (the Logos) declared to *Ezekiel* should be ineffectual to avert the second captivity, even though it were supported on each side by those two most powerful intercessors, *Noah* and *Job*. Ezek. xiv. 12—20." See Analysis of Sac. Chron. vol. ii. pp. 514, 515, note.

[13] 24. *Seventy weeks are cut out.*] נֶחְתַּךְ. 3 p. sing. masc. præt. Niphal. Theod. συντετμήσθησαν. LXX. ἐκριθήσαν. Vulg. abbreviatæ sunt. The radical meaning is *cut off*, or *cut out*, hence *decided* in a tropical sense. "As if," says Mede, "the angel had said to Daniel, Howsoever, your bondage and captivity under the Gentiles shall not altogether cease, until that succession of kingdoms which I before showed thee be quite finished, yet shall God, for the accomplishing his promise concerning the Messiah, as it were *cut out of that long term a certain limited time*, during which, the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem being interrupted, the holy city and commonwealth in some measure shall again be restored, and so continued till seventy weeks of years be finished." — Mede on Daniel's Weeks. Works, 1677, fol. p. 697.

[14] *To restrain the transgression.*] לְכַלֵּא חַפָּשַׁע. Theod. συντελεσθῆναι ἁμαρτίαν. Vulg. ut consummetur prævaricatio. Houbigant, ut cohibeatur. The primary signification of the verb is to shut up, or keep within bounds. Judah and Jeru-

ings,[15] and to make atonement for iniquity, and to bring in the righteousness of eternity, to seal vision and prophet,[16] and to anoint the most Holy One.[17]

25. Know, therefore, and understand: from the going forth of the Word for the returning, and for building Jerusalem, unto Christ the leader, seven weeks and weeks sixty and two. She shall return and be built,[18] broad place and ruins, but in distress of times.

26. And after sixty and two weeks, the Christ shall be cut off, when he had nothing,[19] and the leader people which cometh[20] shall destroy both the

salem were spared as a monument of God's mercy, by this interruption of their captivity for seventy weeks. But as they would continue to transgress, the power of God would, at the end of the seventy weeks, restrain their transgressions by another and more grievous punishment.

[15] *To finish the sin offerings.*] There is here an important various reading occasioned by the substitution of ח for ה. Houbigant well accounts for this: "Eravit de lineâ scriba cum legeret לְהַתֵּם lineâ inferiore." The two words לְהַתֵּם and לְחַתֵּם occur one over the other in two lines of the text. With ה the meaning is *to finish;* with ח, *to seal.* This will account for Luther's version, "und die Sünde zu gesiegelt." I render *sin offerings*, and not *sins;* because חַטָּאוֹת often means sin offerings; and here the prediction is, as I conceive, that by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ, once for all, the bloody sacrifices and offerings for sin would be forever abolished. Then the true atonement for iniquity, of which all previous atonements were only types and shadows, would be fulfilled, and the righteousness of eternity brought in, because "there is no more offering for sin." Heb. x.

[16] *To seal vision and prophet.*] The terms are general. Then would be sealed all vision and prophet, because, with the apocalyptic visions of St. John, the latest of the prophets, all prophecy was to terminate. Rev. xxii. 18—21.

[17] *To anoint the most Holy One.*] The Holy of Holies, or Saint of Saints, Vulg. Sanctus Sanctorum, I take here to mean the Messiah, and not the Holy of Holies in the temple, which was only a type of Christ's Divinity tabernacled in the flesh. To avoid ambiguity, therefore, I add, with Archbishop Cranmer, most Holy *One.*

[18] 25. *She shall return and be built.*] תָּשׁוּב may be considered either as the third person fem. of the apocopated future, *she* shall return, or the second person masc., *thou* shalt return. Hence Dr. Hales, taking it in the latter sense, applies it to Daniel personally. *Thou shalt return* at the end of the vision of 2300 days, and Jerusalem shall be rebuilt. But this seems to me a very forced construction. I therefore translate, *She* (*sc.*, Jerusalem) *shall return* and be built. It was a prediction to encourage the Jews to persevere, notwithstanding the many troubles they were to experience. Jerusalem shall certainly be rebuilt, both broad place, or *area*, of the city and ruins, or *broken down walls.* Parkhurst renders the word "a heap of ruins."

[19] 26. *When he had nothing.*] וְאֵין לוֹ. Literally, *and nothing*, or *not to him:* when there was nothing to him. Its meaning, as I conceive, is equivalent to Isai. liii. 9, Lowth's vers., "Although he had done no wrong;" or 1 Pet. ii. 22, "Who did no sin." But there are no words in this prophecy which have more embarrassed interpreters and commentators. Theod. *καὶ οὐχὶ ἔσται ἐν αὐτῷ.* LXX. *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται.* Vulg. Et non erit ejus populus, qui eum negaturus est. The Syriac is literal, and therefore decides nothing; but S. Ephraim Syrus interprets, Et non erit illi *alius Christus.* (Op. Syr. Ed S. Assemani Tom. ii. p. 222.) The Arabic follows Theodotion. Of modern translators, Luther reads, "Und nichts mehr seyn." Diodati, "Senza che gli resti più nulla." Abp. Cranmer, "And they shall have no pleasure in him." Genev. Pur. and Bishops' Bible, "And shall have nothing." The rec. version, Pastors of Geneva and Martin, "Non pas pour soi"—"Not for himself." Houbigant adopts the sense

city and the sanctuary; and his end shall be in an inundation; and until the end of the war[21] desolations are decreed.

27. And he shall make strong the covenant to the many[22] one week; and the half of the week shall cause to cease sacrifice and offering; and upon the wing,[23] abominations of him that maketh desolate; even until the

given by Theodotion, and conjectures that the text should be וְאֵין דִּין לוֹ; while Mede and Hales favour the Vulgate. Mede supposes יִהְיֶה עַמּוֹ should be understood Et non erit ei populus ejus. Hales, "And the people that shall deny him shall not be his." He came unto his own, and his own received him not. Wherefore they are rejected, and are now Lo-Ammi, not the people of God. All this, though true in fact, appears to me too paraphrastic. But the great diversity of interpretation shows that the expression is very obscure.

[20] *The leader people which cometh.*] עַם נָגִיד I translate leader people, or prince people, or preëminent people, meaning the Roman or fourth kingdom which was to come. The radical idea of נגד seems to be, as Schultens has said, on Prov. viii. 6, and Job xxxi. 37, and Parkhurst from him, "Eminuit ante oculos:" "to stand or show one's self above or before others," "eminere præeminere." Hence נָגִיד, "eminens vir, princeps, antecessor; fig. *strenuus pugnator* ac ductor." — "A person eminent, or having the preëminence over others; a commander, leader, chief." In the 25th verse it is applied to the Messiah, or Christ: and this has led some to understand it of Christ in this verse; but, according to the Hebrew construction, it is better, I think, to put נָגִיד in apposition with עַם. There is, however, no difference as to the sense; for in St. Matt. xxii. 7, the Roman army is called God's army, as being the ministers of his vengeance.

And his end.] The end of this prince, or leader people, shall be in an inundation. It seems to be a prediction of the hordes of barbarians by which the Roman or fourth great kingdom has been inundated as a judgment for the destruction of the holy city and sanctuary.

[21] *And until the end of the war.*] That is, as I understand it, of God's war with Rome. So the excellent Joseph Mede: "Until the end of the fourth kingdom of the Gentiles, whose last period is that *time, times, and half a time*, whereof it is said, Dan. vii. 24—25, that Antichrist, *the eyed and mouthed Horn, should make war with the saints, and prevail against them; and they shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and half a time;* until the end of this *war*, the Jewish desolations are determined." Mede, Works, p. 705.

[22] 27. *To the many.*] See Rom. v. and especially verses 15 and 19, and Bloomfield, vol. ii. pp. 29—34.

[23] *And upon the wing.*] Theod. and LXX. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν. Vulg. Et erit in templo. Abp. Cranmer: "And in the temple." Geneva Puritan and Bps. Bible: And for the overspreading evil of the abominations; which sense is adopted in the received version. Diodati: Sopra l'ale abbominevoli. It is not difficult to account for these various interpretations. The word כָּנָף, as a root, has the ideal meaning "to cover, overspread, hide, protect." As a noun, its primary meaning seems to be A WING. Hence an extremity, skirt, coverlet — the wing of an army — the wing of a building, the highest point, or pinnacle. So in Greek πτέρυξ and πτερύγιον. Matt. iv. 5. Theodotion and LXX., and thence St. Jerome and Abp. Cranmer understood it of *the Temple*. The Geneva Puritan and Bps. Bible took the ideal meaning of *overspreading*. Diodati translated *wings*, but added *abominable*, the concrete for the abstract שִׁקּוּצִים abominations. Theod. and LXX. βδελύγματα. Vulg. Abominatio. Diodati seems to have taken his idea from the eagles with outstretched wings, which it is well known the Romans had for their standards, and to which they gave religious worship; for, in the Scriptures, an abomination means an image worshipped as an idol. "Religio tota castrensis," says Tertullian, "Signa veneratur, Signa jurat, Signa omnibus Diis præponit." Apologeticus cap. xvi.

consummation, when what is decreed shall be poured upon that which maketh desolate.[24]

Though the following *history* is to be the *interpreter* of this prophecy, so far as it has been fulfilled and is still fulfilling, it may aid the application of that history to give here a *paraphrase* of its literal meaning.

In the first year of Cyaxares, when I Daniel, in the sixty-eighth year of my own captivity, was searching the books of the prophet Jeremiah, to see when the seventy years appointed by the Word of Jehovah for the desolations of Jerusalem would be accomplished, I prostrated myself in prayer, with fasting, in sackcloth and ashes. And while I was thus in earnest prayer, with my face toward Jerusalem, where the temple had once stood, at the time of the evening sacrifice, or the ninth hour, (i. e., three o'clock, P. M.,) behold! the angel Gabriel came, flying with such astonishing rapidity that he touched me *at the end* of the prayer I have now recited, informing me of the decree which the Divine Word had uttered *at its beginning*. That decree was, that a further period of seventy weeks of years, exactly the same length of time in which the nation had violated the law of the sabbatical years, and for which, as well as for their idolatry, the seventy years of desolation had been inflicted,[25] would be allowed to the sinful remnant of Israel, — cut out, as it were, from the long period of their captivity, during the time of the

A. J. P. 4176. B. V. Æ. 538.

Ed. Havercamp, L. B. 1718, 8vo. pp. 162, 163. The editor of this excellent edition has given the various forms of the Roman standards, one of which has the *eagle with wings stretched out*. The ancients and Abp. Cranmer understood it correctly, as I think, of the temple; for our Lord himself so interpreted it. Matt. xxxiv. 15.

[24] *Shall be poured upon that which maketh desolate.*] The first word מְשֹׁמֵם and the second שֹׁמֵם are participial nouns, and both have the same meaning: a desolator, or person who lays waste. They must both, therefore, refer to the Romans; and hence the last clause of v. 27 is a prediction of judgments upon the Roman desolator, for having brought idols into the holy place, as well as for laying waste the city and the sanctuary. As Babylon was signally punished with utter destruction for executing the righteous judgments of God upon his rebellious people; so, in the consummation, would the Romans, the prince or leader people, the fourth of the great monarchies, be also brought to an end, when God's decree should be poured upon them.

[25] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14—21.

four great monarchies — in which they would be permitted to return and rebuild the temple and the city of Jerusalem. At the expiration of these 490 years, another restraint would be put upon their transgressions; the offerings for sin would be forever closed; atonement or reconciliation for the sins of all men would then be made; the last age, or the age of eternal justice, would then be introduced; the last visions and the last prophet (viz., St. John, in his Apocalypse) would reveal in mystic allegory the whole progress of that age till the end of time, and Christ, the most holy King, would be anointed. From the moment in which the Divine Word would give forth His decree for the returning of the remnant of the covenant people and the rebuilding of Jerusalem, unto this anointed prince or leader, would be 483 years, divided into the two minor periods of 49 years and 434 years. Jerusalem shall certainly be rebuilt. Her ruins shall be repaired; her broad places shall be restored; but all this will not be accomplished without much trouble and great distress. At the end of 434 years shall come the Messiah, or Christ, the Anointed-prince, and, within the remaining seven years, shall be put to death, though without any offence or fault of His. Having thus killed the Prince of life, and thereby filled up the measure of their iniquities, another most severe check shall be given to their transgression. The Roman, or fourth great kingdom seen in the former vision, shall destroy both the city and the temple, as Babylon, the first great kingdom, hath now done. But as Babylon is and will be punished, first by being transferred to the Medo-Persians, the second great kingdom, and afterwards by utter destruction, for having inflicted punishment on God's covenant people, so will Rome, in her turn, come to an end with a fearful inundation. The desolations of Jerusalem and of the covenant people are decreed until the consummation of God's war with Rome. In the mean time, the Messiah, or Christ the Anointed-prince, shall strengthen the covenant with his own people for seven

years. In the midst of this period, he shall abrogate, by his own death, the daily sacrifice and oblation, which shall be absolutely taken away, when the Roman eagles, the idols of the desolating army, shall stand upon the wing or battlement of the temple. And this daily sacrifice and oblation shall be taken away from the covenant people until the consummation of God's mighty purposes, when the decreed desolation shall be poured in turn upon the desolator.

III.

And now to return to our history. Petavius has justly observed that the early years of Cyrus are the cardinal point and foundation on which depend the arrangement of preceding and succeeding times, and the concord of sacred and profane history.[26] We must, therefore, enter somewhat into the succession of kings among the Medes and Persians. Astyages, the son of Cyaxares I., was, according to Herodotus,[27] the fourth king of the Medians. He had two children. Mandane, his daughter, married to Cambyses, the king of the Persians; and Cyaxares, his son, the second of that name, who succeeded him as the fifth king of the Medians. This king is called by Daniel, Darius, or Dariyavesh, the Mede. To Cambyses and Mandane a son was born, whose name was Cyrus. He succeeded his father on the throne of Persia, when he was forty years old.[28] It is known by astronomical calculation that Cyrus died in the third year of the sixty-second Olympiad, or at the close of the year 218 of the æra of Nabonassar, which nearly coincided with the year B. V. Æ. 530. Thus, with almost mathematical precision, do we ascertain that he reigned over Persia thirty years, and died at the age of seventy. This reign must be carefully distinguished from the Medo-Persian empire, which began at the conquest of

A. J. P. 4115.
B. V. Æ. 599.
Olymp. xlv. 1–2.

[26] De Doctr. Temp. lib. x. c. 14.
[27] Clio, 107.
[28] Olymp. LV. 1, or A. J. P. 4154—4155. Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. x. c. 10, and the tables in the Chronol. Introd. to this work, p. 127.

Babylon. Persia was then tributary to Media, and continued so till the death of Darius the Mede, or Cyaxares II., the uncle of Cyrus. Babylon was taken by Cyrus, as the general of his uncle's army, when Cyaxares II., or Darius, was sixty-two years of age.[29] He was, therefore, but one year older than his nephew; and, by his death when he was sixty-four, Cyrus, at the age of sixty-three, became sole monarch of the second great empire.

In the first year of his reign over this united empire, the *seventieth* of Daniel's captivity, Cyrus issued the memorable decree, a copy of which is preserved in the book of Ezra, for the return of the Jews, and the building of the second temple.[30] It is very probable that Daniel had great influence over his mind in rendering him favourable to the captive Israelites. The Persian monarch found him a minister of state, revered for his wisdom and sanctity, and venerable for his age and experience. The prophet, no doubt, showed him the passages in which Isaiah had named him more than a century before his birth,[31] and the other prophetic denunciations, which had been so literally and fearfully accomplished with respect to Jerusalem and Babylon.[32] As Daniel is not mentioned after the third year of Cyrus, it is probable that he died in that or the following year, at Babylon.

A. J. P. 4178. B. V. Æ. 536.

In consequence of the royal decree, the principal men of Judah and Benjamin, with the priests and levites, began to make collections, both of money and materials; and the king, with a munificence worthy of his character, surrendered to them all the vessels of gold, silver, and copper, 5400 in number, which belonged to the temple, and which Nebuchadnezzar, in his various predatory incursions, had taken and carried

[29] Dan. v. 31.

[30] Ezra i. 2—4.

[31] Prideaux (Connec. part i. book ii.) says, "150 years before he was born;" but since the time of Prideaux, as I have shown, (appendix to Sermons on Prophecy,) the true date of Merodach Baladan's embassy to Hezekiah was in the 22d year of that monarch's reign, or B. V. Æ. 704. The passages in Isaiah in which Cyrus is mentioned were written after that embassy; and as Cyrus was born B. V. Æ. 599, the intermediate time could not have much exceeded a century.

[32] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. c. i.

to Babylon. Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, the son of Jehoiachin, the fifth in direct descent from king Josiah, and consequently a prince of the house of David, was appointed by Cyrus to be the governor of the returning colony, under the Persian title of Tirshathah, a name expressive in that language of stern severity. The high priest Jesus, or Joshua, was the grandson of that Seraiah who was put to death by order of Nebuchadnezzar. Under their guidance, the whole congregation, amounting to 42,360 souls, set out on their journey, and took possession of the waste and deserted cities of their forefathers. Beside their servants, which were less than one to six, and their beasts of burthen, which hardly exceeded one to five, they carried with them in money 61,000 golden darics, 5000 manim or 300,000 shekels of silver, and only 100 sacerdotal garments, when the number of priests of the four families which returned amounted to 4289. All these particulars show clearly that the wealthier Jews chose to remain in Babylon. The whole of the gold and silver did not amount to half a million of dollars;[33] and of this sum, a portion must have been contributed by those who remained, according to the king's decree.[34]

Some months were occupied in settling themselves in their habitations; so that it was not until the seventh month, which began that year on Thursday, the 20th of September, that the whole people assembled to worship at Jerusalem.[35] Their first operation was to rear again the great altar of sacrifice on the same spot which it had occupied in the court of Solomon's temple. As it was built, by divine command, of unhewn stones,[36] those which had been originally employed were thrown down, but not removed, and were therefore again collected and arranged, with little trouble or delay. The brazen altar was set upon its stone base, and the daily offer-

[33] Estimating the daric, as Prideaux and others do, at 1*l.* 5*s.* sterling, and the maneh at $25.0935. Robinson's Calmet, p. 989.

[34] Ezra. i. 4.

[35] Ezra. iii. 1.

[36] Exod. xx. 25, 26.

ings began on the feast of Trumpets, the 20th of September. The fast of Kippoor, or the great day of atonement, occurred on the 29th of that month. On the very same day did it occur five hundred and sixty years later, when, as I have elsewhere shown,[37] St. John the Baptist began his ministry, as the forerunner of Christ. The feast of Tabernacles occurred, in both years, on the 4th of October.

It was not till the second month of the second year of their coming into the house of God, at Jerusalem, that Zerubbabel and Joshua, with the priests, levites and people, laid the foundation of the second temple.[38] Let the reader now turn back to the narrative of the building of Solomon's temple, and he will see that its foundation was laid in the same month, and probably on the same day of the month, exactly 490 years, or seventy weeks of years, intervening between the two events. We shall hereafter see that the second temple was destroyed by fire on the self-same day of the same Jewish month on which the first was burned. But how different were the circumstances of these two foundations! The one was laid by the greatest and richest monarch of his age; the other, by his lineal descendant, released from captivity, but acting and ruling as the vassal of a foreign prince. The same arrangement of the levites was made "from twenty years old and upwards,[39] to set forward the work of the house of the Lord," but their numbers in the former case were 24,000, and in the latter only 74! Of the twenty-four courses of the priests, four only returned from the captivity, the second, third, fifth, and sixteenth.[40] Their number amounted to 4289; and these, in imitation of the regulations of king David, were subdivided each into six courses, assuming the names of the

A. J. P. 4179. E. V. Æ. 535.

[37] Chron. Introd. p. 465. The Jews, on their return from captivity, celebrated the great day of atonement, A. J. P. 4178, Sept. 29. St. John began his mission on the great day of atonement, A. J. P. 4738, Sept. 29. The space of time between was, to a day, 560 years.

[38] Ezra iii. 8.

[39] See p. 158.

[40] Comp. i. Chron. xxiv. 7—18, with Ezra ii. 36—39. In. v. 38, Pashur is substituted for Malchijah, his father. See 1 Chron. ix. 12.

original twenty-four. Instead of the four thousand singers appointed by David,[41] there were now but two hundred singing men and singing women.[42] Yet the same ritual for the daily service of God was now reëstablished which had formerly existed; "and when the builders laid the foundation of the second" temple of Jehovah, they set the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, to praise Jehovah after the ordinance of David, king of Israel. And they sang together by course, in praising and giving thanks unto Jehovah, in the words of the 118th and the 136th Psalms, "because he is good, for his mercy endureth forever towards Israel." The people, filled with joy, shouted with a great shout, when they thus praised Jehovah; but many of the priests, and levites, and chief of the fathers, who, in their childhood, had seen the glories of the first temple, wept as they thus celebrated the foundation of the second.[43]

IV.

The immense substructions which still exist seem to have been the work of Solomon. So late as in 1840, an intelligent and judicious traveller gives the following as the result of his personal observation: "I was surprised, as I advanced along this towering bulwark," (the wall of the haram,) "to observe the immense blocks of stone which compose its foundations, and rise many yards above the surface of the earth. I measured some of them, which were nineteen feet long by three and a half in thickness. From the south-east angle of the city, they extend northward, continuously, a distance of seventy paces, and are, in one place, sixteen courses, more than fifty feet, in height. I could not doubt for a moment that these were remains of the ancient temple, and probably the work of Solomon. They are wholly unlike the walls of the city in other places, known to have been built by the

[41] 1 Chron. xxiii. 5.
[42] Ezra ii. 65.
[43] Ezra iii. 8—13.

Saracens and Turks. The higher portions of the wall have been rebuilt, in their peculiar style, with stones only one or two feet square. Indeed, there is nothing, in all that I have seen of their architecture, in Egypt or elsewhere, which has any resemblance to these massive remains of what, I doubt not, was the workmanship of the ancient Jews. I was no less surprised than delighted at the sight, as I had supposed, to that moment, that the destruction of the ancient walls, and especially that of the temple, had been complete."[44]

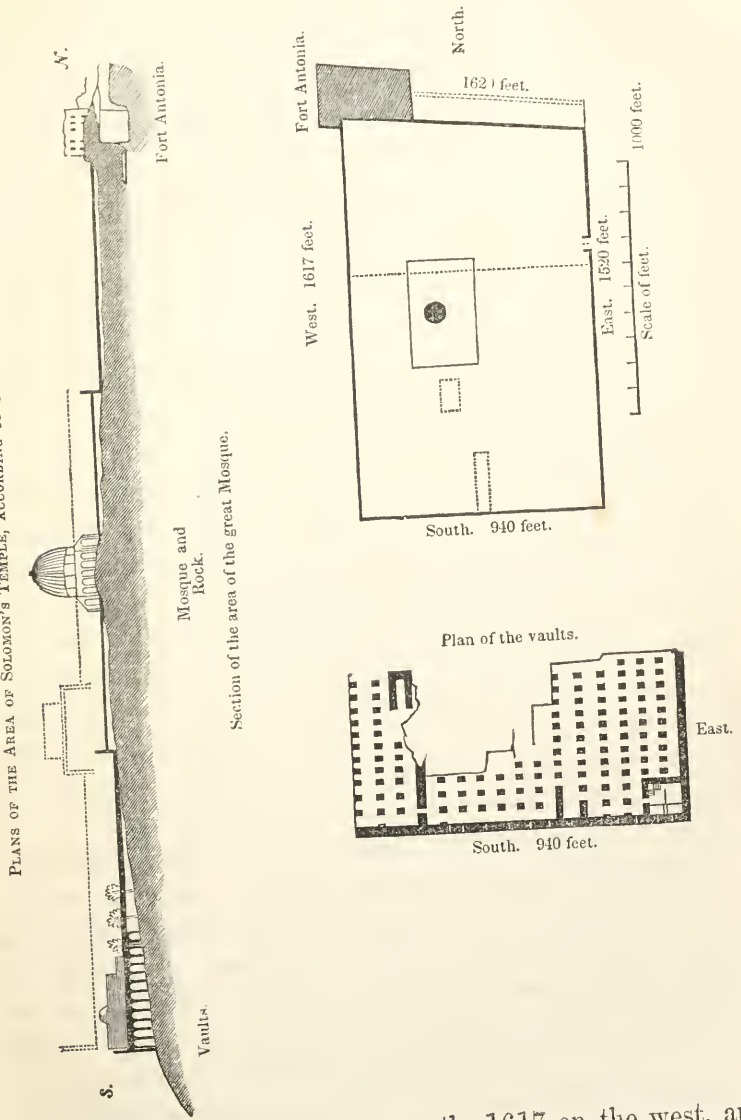
Two English architects, Mr. Scoles and Mr. Catherwood, seem to have been the first who noticed the incipient spandril of an arch, springing from these massive substructions, toward Mount Zion. It is evidently of the same style and date as the rest; and, indeed, so springs out of them as to show that it formed a part of the original design. The description of Solomon's house shows that the foundation of that was also of similar great and costly stones, of eight and ten cubits in length, which, in modern measurement, would exceed from fifteen to nineteen feet;[45] so that the arch in question may have been part of the construction of Solomon's private entrance into the temple. Three courses of these massive stones are now to be seen beneath it, rising altogether about fifteen feet. According to Dr. Robinson, "one of the stones is twenty and a half feet long, another twenty-four and a half feet, and the rest in like proportion."[46] But from the evident remains of this arch, and from the fact that other arches exist supporting the area, which is now called the haram, and was once the area of Solomon's temple, it has been assumed that these substructions are the work of Herod, rather than of Solomon. That this could not have been the fact, but that they were really and properly the work of Solomon, seems evident from the admissions of Mr. Catherwood, the only Christian, and the only scientific architect, who has had the

[44] Dr. Olin's Travels. N. Y. 1843. vol. ii. p. 121.

[45] 1 Kings vii. 8—12.

[46] Bib. Researches, vol. i. p. 425.

opportunity of accurately surveying them. The area on the top of Mount Moriah, as it now exists, is a rhomb of 1520



feet on the east, 940 on the south, 1617 on the west, and 1020 on the north.[47] These measurements are somewhat less

[47] Chronol. Introd. to the Hist. of the Church, p. 452, note.

than those of Dr. Robinson, but they have been given here on the authority of the architect. It is supported by vaultings on fifteen rows of square massive stone courses, which must necessarily have been of the age of Solomon. Instead, therefore, of arguing that the arches of these vaults show them to be of more modern date than the age of Solomon, the reverse of the proposition should be maintained, that the existence of these vaults proves the antiquity of the arch.

The rocky summit of Mount Moriah "declined steeply from the north-west towards the south-east; *and, in order to render it applicable for* the building of a magnificent temple, *it was necessary to cut away a considerable portion of the rock at the north-west, and raise the ground at the south-east angle. Both of these works still exist, and in perfect preservation.*"[48]

In this platform there is a remarkable rock, seventeen feet in height from the general level, and projecting about five feet above the marble pavement of the mosque, directly under the dome. It is now called the Hagara Sakhara, is irregular in its form, and measures about sixty feet in one direction, and fifty in another. This, Mr. Catherwood could not help thinking, once formed the foundation of the holy of holies of Solomon's temple; and he considered it not improbable that the great platform on which the mosque stands, five hundred feet on each side, (viz., of this rock,) "may indicate the position of the inner court, which surrounded the holy of holies."[49] By the holy of holies, Mr. Catherwood evidently means, not the Holy of Holies properly so called alone, but also the holy place, or that which in its movable state was called the tabernacle. This building was sixty cubits in length, twenty cubits in breadth, and thirty cubits in height, with a porch before it twenty cubits in length and ten cubits in breadth.[50] It was, therefore, about the medium size of modern churches; but was never entered, excepting by the

[48] Catherwood's Letter to Bartlett. Walks about Jerusalem, p. 175.

[49] Letter ut sup. p. 176.

[50] 1 Kings vi. 2, 3.

priests. Thus elevated on the summit of the rock, there were chambers built around, of three different elevations, communicating with each other by winding stairs, which led from the inner court to the summit level of the sanctuary.[51] When the temple was burned by Nebuzaradan, the perishable materials only were consumed, and the rubbish thus produced fell over and around the area of stone, without any violence being offered to the area itself. On the arrival of the Jews under Zerubbabel, they had only to clear off this rubbish, with the accumulations of vegetable mould and weeds, and the platform remained, with the rock projecting above it, on which "the temple and the oracle" had stood. Here, then, was the spot on which the corner-stone of the second temple was laid.

V.

The epistle from Cyrus to Sisines and Sarabasanes, the satraps of Syria, which Josephus has preserved,[52] provides that the Jews should build the temple on the same place where it was built before, limits its height and breadth to sixty cubits, and requires that the expenses be paid out of the royal revenues. For this purpose it pledges a part of the tribute from Samaria. This was in itself sufficient to excite the hostility of the Samaritans; but there were other causes operating to provoke a bitter hatred between them and the Jews; and as they are now, for the first time, mentioned as a distinct and united people, it is proper in this place to notice them.

When the king of Assyria removed the ten tribes of Israel, and planted them as colonies in the Assyrian empire, it formed a part of the same policy to send colonies from Assyria, to repeople the deserted cities, towns and villages, of Israel. The principal city of that kingdom, the seat of its monarch and its court, having been Samaria, the new inhabitants thence took their future national appellation. Five colonies were sent, each having its own tutelary god; and thus the heathen idola-

[51] 1 Kings vi. 5—10.

[52] Antiq. lib. xi. c. 1.

try, in its most impure and horrid form, was established within that territory which the only true and living God had given, by special covenant, to the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The abominable rites of the Babylonian worship, so faithfully described by Herodotus,[53] were included under the worship of Succoth Benoth, the tents of daughters.[54] Nergal, the idol of the men of Cuth, is supposed to have been the ferocious and bloody god of whom the planet Mars is the emblem. The rest are of uncertain etymology and origin.[55] As the Samaritans in general are called by the Jews, Cuthim, and this name in modern times is extended by them to Christians, as a term of bitter contempt and reproach, it is very probable that the Cuths, or Scyths, were the most numerous and the most martial.[56]

As a divine judgment upon them, their country was now infested with lions; and so remarkable and so sudden was the judgment, that it was related to the king of Assyria as having been sent by the God of the land, because the new colonists knew not the manner of serving him. The king, therefore, commanded that one of the priests who had been carried from Samaria should return and dwell in Bethel, the principal place of Jeroboam's worship, for the purpose of instructing them. They learned, therefore, the worship of the calves of Samaria, but continued to blend with it the obscene and cruel rites of their original idolatry.[57]

Such were the people who were now called upon, by a royal decree, to pay the expenses of rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. Whether from an idea of the justice of the case, that they should, by thus paying for, acquire the right of worshipping in it, or from a real desire of holding communion with the Jews, they now professed to have been, from the

[53] Clio, c. 199.

[54] Robinson's Gesenius, p. 728, v. סכה, and his edition of Calmet, p. 867. Taylor's Fragments, No. 213. Parkhurst, v. כך vi.

[55] Those who wish to pursue the subject further may consult, beside the authors above mentioned, Selden de diis Syriis Syntag. ii. cap. vii.

[56] Faber on Pag. Idol. vol. iii. p. 438.

[57] 2 Kings xvii. 24—41.

days of Esar-haddon, or nearly one hundred and fifty years,[58] the worshippers of the God of Israel. But this claim was promptly rejected by the governor, the high priest, and all the chiefs of the fathers. "Ye have nothing to do with us," they said, "to build an house unto our God." The money you have to pay belongs to the king of Persia, and not to you. "We ourselves together will build unto Jehovah-Elohim, of Israel, as king Cyrus, the king of Persia, hath commanded us."[59] This denial so incensed the Samaritans, that they exerted all their influence to prevent the construction of the temple. They corrupted, with bribes, the satraps and overseers of the public works; and as Cyrus, for the remaining six years of his life, was engaged in wars which engrossed his whole attention, they were allowed with impunity to vex and harass the Jews. These difficulties were increased when Cambyses ascended the throne. The old enemies of the Jews, the Syrians, Phœnicians, Ammonites and Moabites, were induced to unite with the Samaritans.[60] An artful and insidious letter was written to the king by the principal officers of the province, making great professions of fidelity and disinterested zeal in the king's service, denouncing the Jews as a restless and turbulent people, referring to the royal records for the past history of Jerusalem as a wicked and rebellious city, and predicting similar conduct in future, if the Jews should be permitted to rebuild their city and temple.[61] In consequence of the communications thus made, orders were given by Cambyses to stop the work, and these orders continued in force through the seven years and five months during which that furious monarch reigned. Thus were the sins of their forefathers visited even upon a penitent remnant, who were themselves innocent of the great offence.

A. J. P. 4185. B. V.Æ. 529.

[58] That is from B. V. Æ. 680—531= 146 years.

[59] Ezra iv. 1—3.

[60] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. ii.

[61] Ezra iv. 7—22. This letter and the king's answer are inserted by Ezra in his narrative in the original Syriac, and are therefore to be received as transcripts from the original correspondence.

VI.

Cambyses dying without issue, and the usurpation of the Magian, who had claimed to be his brother Smerdis, being detected at the end of seven months, the Persians raised to the throne Darius, the son of Hystaspes.[62] According to Josephus, he was the personal friend of Zerubbabel. The account of the Jewish historian accords, in substance, with that of the apocryphal Esdras; but both have much the appearance of fable, and are, in many respects, contradictory to the real Ezra.[63] All agree, however, that Darius gave permission to renew the building of the temple in the second year of his reign. A. J. P. 4194. B. V. Æ. 520.

On Thursday, the 24th of August, in that year, the Word of Jehovah came by Haggai, the first prophet sent to the Jews after their captivity. The foundation of the temple had been laid, as we have seen, in May, B. V. Æ. 535, and the work had probably been continued about three months, until it was interrupted by the hostile proceedings of the Samaritans. It had now been suspended fifteen years, and the people, naturally despondent in times of affliction, were so dispirited that, notwithstanding the king's permission, they thought it not yet the season to recommence their labours in God's service. They had been active in building their own houses, in which they suffered no molestation, while that of their Almighty Sovereign was suffered to lie waste. This had provoked his anger, which had been exhibited in the natural judgments of drought and sterility. The assurance that Jehovah was with them now animated the rulers and the people, and, about the 16th of September, the work was again begun.[64] On the 21st day of the seventh month, or Friday, the 13th of October, another reve-

[62] Herod. Thalia, chs. lxvii.—lxxxviii.

[63] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. c. ii. iii., comp. with Esdras A. c. iii. iv. v. of the LXX., the third book of Esdras in the Vulgate, and 1 Esdras in the English Apocrypha.

[64] Haggai i. 15. The 24th day of the sixth month, Elul.

lation was given of glorious import. The people had been scarcely a month at work, when they were informed that Jehovah, the God of hosts, would shake all the nations, and the Desire of all nations should come. Every Christian must see, in the few words of this prophecy, the promise of THE INCARNATION.

The remnant of Israel were now showing their faith in God's promises by their zeal in his service; yet many of the most aged still mourned as they remembered the former earthly splendours of the sanctuary, the gold and the silver, the ark of the covenant and the glory of Jehovah visibly resting upon it, the Urim and Thummim of oracular response, and all the solemn magnificence of the temple worship, brought to its height by David and Solomon. "Who is left among you," said now the Word of Jehovah, "that saw this house in its former glory? And what do ye see it now? Is it not as nothing in your eyes? Yet now be strong and work, O my people, for I am with you. I have not forgotten thy covenant at Sinai, though the ark of the covenant is gone. After the present period, there will be but one dispensation more. In my purposes, the time is short, even at the longest. I will shake the world, and that expiation for sin, and that immortality which all desire, shall come. As to silver and gold, they are mine, and might as easily have been bestowed now as in the times of David and Solomon. But although you have not the ark, and the visible glory resting upon it, you will have Him whose human nature was represented by that ark, and in whom will dwell all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. You have not the Urim and Thummim, but you will have, even in this house, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel. Much as you think of the former magnificence, it will be infinitely exceeded by His presence who will come both to save and to judge the world, who will rule over his enemies with the rod

of his indignation, but will give everlasting peace to his obedient people." [65]

VII.

In the interval between this glorious promise and the last revelation to Haggai, the Word of Jehovah came to another prophet, ZECHARIAH, the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo. The grandfather was probably the priest whom Nehemiah mentions as having accompanied Zerubbabel, in the first year of Cyrus, from Babylon to Jerusalem.[66] It is conjectured that Berechiah was then dead; because, in the book of Ezra, chap. v. 1, Zechariah is called simply the son of Iddo. At that time he must have been a child; for sixteen years later, when he began to prophesy, he was still a youth.[67] Some suppose that he was the person slain between the porch and the altar, of whom our Saviour speaks;[68] and as he was the last but one of the prophets, this opinion might be plausible, if there were any evidence that the Jews, after the captivity, were guilty of such a crime.[69] Next to Isaiah, he is considered as having more frequent and direct and clear allusions to the coming Messiah and his kingdom, than all the other prophets. His first revelation was very short, and was given in the month Marchesvan, which began on Sunday, the 22d of October, and ended on Monday, the 20th of November, in the second year of Darius.[70] From its nature we may infer that the Jews were again interrupted, or in danger of being so, by their troublesome neighbours, the Samaritans. These applied to Tatnai, the prefect or satrap of Syria, who, with other officers, came to Jerusalem, and demanded by what authority the building of the

A. J. P. 4191.
B. V. Æ. 520.

[65] Haggai ii. 3—9. Abp. Newcome's trans. For the paraphrase the writer is responsible. On the question about חֶמְדַּת, see Parkhurst, v. חמד and D'Oyly and Mant's Commentary.

[66] Nehem. xii. 4.

[67] Zech. ii. 4.

[68] St. Matt. xxiii. 34, 35.

[69] Dr. Blayney strongly maintains this opinion. Prelim. Disc. p. xiv. to his Zechariah. Dr. Hales adopts it. Anal. vol. ii. p. 480. But the more common opinion has been adopted in this work, that the Zechariah mentioned by our Saviour was the son of Jehoiada. See p. 193.

[70] Zech. i. 1—6.

temple had been recommenced.[71] Tatnai was, evidently, a just and impartial ruler; for he did not stop the work, but, at the request of Zerubbabel, the tirshatha, and of Joshua, the high priest, wrote for instructions to the king of Persia. While his letter, which Ezra has given at full length,[72] was on its way, Zechariah was commissioned to remove the anxiety and rouse the spirits of the feeble remnant of Israel by the divine promise that if they were not, like their forefathers, a faithless and a stubborn generation, their exertions would be crowned with success. Accordingly, the king's answer forbade Tatnai, or any of his companions, on pain of death, to interrupt the work; but commanded, on the contrary, that they should furnish, from the royal treasury, all that was necessary, both for building and for worship.[73]

On the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, or Thursday, December 14th, in the same year, the third revelation came to Haggai: two communications in one day. The first promised abundance from that day forward, because of their obedience; the second, protection to Zerubbabel, as a type of his descendant, the Messiah, in the commotions about to begin with the approaching desolations of Babylon.[74]

The second revelation to Zechariah was made on the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month, or on Sunday, the 11th of February.[75] It consisted of eight visions, rapidly passing before his mind's eye, like the unrolling of a vast panorama. The introductory vision of the horseman and his company (ch. i. 7—17) contained, in mystic allegory, a denunciation of impending judgments upon the monarchy which had hitherto afflicted Jerusalem, and the promise that the temple should be built, and that Zion, during

A. J. P. 4195. B. V. Æ. 519.

[71] Ezra v. 1—5.
[72] v. 6—17.
[73] Ezra vi. 1—13.
[74] Haggai ii. 10—23.
[75] According to the computation of the Jews, whose year began with Nisan, it was still the second year of Darius. But, reckoning as they did in Babylon, from the Æra of Nabonassar, a new year began on the 31st of Dec., A. J. P. 4194, B. V. Æ. 520; and consequently, according to the canon of Ptolemy, the 11th of Feb., A. J. P. 4195, B. V. Æ. 519, would be reckoned in the third year of Darius. See the table, p. 128, Chronol. Introd.

the existence of that temple, should be comforted. The Angel-Jehovah, in person, explains the vision to the prophet, in form as a man, — and why not therefore in the likeness of the future incarnation? but, however that may have been, the Angel-Jehovah, in form as a man, is seated on a red horse, in a valley of myrtles, the emblems of peace. He is accompanied by a train of horsemen, seated like himself, but on horses of various colours. He thus answers the question of the wondering seer: "These are sent by Jehovah to traverse the earth," — or the Persian empire. Then the prophet hears the horsemen saying to their commander, "We *have* traversed the earth," that is, the Persian monarchy, "and behold the whole earth is at rest, and is quiet." Then the Angel-Jehovah, *addressing Jehovah*, saith, "O Jehovah Sabaoth, (of hosts or armies,) how long wilt thou not have mercy upon Jerusalem, and upon the cities of Judah, against which thou hast spoken in anger these seventy years?" And Jehovah answered the angel who was thus speaking, (i. e., the Angel-Jehovah,) "words of goodness and comfort." The Angel-Jehovah then gives a proclamation to the prophet from "Jehovah Sabaoth." This was said in vision on the 11th of February, in the *seventieth year* from the invasion of Judah, and the siege of Jerusalem, by Nebuchadnezzar. It is a sublime declaration of the Holy Trinity, distinguishing clearly the mediatorial and incarnate Jehovah from the Father, whom no man hath seen, or can see, and who is only known to us as *in* and *of* heaven, Jehovah Sabaoth.[76] It has been well observed that the horsemen were angels, to denote their divine mission: they were on horses, to express the rapidity of their movements; those horses were of various colours, to intimate the difference of their ministries.[77]

The second vision of the four horns, which the ploughmen, with their coulters, were to crush into the earth, denoted that

[76] The siege of Jerusalem began Dec. 30, A. J. P. 4126, B. V. Æ. 588. Consequently, the seventieth year ended Dec. 29, A. J. P. 4195, B. V. Æ. 519. But the cities of Judah were laid waste earlier than that event. How much sooner, we know not.

[77] See Abp. Newcome on Zech. i. 8.

the power of the enemies by which Judah was surrounded would, by divine interposition, be made rather to enrich and invigorate the land. Horns, the emblems of power, when broken into the earth, contribute greatly to its fertility.[78]

The third vision was of the architect, in whose hand was the measuring-line.[79] It denoted the certainty of rebuilding Jerusalem, but it refers not so much to the second temple as to that which shall hereafter be set up under the reign of the Messiah. For, in its sublime language, God himself promises to be a wall of fire to Jerusalem and her villages, for their protection without and their glory within. In the next two verses, the wealthier Jews, who still lingered in Babylon, are warned of its impending dangers, and exhorted to flee unto Zion, from the wrath to come. Zion herself is called upon to rejoice, because Jehovah would again dwell in Jerusalem. This prediction, in its most extensive and glorious sense, will be fulfilled only in the brightness of the New Jerusalem.[80]

The fourth vision shown to the prophet by the Angel-Jehovah was a tribunal before which stood the high priest Joshua, in squalid garments, with Satan at his right hand as his accuser. The judge is no other than the Angel-Jehovah himself. The trial proceeds, and judgment is rendered. Joshua is acquitted. His polluted garments are taken off, and clean robes and a fair mitre are given to him. The judge rebukes Satan in the name of Jehovah, and gives a charge from Jehovah of Hosts to Joshua, that he and his people

[78] Zech. i. 18—21. In the construction of this difficult passage, I have followed Dr. Blayney. חָרָשִׁים may certainly denote "carpenters," as the English received version renders the word here; or "smiths," as rendered in the Vulgate, or artificers in brass, iron, wood, stone, &c., (Parkh. in v. ii.,) whose occupation consists in splintering, or rasping, or cutting, or shaving; but it is also most certainly used in the sense of ploughing. Here the figure seems to be that of ploughing horns into the earth with a ploughshare, which crushes them, and thus prepares them to fertilize the soil. "One hundred parts of dry bones," says Liebig, "contain from 32 to 33 per cent. of dry gelatine. They become warm when reduced to a fine powder; the gelatine which they contain is decomposed, and its nitrogen converted into carbonate of ammonia and other ammoniacal salts." Chem. applied to Agriculture, &c. Manures.

[79] Zech. ii.

[80] Compare with this prophecy Isa. lx. 19—22; Jer. xxxi. 38—40; Ezek. xl. 3 to xlviii. 35; Rev. xi. 1; xxi.

should walk in the ways and keep the ordinances of Jehovah. All this, no doubt, gave comfort to Zerubbabel and Joshua, and the remnant of the captivity; but it should give greater comfort now, as it clearly exhibits the mighty operations of the whole mediatorial kingdom. Under the name of THE BRANCH, the former prophets had predicted the coming of Christ.[81] At his first coming, he would remove the iniquity of the land in one day; at his second, he would clothe his Church, the body of our great High Priest, in robes of purity and beauty. The seven eyes or fountains from one stone, set before Joshua, are an evident allusion to the rock of Horeb; and that rock was Christ. (1 Cor. x. 4.) They denote the never-ceasing streams of grace, during the whole of the everlasting covenant.

The fifth, also, was a vision of awful and mysterious import. The golden candlestick, with its seven lamps, fed, by seven pipes, with oil from the bowl or reservoir on the summit, which bowl is perpetually kept full by streams from the two olive-trees, is the Church, fed, at all times, by the Son and the Holy Ghost. In a lower sense, the image was applicable to the Church then under Zerubbabel and Joshua; but in a far higher sense it relates to the blessings of the mediatorial kingdom, emanating from the Holy Trinity, through the Son and Spirit, and to be completed when the fulness of the Gentiles and the restoration of Judah and Israel shall come.

Hitherto the visions have been consolatory and encouraging; but the sixth, of the flying roll, and the seventh, of the Ephah into which the woman was pressed, are warnings against iniquity, and threats of a future dispersion and captivity, in consequence of renewed and greater guilt.

The eighth vision, of the four chariots, seems to have represented the four great kingdoms of the earth, and their instrumentality in preparing for the kingdom of THE BRANCH

[81] Isa. iv. 2; xi. 1. Jer. xxvii. 5.

and its exaltation, when the kingdoms of this world shall have become the kingdoms of Jehovah and his Anointed One.[82]

The affairs of the Jews now went on so prosperously, that, in the fourth year of Darius, a question was raised whether the nation ought any longer to observe the four fasts they had instituted during the captivity. This question is resolved by the revelations in the seventh and eighth chapters. The days of mourning, for the destruction of the city and temple and the murder of Gedaliah, are there ordered to be turned into days of gladness; and it is expressly declared that moral holiness, in obeying God's law, is the only true object of all bodily austerities. Indeed, all the promises, after the captivity, were conditional, depending on the obedience of the people. This revelation was made on the fourth day of the ninth month, or on Saturday, the second of November. But there are no notes of time by which we can ascertain the dates of the subsequent revelations. The last six chapters contain a succession of three distinct prophecies, which may have been extended through many years, even to the time of Malachi, when the spirit of prophecy seems to have been withdrawn until the coming of John the Baptist. The style of these latter prophecies is far more elevated than of the former; and this circumstance, together with the authority of St. Matt. xxvii. 9, which ascribes to Jeremiah the words of Zech. xi. 13, has induced some learned critics to deny that they belonged to Zechariah.[83] But both these facts may be accounted for from other causes. The passage in St. Matthew may have read, originally, without any name, "spoken by the prophet;"[84] and as for the style, it is only more elevated because the author was more advanced in age and dignity, and the subject more sublime and more distantly future.[85]

A. J. P. 4196. B. V. Æ. 518.

[82] Zech. i. 7; vi. 15. With regard to the eighth vision, see Blayney's notes upon chap. vi.

[83] See the profoundly learned and judicious Joseph Mede, Epistle lxi., Works p. 833, and Bp. Kidder's Dem. of the Messiah, P. ii. chap. xiv. fol. 1726, pp. 75, 76.

[84] See Abp. Newcome's note to Zech. xi. 13.

[85] Blayney's Zech., note to chap. ix. p. 35.

The fate of the enemies of Judah, contrasted with her prosperity, — the coming of the Messiah and his kingdom, — the restoration of Israel, as well as of Judah, — a series of glorious victories, and a continuance of the most peaceful prosperity, form the varied subjects of the ninth and tenth chapters.

With the eleventh chapter begins a new and very different prophecy. The people would swerve from their obedience, and, therefore, would not always be prosperous. Before their final restoration, an event of the most calamitous nature must take place, even the crucifixion of their promised king; and another destruction of the city and temple is plainly foretold.

The last three chapters relate to events which will follow the final restoration of Israel and Judah to their own country. It accords, in point of time, with the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters of Ezekiel, with the last part of the eleventh and the twelfth chapters of Daniel, and with the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth chapters of the Revelation of St. John. All attempts to interpret them must be imperfect, until the events they foretell shall begin to be accomplished.[86]

VIII.

At length, in the sixth year of Darius, according to the Hebrew computation, the Sanctuary and the Holy of Holies[87] were happily completed.[88] Thus was again terminated the

[86] Blayney's Zech. and notes. Abp. Newcome's and Lowth's Commen. For a very judicious synopsis, see Horne's Introduction, vol. iv. p. 233. This author and Mr. Townsend limit the period of Zechariah's prophecies to the second and fourth years of Darius.

[87] Heb. ix. 2—7.

[88] Ezra vi. 15. As it is important, in tracing the fulfilment of prophecy, that the utmost accuracy as to dates should be observed, it will assist the reader to state here the difference between the computations of Ptolemy and Ezra. By examining the tables, p. 128 of the Chronol. Introd. to this History, it will be seen that the year of the Julian Period 4193 was Bissextile, and that, according to the Æra of Nabonassar, the year 227 began on the 1st of January. By subtracting 4193 from 4714, which was the first year of the common Christian Æra, he will see that it was B. V. Æ. 521. This, by the canon of Ptolemy, was the first year of Darius. But Ptolemy's year was always 365 days. Therefore, the second year of Darius began Dec. 31, B. V. Æ. 521, and ended Dec. 30, B.

prophetic period of seventy years, from the destruction of the first temple, and the final deportation of the Jews, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, to the completion of the second temple, in the sixth year of Darius, the son of Hystaspes.

The doom of Babylon kept pace with the prosperity of Jerusalem. Its inhabitants had never been reconciled to the Persian yoke; and the disturbances occasioned by the death of Cambyses, and the usurpation of the false Smerdis, ripened their dissatisfaction into revolt. Relying upon the strength of their walls, and their ability to sustain a siege, they had secretly laid in provisions, while the attention of their masters was thus engrossed; and when Darius, on his accession to sovereignty, removed his court from Babylon to Susa, or Shushan, the indignation of the conspirators knew no limits. The first military expedition of Darius was undertaken to restore Syloson to the throne of his brother, Polycrates; and the siege of Samos, which began favourably, was protracted by the perfidy of Mæandrius. The Babylonians took this

v. æ. 520. The third year of Darius began Dec. 21, b. v. æ. 520, and ended Dec. 30, b. v. æ. 519. His fourth year began Dec. 31, b. v. æ. 519, and ended Dec. 30, b. v. æ. 518. His fifth year began Dec. 31, b. v. æ. 518, and ended Dec. 29, b. v. æ. 517, because that was again a Bissextile or leap year, corresponding with a. j. p. 4197. The sixth year of Darius, 232 of the Æra of Nabonassar, began Dec. 30, b. v. æ. 517, and ended Dec. 29, b. v. æ. 516. The next year, from Dec. 30, b. v. æ. 516, to Dec. 29, b. v. æ. 515, would, therefore, in the canon of Ptolemy, be reckoned as the *seventh* of Darius.

The computation of the Hebrews was founded on different principles, being governed by the Passover and the great day of atonement; the one after the vernal, the other near the autumnal, equinox. As their years and months were lunar, it was necessary to adjust the celebration of the Passover by intercalations, so that their years had sometimes twelve, and sometimes thirteen, lunar months, and therefore varied in length from 354 to 384 days. Their first month was that in the middle of which the Passover was celebrated, beginning sometimes in March and sometimes in April. It is according to these years that Ezra computes the reign of Darius. The first year began March 11, b. v. æ. 521; the second, March 30, b. v. æ. 520; the third, March 19, b. v. æ. 519; the fourth, March 8, b. v. æ. 518; the fifth, March 27, b. v. æ. 517; the sixth, March 16, b. v. æ. 516. That year consisted of thirteen months, and ended on the 4th of March, b. v. æ. 515. Now, in the sixth year of Darius, on the third day of the month Adar, the temple was completed. That month began on the 3d of February, b. v. æ. 515; and the second Adar, the thirteenth month, on Saturday, the 5th of March. The temple, therefore, was finished on the 3d day of the *first* or of the *second* Adar. If in the second, on Monday, the seventh of March, b. v. æ. 515, which, according to Ptolemy's computation, was at the beginning of the third month, in the seventh year of Darius.

occasion to revolt; and, with unexampled barbarity, every man chose only his own mother and one woman to bake his bread. The rest, of every age, were strangled. Thus fearfully was fulfilled the prediction, uttered more than two hundred years before, by the prophet Isaiah: "O, virgin daughter of Babylon, *take the mill, and grind the corn;* for thou shalt no longer be called the lady of the kingdoms. I was angry with my people; I profaned my heritage; and I gave them up into thy hand. Thou didst not show mercy unto them. . . . But hear now this, O thou voluptuous, that sittest in security: thou that sayest in thine heart, I am, and there is none else. I shall not sit a widow; I shall not know the loss of children. *Yet shall these two things come upon thee in a moment; in one day, — loss of children, and widowhood.*"[89]

On the first intelligence of this event, Darius assembled his forces, marched against them, and seated himself in form to besiege the city. Twenty months was he thus occupied, about the very time when the temple of Jerusalem was completed. So strong were the ramparts of Babylon, and so unremittingly vigilant were the besieged, that Darius and his army became utterly hopeless of success; nor could it have been taken, had it not been for the stratagem of Zopyrus.[90] As soon as the king became master of the place, he ordered its walls to be levelled, and its gates to be removed. But this order seems not to have been executed then, unless it embraced only a part of the wall; for when Alexander the

[89] Isa. xlvii. Bp. Lowth's Translation comp. with Herodot. Thalia 150.

[90] Herod. Thalia 150—158. Trogus ap. Justin. lib. i. cap. x. Polyænus Stratag. lib. vii. cap. xii. None of these authors mention the date of this siege; but the prophet Zechariah speaks of the earth, or land, meaning thereby the Persian monarchy, as being quiet in the second year of Darius, or in Feb., B. V. Æ. 519. We may infer, also, from his second prophecy, that it was still quiet in his fourth year, Nov. 2, B. V. Æ. 518. The expedition against Samos could not, therefore, have taken place earlier than B. V. Æ. 517; and the time which that occupied, and the twenty months' siege of Babylon, will make its capture coëval with the completion of the second temple and its dedication. It could not have been later, because Herodotus speaks of the expedition against Samos as the first military enterprise of Darius.

Great entered Babylon, its walls were still more than a hundred and fifty feet in height, and thirty-two feet in breadth.[91] From the time, however, when Cyrus diverted the Euphrates from its bed, and this revolt, under Darius, had increased the hostility of the Persian kings, the political importance of the proud city came to an end. It afterwards hailed Alexander as its deliverer from the tyranny of the Persians, but its very demonstrations of joy caused it to become his grave. We shall have occasion hereafter to note its decline, and shall now observe only, that Strabo, who preceded our Saviour less than fifty years, speaks of it as being, in his day, "a great solitude."[92]

But to return to the history of the covenant people. The new temple was dedicated in the month of March, and the first Passover was celebrated from Sunday, the 17th, to Sunday, the 24th of April.[93] The ritual of the temple service, as it had been in the days of Solomon, was restored with all possible exactness; and the Jews would have fully enjoyed their religious freedom, if it had not been for the persevering hostilities of the Samaritans. But these, confiding in their riches, and boasting of their affinity with the Persians, contrived to evade the payment of the tribute; and, by corruption and flattery, induced the military chieftains of the province to injure the Jews to the utmost of their power. This induced the people of Jerusalem to send Zerubbabel and four others of their rulers to the king. This legation succeeded in obtaining a royal letter to the rulers of Samaria, commanding them to furnish all things necessary for the daily sacrifices, that prayers might be offered continually for the king and his nation. This epistle prevented any further molestation during that reign.[94]

A. J. P. 4199.
B. V. Æ. 515.

[91] Q. Curtius, lib. v. cap. l. ed. Snakenburg, p. 312.
[92] Strab. Geog. lib. xvi. p. 738.
[93] Ezra vi. 16—22.
[94] Joseph. Ant. lib. xi. c. 4.

IX.

Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes.[95] One hundred and ten years had elapsed from the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, in which king Jehoiachin, or Jeconiah, and the principal inhabitants of Jerusalem, were carried captive to Babylon.[96] Among these captives was Mordecai, of the tribe of Benjamin, who brought up Hadassah, or Esther, his uncle's daughter.[97] If, therefore, Mordecai was an infant when he was thus carried captive, his age, in the seventh year of Xerxes, exceeded one hundred and sixteen, when his adopted child became the queen of Persia. His uncle may have been much younger than himself; and Hadassah may have been among the youngest of his uncle's children. It does not, therefore, exceed the bounds of probability, that she was a youthful and beautiful maiden, in the seventh year of Xerxes; but it is hardly possible that she could have been the young and beloved queen of Artaxerxes Longimanus. The Ahasuerus of the book of Esther must, therefore, have been the same monarch whom the Grecian historians have celebrated under the name of Xerxes the Great. The whole conduct of Ahasuerus towards Vashti is more consonant with the character of the rash, and foolish, and furious Xerxes, than with that of his wise and prudent son. The whole story of Esther, however, is an episode in Jewish history, which has no relation to the narratives of Ezra and Nehemiah, and consequently does not affect their chronology. It is mentioned here only to put the reader on his guard in separating conjecture from undoubted truth.[98]

A. J. P. 4228. B. V. Æ. 486.

[95] Joseph. Ant. lib. xi. c. 5. Herod. Polymnia 4. In the canon of Ptolemy, the reign of Xerxes is computed from Dec. 23, A. J. P. 4228, Æ. N. 263, B. V. Æ. 486. The next year, or the second of Xerxes, began on the 22d of Dec., B. V. Æ. 485, and ended on the 21st of Dec., 484.

[96] 2 Kings xxiv. 10—16.

[97] Esther ii. 5—7.

[98] It is surprising, that, of all modern chronologers, Scaliger alone should have maintained that the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther was the Xerxes of Herodotus and other profane historians. Abp. Usher conjectured, upon very insufficient and unsatisfactory grounds, that this Ahasuerus was Darius Hystaspis;

But though the book of Esther is an episode, yet, as connected with the prosperity of the Jewish nation, it may be well to give, in this place, a summary of its contents. Mordecai had been made an officer of the royal palace at Susa, — probably the keeper of the king's gate, — early in the reign of Darius, who was so favourable to his nation. In this way it was that his adopted daughter, the beautiful Hadassah, "the myrtle," or Esther, "the star," for she was known by both appellations, attracted the notice of Hegai, the keeper of the women in the royal haram. Through his favour, she was introduced to the king, towards the close of December, and shortly after was proclaimed queen of Persia. She had followed the injunctions of Mordecai, not to make known that she was a Jewess, and, by information derived from him, she was enabled to detect a conspiracy against the king's life. Everything conspired to give her an unbounded influence over the capricious and irritable, but uxorious monarch. Xerxes had promoted to high honour an Amalekite, of the name of Haman. He, like his nation, hated the Jews; and hearing that Mordecai, who alone had refused to prostrate himself in his presence, was a Jew, he determined to destroy not only him but his hated nation. To ascertain the most favourable time for this purpose, he had recourse to a species of divination in common use; and on Sunday, the 12th of March, in the twelfth year of Xerxes, began to cast lots from day to day, and from month to month, until he discovered that the twelfth month, Adar, or the month of February, in the next year, would be the most fortunate. In the mean time, twelve days after he began to cast lots, he obtained a decree from the king, authorizing the destruction of the Jews and the confiscation of their property. By the laws of Persia, it was death for any person, man or

A. J. P. 4235. B. V. Æ. 479.

A. J. P. 4236. B. V. Æ. 480.

and Vashti, his divorced queen, Atassa, the daughter of Cyrus. Annals, A. J. P. 4195, B. V. Æ. 519. Petavius, Prideaux, and even Hales, have followed Josephus, who supposes that it was Artaxerxes Longimanus. Ant. lib. xi. c. vi. But this Artaxerxes began to reign, according to Ptolemy's computation, Dec. 17, B. V. Æ. 465, or 132 years after Mordecai was carried captive.

woman, to enter into the king's presence unless sent for; but, in this extremity, the courageous Esther, putting her trust in God, ventured into the king's presence, obtained his favour, and was touched with the golden sceptre. Her demand was a simple and prudent one, that Haman might be invited to a banquet, to be given to the king and the favourite alone, in the queen's apartment. It was granted; and Haman went forth from the presence with joy, which the stern and unbending form of Mordecai soon checked. That night, the king, being unable to sleep, called for the records, and there found that Mordecai had informed of the conspiracy against his person, and had received no reward for his fidelity. The tide of fortune was now turned. Haman was made to honour him whom he wished to hang. Esther disclosed her lineage, and exposed the wickedness of the favourite, who was hung on the gallows prepared for Mordecai. The absurd custom that no decree of the king should be altered, prevented the order against the Jews from being rescinded; but, by a new decree, they were allowed to defend themselves against all the attacks of their enemies. This was issued on Thursday, the 1st of June; and on the thirteenth and fourteenth of the following Adar, or on the 12th and 13th of February, in the following year, the Jews destroyed all who, on the first of those days, had intended to destroy them. In commemoration of this event, the feast of Purim is celebrated on the anniversary of these two days, in every nation of the world where the Jews are now dispersed.

The misfortunes of Xerxes, and his dissolute mode of life, drew on him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, and he was at length murdered when he was asleep, by Artabanus, the captain of his guards, introduced for that purpose into his bed-chamber by Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of his palace. Thus fell a monster of whom the world was weary, in the twenty-first year of his reign.[99]

[99] Diod. Sic. lib. xi. 69. Ed. Wesseling, tom. i. p. 456. The historian places the murder of Xerxes in the Archonship of Lysitheus at Athens, and the consulship of Valerius Publicola and P. Æmilius Mamercus at Rome. Ac-

X.

Artaxerxes, called "the long-handed," says Plutarch, because his right hand was longer than his left, was remarkable for his mildness and magnanimity.[169] He was the third son of Xerxes, and was raised to the crown by Artabanus, who thought to make him his tool. Failing in this, he attempted the life of the king, and was slain by him in the struggle.[170] No further tidings of the Jews are given until the seventh year of his reign, when Ezra, the priest, headed a new colony, which went up from Babylon to Jerusalem. By a special commission, as he expressly asserts, from Jehovah Elohim, he presented a petition to the king, which was fully granted; and on the first of Nisan, or Wednesday, the 16th of March, he and his company left Babylon. The decree of Artaxerxes is preserved in the book of Ezra,[171] and is a very remarkable monument of the favour with which the Persian government regarded the Jews. It gave Ezra the most unlimited power as the commissioner of the king in council, to regulate all things according to the law of God; to dispense the revenues arising from the royal bounty, and the free-will offerings of the people; to demand from all the king's treasurers beyond the Euphrates whatever should be commanded by the God of heaven; and to exempt from taxation the priests and levites, and all other stated attendants on divine service. The decree is enforced by power of life and death, of bonds and imprisonment, of ban- A. J. P. 4249. B. V. Æ. 465.

cording to Ptolemy's Canon, it was the 283d year of the Æra of Nabonassar, which ended on the 16th of December, A. J. P. 4249, or B. V. Æ. 465, coinciding with the middle of the fourth year of the 78th Olympiad. See Tables, p. 129 of Chronol. Introd. The reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus was therefore computed by him as commencing with the 284th year of Nabonassar, the first day of which was Dec. 17th, B. V. Æ. 465. As the Jews computed from Nisan, their first year of Artaxerxes began on the 11th of March. As we know not the exact date of Xerxes' death, and Ptolemy always counts by solid years, it is not improbable that the reign of Artaxerxes began earlier, some time in the year of Nabonassar 283.

[169] Plut. Vitæ, ed. Bryan. tom. i. p. 277.

[170] Diod. Sic. ut sup.

[171] Ch. vii. 11—26.

ishment and confiscation; and the strength of these penalties implies that hitherto the Jews at Jerusalem had been perpetually harassed by their enemies. This decree forms an epoch, to be carefully observed, in relation to the fulfilment of prophecy, at the end of this fifth period of the Church's history.

About a week after their departure from Babylon, Ezra and his company arrived at the river running to Ahava, which had been appointed as the general place of rendezvous.[103] Here he was surprised to find no levites. He therefore sent to Casiphia, where, if we may judge from the etymology, there were mines of silver, but which could not have been far distant, and thence obtained eighteen levites and two hundred and twenty nethinim, or porters. He was ashamed to ask of the king an escort of soldiers, as this would have seemed to imply a distrust of Almighty protection. He chose rather to implore that protection by prayer and fasting for three days. On the fourth, he entrusted the priests and levites present with the care of the treasures he had accumulated; and on the twelfth of the month, or Sunday, the 27th of March, the whole company struck their tents, and renewed their journey. The bitter hostility of their enemies, who were lying in wait, obliged them to proceed slowly and with caution; so that they did not arrive at Jerusalem until the first day of the fifth month, or Tuesday, the 12th of July. On Friday, the 9th of the following September, the whole nation celebrated the feast of Trumpets, the beginning of their civil year.[104]

The attention of Ezra was first called to the disorderly conduct of the earlier colonists, who came with Zerubbabel. Priests, levites, princes, as well as multitudes of persons less distinguished, had formed marriages with the heathen around them, in direct violation of God's command. A proclamation

[103] The position of Ahava is not known. See Robinson's Calmet, Art. Ahava.

[104] Ezra viii.

was therefore made for the whole nation to assemble at Jerusalem, on the twentieth of the ninth month, or November the 26th; which, that year, fell on the Sabbath. On that day, Ezra stood up and addressed the people in such moving terms, that he brought them to a sense of their guilt and duty. A commission was appointed to examine the extent of the delinquency; and it occupied them from the first of the tenth month, Tuesday, the 6th of December, until the first day of the first month in the following year, Tuesday, the 4th of April. Notwithstanding the great numbers thus implicated, the law was rigidly enforced, and, even where they had children, they were obliged to put away their strange wives.[105] At the ensuing Passover, Monday, the 17th of April, "Ezra," says Justin Martyr, "said to the people, 'This Passover is our Saviour and our refuge; and if ye understand, and it cometh up into your hearts, that we shall humble him in a sign, and, after these things, shall trust in him, this place shall not be made desolate forever, saith the Lord of Hosts. But if ye do not believe in him, nor hearken to his preaching, ye shall become an object of derision to the Gentiles.'"[106]

A. J. P. 4256.
B. V. Æ. 458.

XI.

With regard to the affairs of the Jews during the next twelve years, history is silent and conjecture would be useless. If Zerubbabel was living in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, when Ezra arrived in Jerusalem, he had held the office of tirshatha seventy-seven years. We know that he had two sons, Abiud and Rhesa, from whom Joseph, and Mary the blessed mother of our Lord, were descended.[107] If he was

[105] Ezra ix. x.

[106] St. Just. Mart. Dial. cum. Tryph. Jud. 72. ed. Benedict. pp. 169—170. Justin charges the Jews with having erased these words from the book of Ezra. Lactantius, lib. iv. sec. 18, has the same passage: "Apud Esdramita Scriptum est: 'Et dixit Esdras ad populum: Hoc pascha salvator noster est et refugium nostrum. Cogitate et ascendat in cor vestrum, quoniam habemus humiliare eum in signo: et post hæc sperabimus in eum ne deseratur hic locus in æternum tempus, dicit Dominus Deus virtutum. Si non credideritis ei neque exaudieritis annuntiationem ejus, eritis derisio in gentibus.'"

[107] Comp. St. Matt. i. 13 with St. Luke iii. 27.

dead, and either of his sons held the office in his stead, it may be that the want of sufficient vigour in the civil administration had led to the disorders which Ezra came to repress. In the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, Hanani, the brother of Nehemiah, came, with other Jews, from Jerusalem to Susa. The accurate historian states that it was in the Jewish month Chisleu, which, in that year, began November 24th, and ended December 22d. The twentieth year of Artaxerxes began on Wednesday, the twentieth day of that Jewish month.[108] Nehemiah was the king's cupbearer, an office of high distinction, admitting the person who held it to a degree of familiarity with the sovereign which few enjoyed. Hanani and his companions gave such mournful accounts of the condition of Jerusalem, that Nehemiah, filled with grief, could not conceal his distress. For four months he continued to fast and pray, and mourn over the calamities of his nation; and so changed was his appearance, that when, in the following month of Nisan, it was his turn to be in waiting, the king perceived the change, and inquired the cause. On hearing it, he kindly encouraged Nehemiah to prefer his request; and, though evidently unwilling to spare him from his service, sent him as an extraordinary tirshatha, or governor, with full powers to build the walls of Jerusalem, and complete all the constructions of the city. This important commission must have been given in the month of March. Whatever may have been the original time allowed him, Nehemiah held the office of tirshatha twelve years, to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus.[109] During all this time, he accepted no salary, but, with the utmost disinterestedness, and with oriental magnificence and hospitality, devoted himself to the cares and duties of his government. Great were the difficulties overcome by his courage, wisdom, and energy. Beside the implacable hostility of the Samaritans, and other enemies

A. J. P. 4268. B. V. Æ. 446. Artax. 20.

A. J. P. 4269. B. V. Æ. 445. Artax. 20.

A. J. P. 4280. B. V. Æ. 434. Artax. 32.

[108] See Table of that year, Chron. Introd. p. 130.

[109] Neh. v. 14.

without, he had to contend against traitors within. Many of the nobles held correspondence with the foes of the nation, and the rulers themselves were not to be trusted. He therefore proceeded with the greatest secrecy and caution, riding around the ruined walls with a few trusty attendants at night, and making all his preparations for building before he disclosed his purposes. When he did disclose them, he was obliged constantly to be upon his guard. Neither he nor his attendants put off their clothes, excepting for the ablutions which the law commanded. The workmen whom he employed were constantly under arms. Everything was conducted as in the presence of an enemy, and in constant expectation of attack. By his enemies, no stratagem was left unemployed, first to intimidate him, and afterwards to secure his person. It is wonderful, therefore, and must be ascribed, as he constantly ascribes it, to the protecting care of God, that in less than two months, during which the workmen were actually employed in building, he was enabled to finish the walls on the twenty-fifth of Elul, or the 29th of August.[110] A. J. P. 4269. B. V. Æ. 445. Artax. 20.

Nor did his dangers and difficulties end here. According to the prediction of Daniel,[111] the city was now enclosed again with walls, on the ruins of its original circumference; but the broad place within was still unbuilt. Few private dwellings had been erected, and the population of the city was scattered and inconsiderable. Most of the tribes which had returned were settled in the cities, towns, and villages, of Judah and Benjamin, whence their forefathers had been carried captive, and were there unmolested by their enemies, because the chief object of animosity was the city and temple of Jerusalem. What has been already inferred from other circumstances, is now evidently confirmed, that the descendants of the principal inhabitants of Jerusalem had not even yet returned to it. Nehemiah was obliged to establish a

[110] Neh. i.—vi.

[111] Dan. ix. 25.

most vigilant police. He appointed his two brothers over this department, requiring that the gates should be barred, excepting in the heat of the day, until sunset. Watchmen were appointed at every gate; and, to relieve the settled inhabitants, one tenth of the inhabitants of the country were chosen, by lot, to come and reside in the holy city. With what reluctance they came, is shown by the remark that "the people blessed all the men that *willingly* offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem."[112]

How soon after the building of the walls they were dedicated, or consecrated, is not certain. It was a new consecration, to the service of the Almighty Jehovah, of a city which had been polluted by the heathen; and it therefore took place most probably at the beginning of their civil year, the feast of Trumpets, which fell on Thursday, the 4th of September. Crowds were seen going up from all the country round about. All the levites and singers were gathered together, and, on the day of the solemnity, were formed in two companies, with the priests and rulers and all the people present. Thus they marched upon the walls, the two companies in opposite directions from the gate of Zion, the city of David, ascending by stairs, and proceeding till they met at the opposite end of the city. The priests with their trumpets, the levites and singers with their instruments, the people with unnumbered voices. Perhaps they sang: "If Jehovah build not, in vain have the builders laboured. If Jehovah guard not, in vain are the watchmen vigilant."[113] A. J. P. 4269. B. V. Æ. 415. Artax. 20.

Having thus carefully provided for the safety of the city, the next object was, the due observance of the law, and the correction of moral abuses. During the captivity, the people had insensibly adopted the language of the Chaldæans, and had so far forgotten the pure Hebrew, that the law had become, in great measure, unintelligible. They therefore assembled in the street leading to the water gate, and applied

[112] Neh. xi. 2. [113] Ps. cxxvii.

to Ezra to read and explain it to them. Such is the origin of what is now called preaching; and of those paraphrases which, under the name of Chaldee Targums, afford the most conclusive evidence of faith in the future coming of the King Messiah. The interpretation of those prophetic declarations which Christians now apply to Christ was that of the ancient Jewish Church, until the Jews, by the rejection of the true Messiah, were led to seek for false and perverted meanings of the Holy Scriptures. Ezra stood upon an elevated platform, from which he could be seen and heard by the people. As he unrolled the law, the assembled hearers stood up to show their reverence for the manifestation of God's will. The levites, six on his right hand, and seven on his left, were so placed that they might interpret. The rites of the day were begun by an act of adoration and thanksgiving, uttered by Ezra the priest, to which the congregation responded Amen, Amen, lying prostrate with their faces to the ground, and lifting up their hands, as the external symbols of worshipping Jehovah. The law was then read slowly and distinctly; and, at every pause, the levites translated it into Chaldee, and commented on its meaning. The people, convicted in their hearts, began to mourn and weep for their transgressions. But as it was the feast of Trumpets, a season of joy and thanksgiving, Nehemiah the governor, and Ezra the priest, with the levites, stilled the people and checked their grief. Thus was the law read every day, until the tenth of the month, or the 13th of September, the day therein appointed for the confession of their sins, and expiation of them, by the sacrifices of the annual atonement; all designed to represent the one sacrifice on the cross.[111]

On the second day of reading, they had advanced to those parts of Leviticus and Deuteronomy in which the observance of the feast of Tabernacles was commanded. This feast, which continued from the fifteenth to the twenty-second of the first

[111] Neh. viii. 1—12.

month of the civil or the seventh month of the sacred year, had not been observed during the captivity, for the obvious reason that they no longer enjoyed the blessings it was designed to commemorate. It had, perhaps on account of the iniquity of the nation, been neglected long before; but now, certainly, it had fallen into such utter oblivion, that the duty of observing it seemed a new discovery. A proclamation was made that branches of olive, pine, myrtle, and palm, should be gathered, with those of other thick trees, to erect booths on the flat roofs and in the quadrangular courts of their houses. Thus, with great gladness, they sat under their booths from the 18th to the 25th of September. Ezra continued to read the law day by day, in the same manner as at first;[115] and this was a due preparation for a special fast on the 24th of that month, or the 27th of September.[116] It was a day of humiliation for their own sins and the sins of their forefathers; and twelve hours of that day were spent, one half in reading the law, the other in acts of contrition and supplication. These were followed by the special adoration and thanksgiving recorded by the historian. All was preparatory to a solemn written covenant, sealed and confirmed with an oath by Nehemiah himself, and by all the rulers of the congregation, with the priests and levites. It contained promises, under the penalty of a curse, — first, to walk in God's law given by Moses; secondly, not to intermarry with the people of the land; thirdly, to observe the Sabbath day, and not to buy or sell goods or provisions during such observance; fourthly, to keep the sabbatical year, and remit debts therein; fifthly, to pay the annual tax of the third of a shekel for the service of the temple; sixthly, to bring the first fruits of their ground, of their cattle, and of their sons, to the house of God; and, seventhly, to pay tithes to the levites for the maintenance of the sacred ministry.[117] The services of the temple were now arranged again exactly as they had been, "to praise and to

[115] Neh. viii. 13—18. [116] Neh. ix. [117] Neh. x.

give thanks, according to the commandment of David, the man of God." The levites, "with their brethren over against them, ward over against ward," sang in alternate response the praises of the God of Israel contained in the book of Psalms.[118]

Thus things continued during the high-priesthood of Eliashib and his successors, even "to the reign of Darius the Persian."[119] So great was the vigilance of Nehemiah, that all these arrangements were observed with due exactness until the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, when he returned to the Persian court.[120] A. J. P. 4280. B. V. Æ. 434. Artax. 32.

XII.

How long Nehemiah was absent, is uncertain; but the relaxation of discipline which followed his departure is sufficiently apparent from the prophecy of Malachi. The Jews, during their long captivity, had been effectually cured of their tendency to idolatry; but, by a reäction not uncommon, they had exchanged the heathen superstitions for irreligious libertinism and cold indifference. It was a secret spirit of unbelief, by which was produced a selfish, avaricious, and hard-hearted disposition, not only among the civil rulers and people, but also among the priests. To rebuke, and, if possible, to correct this disposition and its consequences, MALACHI, the last of the prophets, was sent.

After speaking of the great blessings bestowed on the posterity of Jacob, in preference to the posterity of Esau, the prophet first rebukes the priests for sacrificing the refuse of beasts, and offering the diseased, the halt, and the blind, upon the altar. In consequence of such abominations, he predicts that God would call into his Church the Gentiles throughout the world, who would bring unto him a pure oblation. He next reproves them for considering the continual service of

[118] Neh. xii. 22—24.

[119] Neh. xii. 22.

[120] This year coincided, according to Ptolemy, with the year of Nabonassar 315, which began Dec. 10, A. J. P. 4280, B. V. Æ. 434, and ended Dec. 8, A. J. P. 4281, B. V. Æ. 433. It was, therefore, partly in the third and partly in the fourth year of the eighty-sixth Olympiad; and Nehemiah probably did not leave Jerusalem until after the Passover in the year B. V. Æ. 433.

God as an irksome task, and threatens them with temporal calamities, because they had made void the covenant with Levi. In consequence of this, God had already made them base and despicable in the eyes of the people.

He then introduces the forsaken Jewish wives as crying to Jehovah. His answer in wrath is then given, threatening the nation with excision for having divorced the wives of their youth, and for having intermarried with the idolatrous people around them. The prophet proceeds, in his charges against the disorders of the times, to sum up in few words all that infidelity has ever advanced: "Every one that doeth evil is good in the eyes of Jehovah, and in them he delighteth;" and the scoffing inquiry, "Where is the God of judgment?" To these expressions of a profane and irreligious spirit, he replies: that Christ, the Angel-Jehovah, would come to His temple, preceded by an extraordinary messenger, to announce his coming; and that, far from delighting in the wicked, He would sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, to separate the evil from the righteous. From the first advent he glances to the second, reproving those who think it vain to serve Jehovah because He delays his judgments. He tells them that the final discrimination between the just and unjust would assuredly take place, and that Elijah the prophet would be sent to convert them, before the great and terrible day of Jehovah should come. With the prophecy of Malachi ended the canon of the Old Testament; and the spirit of prophecy was not again vouchsafed until he was born who came in the spirit and power of Elias, the great prophet, John the Baptist.

As there are no notes of time in the prophecy of Malachi, we cannot say with precision in what year it was uttered; but, as the evils which he reproves are exactly those which Nehemiah reproved after he returned from the court of Persia, it is probable that he flourished at the commencement of the reign of Darius Nothus. Artaxerxes Longimanus died in the last year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad; but his legitimate son, Xerxes, reigned only forty-five

A. J. P. 4290. B. V. Æ. 424. D. Nothus 1.

days; and Sogdianus, his murderer, six months and a half; at the end of which time he was slain by his brother Ochus. This is the monarch who assumed the name of Darius, and whom, from his being one of the illegitimate sons of Artaxerxes, the Greek historians distinguished by the additional name of Not'hus.[121] As Nehemiah was the cup-bearer of the deceased king, it is very probable that he returned to Jerusalem during the disorders occasioned by the assassination of Xerxes II. A. J. P. 4290. B. V. Æ. 424.

From the commission of Ezra, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, to the year we have now mentioned as the probable date of Nehemiah's return, was a period of thirty-five years. From the commission of Nehemiah, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, until the same date, was twenty-two years. Both may have lived, therefore, long after the year when Malachi prophesied; but, as the time of their deaths is uncertain, the succession of the high priests after the captivity to the subversion of the Persian empire, is of some aid in the calculation of probabilities. Among the genealogies in the book of Nehemiah, six generations of high priests are mentioned, connecting the descent of the sons of Aaron with the list in the first book of Chronicles.[122] The first Jeshua, or Jesus, accompanied Zerubbabel, and began the functions of his office in September of the same year. He was succeeded by his son Joiakim, during whose high-priesthood Ezra must have arrived in Jerusalem. Eliashib, the son of Joiakim, was already high priest, in the ninetieth year from Zerubbabel's return, and was foremost in building the walls, under Nehemiah.[123] The same Eliashib was still in the vigorous exercise of his office, when the last return of Nehemiah from Persia took place. During the absence of Nehemiah, he seems to have connected himself in marriage A. J. P. 4173. B. V. Æ. 556. Cyrus 1.

[121] His reign began, according to Ptolemy, with the year of Nabonassar 325, extending from Dec. 7, A. J. P. 4290, B. V. Æ. 424, to Dec. 6, A. J. P. 4291, B. V. Æ. 423.

[122] Comp. 1 Chron. vi. 4—15, with Neh. xii. 10, 11.

[123] Neh. iii. 1.

with Tobiah, the Ammonite; an event which could scarcely have happened under the strict discipline which prevailed previous to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, when Nehemiah went to Persia. Notwithstanding the express prohibition of the law of Moses, — a prohibition to which Ezra had recently called the attention of the people, — that no "Ammonite or Moabite should come into the congregation of God forever" [124] — the high priest himself had permitted the violation of it, and had given Tobiah a chamber in the temple belonging to the levites, the singers and the porters, which had been used as a storehouse for the sacred offerings. Incensed at such abominations and disorders, which had thus been countenanced in his absence, Nehemiah again applied himself to the work of reform. Tobiah was expelled with ignominy; and the desecrated chamber, having been purified, was restored to its original use. Other profanations are recorded, which show that the spirit of religion was expiring under the influence of a cold, and sordid, and sceptical indifference.

Nehemiah concludes his narrative with an act which must here be mentioned as among the few notes of time which he has given. A grandson of Eliashib, the high priest, and one of the sons of Joiada, the next in succession, had married the daughter of Sanballat, the Horonite, who was governor of Samaria when Nehemiah first arrived. The name of this priest is not given; but he was expelled the city for having thus defiled the priesthood.[125] As he was the son of Joiada, he was a younger brother of Jonathan, the father of Jaddua, who, as we shall soon see, was cotemporary with Alexander the Great. How is it possible that this priest, the brother of Jonathan, thus expelled by Nehemiah, could have been Manasses, the brother of Jaddua? Or how could the Sanballat who was governor of Samaria in the days of Nehemiah, be the same Sanballat who was sent into Samaria by Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia? They were evidently of successive generations, the latter Sanballat being

[124] Deut. xxiii. 3. [125] Neh. xiii. 28, 29.

probably the son of the former.[126] Yet upon this similarity of names has been founded the opinion that Nehemiah lived till the reign of the last Darius, and that when he speaks of "Darius the Persian," he means Darius Codomannus. It is far more probable that he means Darius Nothus, whose reign ended the second of December, in the Æra of Nabonassar 343. We have, at least, no proof of such great longevity, except the insertion of the name of Jaddua in the list of high priests.[127] Josephus gives no dates in his account of these six high priests; and even in the chronographical writings, long after the Christian epoch, to which Prideaux and Hales appeal, there are mistakes and discrepancies which show that they were the result of imperfect calculations.[128]

A. J. P. 4309. B. V. Æ. 405. D. Nothus 19.

[126] Josephus, Antiq. lib. xi. c. vii.

[127] Neh. xii. 11, 22.

[128] This will be evident, if the Chronicon Paschale, ed. Paris, p. 188, and Syncellus, p. 240, &c., be compared as follows:

High Priests.	Chron. Pasch. Years.	Chron. Pasch. Sum.	Syncellus. Years.	Syncellus. Sum.
1. Joshua	32		60	
2. Joakim	30	62	36	96
3. Eliashib	40	102	34	130
4. Joïada	16	138	36	166
5. Jonathan	32	174	32	198
6. Jaddua	20	194	20	218

Josephus places the death of Jaddua *not long after* that of Alexander the Great. Antiq. lib. xi. c. 8, 7. The death of Alexander, as will hereafter be seen, took place June 6, A. J. P. 4391, B. V. Æ. 323. Estimating that year as the last of Jaddua, the whole period of these six high priests would be about 214 years; *falling short* of the computation of Syncellus *four* years, and *exceeding* that of the Chronicon Paschale *twenty* years. We may adjust the intermediate dates, therefore, in the following manner. It is certain that Eliashib was high priest when Nehemiah first arrived at Jerusalem. Neh. c. iii. 1. This was exactly ninety-one years from the return of Zerubbabel, when the high-priesthood of Joshua began. We must, therefore, with the Chronicon Paschale, allow thirty years to Joakim, and, with Syncellus, sixty years to Joshua. Eliashib was still the high priest in the last recorded act of Nehemiah, chap. xiii. 4—28. If his pontificate continued forty years, the sum of the three pontificates is that of Syncellus, 130 years. The Chronicon Paschale corrects its own mistake as to Joïada; for the difference of the sums 102 and 138 is 36, which agrees with Syncellus. In the pontificates of Jonathan and Jaddua, both lists agree. Thus adjusted, the sum of the whole is that of Syncellus, 218 years. If we now consider the reigns of the Persian monarchs, we find that from the first year of Cyrus to the last of Darius Nothus was 132 years, or two years after the death of Eliashib, A. J. P. 4309, B. V. Æ. 405. Consequently the high-priesthood of Joïada began A. J. P. 4308, B. V. Æ. 406, and ended A. J. P. 4343, B. V. Æ. 371. The pontificate of Jonathan ended A. J. P. 4375, B. V. Æ. 339. Jaddua succeeded him A. J. P. 4376, B. V. Æ. 338, and died A. J. P. 4395, B. V. Æ. 319. He was, therefore, contemporary with Arses, Darius Codomannus, and Alexander the Great. This is in perfect accordance with the Persian history. The question now occurs, could Nehemiah have lived till Jaddua became high priest, or was the name of Jaddua inserted in his list by anticipation? From the twentieth of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the death of Ochus, both years inclusive, were 107 years. We are igno-

An atrocious event is recorded by Josephus as occurring in the pontificate of Jonathan, the father of Jaddua. He relates that, after the death of Eliashib and Joïada, whom he calls Judas, John, his son, evidently the Jonathan, or Johanan, of Nehemiah, became high priest; on whose account, Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes Mnemon, polluted the temple, and imposed a heavy tribute upon the Jews.[129] The probability is, that, on account of the old age of Nehemiah, Artaxerxes had determined to annex Judæa to the province of Syria, which he had sent Bagoses to govern. Bagoses became intimate with Jesus, or Jeshua, who may have been that son of Joïada whom Nehemiah had expelled from Jerusalem for having married the daughter of Sanballat. Bagoses and Jesus conspired to depose Jonathan from the pontificate. This produced a quarrel between the brothers. Jesus intruded himself into the temple, and so exasperated his brother that the high priest killed him on the spot. Taking advantage of this dreadful crime, Bagoses and his Persians entered the temple by force, and inflicted a punishment on the whole nation, which continued seven years.

rant of Nehemiah's age in the twentieth of Artaxerxes; but assuming that it was 21, he must have been, at the accession of Jaddua, nearly 130 years old. God may have prolonged his life to that great age, as he did that of Mordecai, for the benefit of the chosen people; and he may, in the last year of his life, have inserted the name of Jaddua in the list he had given of the high priests. However this may have been, his history does not extend beyond the pontificate of Eliashib; and if, with Syncellus, we allow only 34 years to his high-priesthood, we cannot place the termination of Nehemiah's *history* later than A. J. P. 4303, B. V. Æ. 411. If, with the Chronicon Paschale, we allow forty years to Eliashib, it might be six years later. But, even if this be allowed, *the history was probably not later than the year to which we assign it, the fourteenth of Darius Nothus.* As, in the days of Samuel, the weakness of the high priest Eli suffered the wickedness of his sons, so, in the days of Eliashib, his infirmities may have tolerated the violation of God's law by his grandson. The resolution of Nehemiah, in expelling the culprit, checked the disorders. That he lived long after this, and died at a very advanced age, may be inferred from chap. xii. 22 of his history. The levites are there mentioned, from Eliashib to Jaddua, and "the priests to the reign of Darius the Persian." He refers, in the next verse, to the Book of the Chronicles, the list of which ended with the pontificate of Johanan, or Joïada. He must have given the last finish to his history towards the close of his life, forty years, at least, after the latest event he has recorded. With regard to the prophecy of Malachi, the first two chapters relate to the times which ended with the fourteenth of Darius Nothus. The last two are predictions of events which occurred long after. The canon of prophetic inspiration was then closed, and continued so until the coming of John the Baptist.

[129] Jos. Antiq. xi. c. vii.

XIV.

The general favour with which the Jews were treated by the Persian monarchs, and the continual wars which subsequently engrossed the attention of Artaxerxes Mnemon and Ochus, combined to produce, at Jerusalem, a period of tranquillity, unmarked by any notable incident. Those times concerning which history is most silent are often the most happy and prosperous; and this would have been entirely so, if a spirit of piety and obedience to God's will had uniformly and generally prevailed. But the same tendency to ally themselves with the heathens around them led, continually, to similar disorders. Manasses, a brother of the high priest, Jaddua, married Nikaso, the daughter of Sanballat, whom Darius Codomannus, the last Persian king, had sent to be the satrap of Samaria. Sanballat had willingly given his daughter to Manasses, supposing that he should thereby conciliate the affections of the Jews. But his expectations, as the event showed, were utterly unfounded. The elders of the Jews, indignant that a brother of the high priest, entitled to that office if Jaddua should die without male issue, had contracted a foreign marriage, commanded Manasses to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar. The high priest himself, and all the people, united with them, and Manasses was ejected from the sanctuary. Love and ambition now struggled in his heart; and the wily Sanballat had the address to reconcile these contending passions, and turn their united force upon the tottering integrity of his son-in-law. He promised, if Manasses would continue faithful to his wife, to build a temple upon Mount Gerizim, to make him its high priest, and to obtain the assent and authority of the king, Darius. This arrangement induced many of the priests and other Israelites, who were implicated in similar marriages, to join in the revolt. Sanballat furnished them with money, houses, lands, and instruments for cultivation; and thus a branch of the

family of Aaron, and a colony of the Hebrew nation, became united with the Samaritans.

At this juncture occurred the victories of Alexander the Great, the death of Darius, and the utter subversion of the Persian empire. Sanballat joined Alexander, at the siege of Tyre, with 8000 men, and took that opportunity to obtain from him permission to build the temple. He then applied himself vigorously to the work; and, having accomplished it, Manasses was constituted high priest; a service, in imitation of that of Jerusalem, was begun; and thus a schism was consummated, which still continued when our Lord said to the woman of Samaria, "Ye worship ye know not what." Though they possessed the Aaronic priesthood, the sacrifices were not offered according to God's appointment. "Salvation was of the Jews." If whole hecatombs were slain on the mountain of Samaria, the life-blood was spilt in vain. The temple at Jerusalem was the sole type of His body who offered himself a willing sacrifice for the sins of the whole world.

The providence of God brings good out of that which is essentially evil. Manasses took with him a copy of the law, written in the ancient Hebrew character, and, probably, of great antiquity. This was read continually in the temple of Gerizzim, was transcribed, and thus multiplied; and a text, wholly independent of the Jewish, has been handed down even to our own times. The circumstances of the schism prevented all further communication; so that no comparison between them was made until the fourth century of the Christian Æra. The knowledge of the Samaritan text was again buried in oblivion, until the seventeenth century, when it was made known to the critics of the Paris and London Polyglotts. The labours of Kennicott and De Rossi have proved, most triumphantly, that the canon of Holy Scripture, as it was collected and completed by Ezra, and the Pentateuch preserved by the Samaritans, have been transcribed with an accuracy far superior to all other books; and we cannot but adore the

wisdom and goodness of the Almighty, which made even the crimes and the sinful passions of mankind the instruments of unimpeachable evidence to the truth of HIS HOLY WORD.[130]

In the review of this period, it may not be uninteresting to observe that the inspired records of divine wisdom, previous to the incarnation, received their seal and completion when the boasted philosophies of the Persians and the Greeks were either in their infancy, or, as yet, unborn. The age of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, was that of Darius Hystaspis. Socrates was born in the sixteenth year of Xerxes; Plato, in the thirty-fifth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; and Aristotle, in the twenty-first year of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

[130] See the History of the Hebrew and Samaritan texts in Horne's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 33—45, 7th ed. Lond. 1834.

CHAPTER II.

THE GRECIAN MONARCHY TO ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

COMPREHENDING ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHT YEARS, FROM THE RISE OF ALEXANDER, B. V Æ. 334, TO THE PROFANATION OF THE TEMPLE, AND THE SUBSEQUENT CRUELTIES AGAINST THE FAITHFUL, B. V. Æ. 167.

I. Vision of the ram and the goat. — Alexander. — Battle of the Granicus. II. Progress of Alexander, and operations of the Persian army under Memnon. III. Battle of the Issus. IV. Passage through Syria and Phœnicia to invade Egypt. — Siege of Tyre. — Gaza taken by storm. — Advance upon Jerusalem. — Interview with the high priest Jaddua. — Foundation of Alexandria. — Subsequent events to the battle of Arbela. — Alexander dies at Babylon. — The great horn of the goat broken. V. Dark and difficult period of history. — Distribution of Alexander's empire. — Perdiccas, administrator. — Antipater, the same. — New division. — Polysperchon. — Death of Philip Aridæus, and of Olympias. VI. Cassander marries the daughter of Philip Amyntas, and aspires to the throne of Macedon. — Antigonus. — Terms offered by Alexander's other generals rejected. — War between Antigonus and them. — Short-lived peace and its conditions. — Death of the young Alexander and his mother Roxana. — With the death of Hercules, the son of Alexander by Barsine, the race of the conqueror extinct. VII. Rise of the four conspicuous horns, or kingdoms. — Antigonus proclaims himself and his son Demetrius kings. — Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, do the same. — Battle of Ipsus, and Antigonus slain. — Demetrius, a soldier of fortune. — The empire of Alexander thus reduced to four potent kingdoms. VIII. Ptolemy Soter gets possession of Jerusalem, in the pontificate of Onias, the son of Jaddua. — Onias succeeded by Simon the Just. — Character of him by Jesus, the son of Sirach. — Canon of Scripture settled. — Accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus. — Demetrius Phalareus. — Museum at Alexandria begun. — Embassy to the high priest Eleazar for a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures. — Greek translation. — Reflections on that event. IX. Temporal condition of the Church prosperous. — Onias II. — Civil power of the high priesthood began with Jaddua. — Death of Ptolemy Euergetes. — Subsequent degeneracy of the Lagidæ. X. The Seleucidæ, the Asian horn. — Æra of the Seleucidæ, or Syro-Macedonians, called by Jews and Arabs the Æra of Contracts. — Different dates of its commencement. — Foundation of Seleucia hastens the downfall of Babylon. — Antiochus Soter succeeds Seleucus. — His son, Antiochus II., poisoned by Laodice. — She murders Berenice and her son. — Question whether these events were foretold in Dan. xi. — Laodice put to death by Ptolemy Euergetes. — Seleucus Callinicus. — High-sounding but empty titles. — Seleucus Ceraunus. — Antiochus the Great. — Sacrilege of Ptolemy Philopator. — It predisposes the Jews towards Antiochus. — They declare for him, and receive him in Jerusalem. XI. Seleucus, his son, the first oppressor of the Jews. — Heliodorus sent to plunder the temple. — This "vile person" murdered his master and seized the crown. — Antiochus Epiphanes. — His character. — His sister Cleopatra ruled Egypt. — On her death, war broke out between her son, Ptolemy Philometor, and Antiochus. — He invests Alexandria, but is checked by the Romans. — Turns his rage upon the Jews.

XII. The Jewish history from the sacrilege of Heliodorus. — Onias III. — Antiochus Epiphanes the first heathen monarch who bartered sacerdotal functions for money, and changed the succession in God's Church. — The causes traced higher. — The high priesthood connected on the mother's side with the family of David. — The union of temporal with spiritual power vitiates the priestly character. — Jason and Menelaus. XIII. History of Antiochus continued. — His outrages at Jerusalem. — Great numbers sacrifice to idols. — Temple polluted. — Cruelties of the king. — The aged Eleazar, and the woman with her seven sons. — Faith in the resurrection. — Antiochus dies. — The forerunner of Antichrist.

I.

FIFTEEN years before the fall of Babylon, and about 220 years before its accomplishment, a vision was seen by the prophet Daniel, of most terrific and astonishing import. He had been sent, upon the king's business, to Susa, or Shushan, which, long afterwards, became the winter residence of the Persian kings. It stood on the further bank of the river *Ulai*, otherwise called the *Eulæus*, and the *Kho-asp*. Its waters were carried wherever the Persian monarchs were; for they would drink of no other. Susa is now in ruins; but the river still rolls its current, discharging itself, by many mouths, into the Persian Gulf; and now, from a modern place on its banks, bearing the name of *Karun*.[1] On that bank of this river, Daniel saw standing a magnificent ram, with two high horns, but one higher than the other, though it sprang the latest from his forehead. With these horns he pushed westward, and southward, and northward, subduing all the beasts around him, until he became exceeding powerful. But, suddenly, a goat was seen coming from the west, which cleared the river at a bound, and rushed with fury upon him. In the midst of the goat's forehead was one great horn, which smote and brake in pieces both the horns of the ram, overturned his body in the dust, and stamped upon it. Nothing could resist his power; but when he became strong, the great horn was suddenly broken,

A. J. P. 4161. B. V. Æ. 553.

[1] D'Anville Geog. Anc. Persis.

and, in its stead, came up four smaller, but all of them conspicuous horns, toward the four winds of heaven. One of these horns produced another, small at first, but growing so immeasurably that it reached and cast down even the stars of heaven. While the prophet was gazing with perplexity, he heard the voice, as it were, of a man, between the banks of Ulai, commanding the angel Gabriel to explain the vision. The ram was the Medo-Persian empire; the goat, the empire of the Greeks. The one great horn was Alexander the Great; and when, by his death, it was suddenly broken, there sprang up in its stead four conspicuous horns, the four kingdoms into which the Grecian dominion became divided. To the commencement of this third empire our history has now arrived.

Alexander, the son of Philip of Macedon, was chosen general-in-chief of the Greeks at the age of twenty. His youth, and the jealousy of the Lacedæmonians especially, prevented the immediate acknowledgment of this appointment; but in the third year of the one hundred and eleventh Olympiad, having subdued or terrified all his Grecian enemies, he crossed the Hellespont, now called the Dardanelles, early in the spring, and landed on the Troad, with about 30,000 infantry, and 5000 horse, leaving in Europe, as a body, or reserve, under the command of Antipater, only 12,000 of the one, and 1500 of the other.[2] With this inconsiderable force he undertook the war against the innumerable hosts of Persia.

A. J. P. 4380. B. V. Æ. 334.

A. J. P. 4381. B. V. Æ. 333.

From the celebrated Mount Ida, but on the opposite side to the Simois and the Scamander, flows a torrent into the Sea of Marmora, now known by the name of Ousvola, and supposed by D'Anville to have been the Granicus.[3] Its channel, being unequally worn, was in some places deep, and in others fordable; and its banks were steep, rough, and uneven.

[2] There is some difference, as to numbers, in the accounts of Diodorus Siculus and Arrian; but I follow the latter, as having derived his account from the narratives of two of Alexander's generals, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Aristobulus.

[3] D'Anville, Mysia, vol. i. p. 288.

Alexander was not far distant from this stream, when his scouts informed him that a numerous Persian army was drawn up in order of battle on its eastern bank. The historians differ as to the amount of their force. Arrian says there were 20,000 horse, and about as many foot-soldiers, who were foreign mercenaries.[4] Diodorus Siculus, on the contrary, states that the cavalry were more than 10,000, and the whole number of infantry not less than 100,000.[5] The infantry were posted on the heights above the cavalry, who lined the bank. Both armies surveyed each other in silence. Parmenio advised Alexander to refresh his troops before he attempted to cross. "I have crossed the Hellespont," he replied, "and I should be ashamed to be stopped by a rivulet." So saying, he leaped upon his horse, and plunged into the stream, calling upon his companions, as brave men, to follow him. He himself led the right wing, with the clang of trumpets, and the Macedonian war-cry. The Persians also raised loud shouts; and the infantry discharged their arrows with such effect that many a horse and many a rider were wounded in the river. By the strength of the current, they crossed obliquely, and thus discovered the fordable places for the infantry. A terrible struggle ensued upon the bank, which was muddy and slippery. The Macedonians were at first pushed back into the water; but Alexander rushed forward, conspicuous by his plumed helmet, and gained the shore. Here he was attacked by two noble Persians, and owed his life to his faithful follower, Clitus. But, notwithstanding the advantage of their position, and the fearful disparity of numbers, the Persian army was completely routed. The loss on the Persian side is variously stated from 1000 to 2000 horse; and, according to Diodorus, more than 10,000 infantry were left dead on the field, and 20,000 were made prisoners. Of the Macedonians, twenty-five only were killed at the first

[4] Arrian, de Exped. Alex. lib. i. ed. H. Steph. p. 14.

[5] Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. 19. Ed. Wesseling, tom. ii. p. 174.

onset, and, after the battle, sixty of the horse and thirty of the foot soldiers were missing.

II.

Having refreshed his troops, Alexander marched upon Sardis, the key of the Persian empire, which surrendered without a blow. Magnesia and Tralles followed the example. Alcimalus was sent to free the Æolian and Ionian cities, still in the power of the Persians, while the victorious general proceeded to Ephesus. Here he stopped to sacrifice to Diana, and the next day advanced upon Miletus, whither Memnon and the fugitive Persians had fled, from the disastrous conflict on the Granicus. The city was besieged, and its walls battered, until breaches were formed. The inhabitants then surrendered, and most of the Persians were captured. Memnon and a portion of them let themselves down from the walls and escaped. Alexander here burned his ships, as being expensive and useless, and to cut off from his soldiers all hopes of retreat. He then moved into Caria; and, all the towns between Ephesus and Halicarnassus being taken at sight, he pitched his camp within five stadia, or less than three quarters of a mile, from the latter city, the celebrated residence of the former kings of Caria. Memnon had retired thither from Miletus, and having sent his wife and children to Darius, as pledges of his fidelity, prepared to sustain a long and obstinate siege. But nothing could resist the furious assaults of the Macedonians. Memnon was forced to retire to the island of Cos, and Alexander became master of the whole country, from the Upper Phrygia to Cilicia.

In the following Olympic year, Darius sent Memnon a large sum of money, and appointed him the commander-in-chief of the war. It was now rumoured that he was about to invade Eubœa; and many of the Greeks, among whom were the Spartans, determined to take part with the Persians. But, at this juncture, Memnon died; and Darius, having no able general to take his place, determined

A. J. P. 4381.
B. V. Æ. 333.
Olym. cxi. 4.

to command in person. He assembled a large army, amounting, says Diodorus, to more than 400,000 foot, and not less than 100,000 horse. Arrian makes the whole number 600,000. With these he advanced from Babylon towards Cilicia, taking with him his mother, his wife, a son, and two daughters, as if confident of victory, and disposed to hazard all in a single combat.

Meanwhile Alexander, having conquered all the country around the river Halys, advanced upward towards its source, and entered Cilicia Campestris by a gorge in the ranges of Mount Taurus, by which that province was separated from Cappadocia. There are three rough and narrow passes, then called pylæ or gates, near one of which the Cydnus rises, remarkable not so much for its breadth, as for the purity, placidity and coldness, of its waters. About a mile from its mouth, stands Tarsus, the chief city of the province. Thither Alexander rapidly descended, and arrived just in time to save it from ruin; the Persians having set fire to it, that its wealth might not fall into his hands. Here, from imprudently bathing, while he was heated, in the cold Cydnus, he was seized with a severe illness, which nearly proved fatal. Abandoned by all his physicians but one, whom he was warned to shun as a traitor, he presented him the letter, while he drank his potion. The physician proved faithful, and in four days' time he was out of danger. In this condition, aware of the approach of Darius with an overwhelming force, he sent Parmenio to occupy the passes, and with an insinuating eloquence which he knew well how to use, he prepared his little band to encounter the shock of battle.

Darius had advanced through the plains of Mesopotamia, and had pitched his camp at Sochos, two days' march from the pylæ of Mount Amanus. The long delay occasioned by Alexander's illness, and the various movements he had made for the subjugation of Cilicia, led the Persian monarch to believe that his enemy designed to stop there, and not to

hazard an engagement. Contrary, therefore, to the advice of Amyntas, who had deserted from Alexander, and knew his purposes, Darius forsook an open and spacious plain, where he could have displayed his immense army to advantage, crossed Mount Amanus near the pylæ, and marched upon Issus, on the gulf of the Mediterranean, which took its name from that city. "As if some deity," says Arrian, "drove him into that region, where neither his cavalry, nor the multitude of his spearmen and archers, could be of any use. Thus easily did he give up the victory to Alexander." With still more correct language did Alexander himself speak of it, when he exhorted his army to be of good courage. "God," said he, (ὁ θεὸς,) "is fighting for you. It is God who has led Darius to leave a spacious plain, and bring his forces into these narrow defiles, fitted for the Macedonian phalanx, but useless for the Persian multitude." It was, indeed, directed by that God who sways the events of this world, and pulls down or sets up kingdoms, according to his own good pleasure. "It was necessary," adds the historian, "that the government of Asia should be taken from the Persians and given to the Macedonians, as it passed from the Medes to the Persians, and from the Assyrians to the Medes." A heathen could be thus impressed by the marks of God's sovereignty in events similar to those which we now see, and vainly ascribe to accident, or to human sagacity, rather than to divine agency.

III.

The battle was fought near the river Pinarus, on a field, according to D'Anville, which is now named *Kenisat-asoud*, or the Black Church.[6] Alexander, who had marched by night, with his whole army, to occupy the pylæ anew, descended, at the dawn of day, in narrow files, till he came where the mountains diverged. He then displayed his forces, his right

[6] Comp. of Anc. Geog. vol. i. p. 351.

wing toward the mountains, and his left toward the sea. The horse were placed in the rear of the foot; and as soon as he came to open ground, all were arranged for battle. The left wing, in which the Macedonian phalanx was placed, was commanded by Parmenio, with strict orders not to leave the sea, nor suffer that flank to be turned by the Persians. Darius, on being informed that Alexander was approaching in battle array, attempted to draw out his immense forces on the left bank of the Pinarus. That he might be the less encumbered, he sent 30,000 of his horse, and 20,000 of his light-armed troops, across the river. He then placed the heavy-armed Grecian mercenaries on his right wing, to oppose the Macedonian phalanx, under Parmenio, supporting them on either side with 60,000 Cardaci, or Khoords, who were also heavy-armed. Towards the mountains, his left wing, opposite to Alexander's right, had only 20,000 men; the ground he occupied not admitting more, and a part of these being turned to the south, on account of the curvature of the mountains. Alexander, perceiving that his main force was directed against Parmenio, sent the Thessalian horse to him, with directions that they should conceal themselves behind the Macedonian phalanx. The rest of the Persian army, both light and heavy armed, were placed in battalions, according to their respective nations, being crowded together in the rear, where they could be of little or no use. Darius himself, in conformity with an established law of the Persians, was in the foremost rank of the centre; Alexander, with a chosen body of horse, led the right wing of his army.

Both advanced in silence, within the cast of a javelin, when the Persians discharged such an immense shower of arrows, that, by collision, their force was weakened, and they did little injury. Now the surrounding hills reëchoed with the shouts of the combatants; but the voices of the Grecian army were overpowered by the throats of more than half a

million of their enemies. Alexander, disregarding the Persians' left wing, instantly rushed, with all his strength, against the person of Darius. For his protection, the Persians gathered towards the centre; and the bravery of both armies rolled the tide of battle hither and thither, like the surges of the swelling or retiring ocean. Many of note were killed on both sides. Alexander himself was wounded in the thigh. The horses of Darius, maddened by many wounds, and frightened by the heaps of dead bodies around them, became unmanageable, and nearly bore the king into the thickest of the fight. Contrary to Persian etiquette, he was forced to seize the reins himself. Another chariot was brought by his servants; and, in passing from one to the other, some confusion arose, which destroyed his presence of mind. The Persians, seeing their king terrified, began to give way, and the rout soon became general. Those who attempted to escape by the narrow passes, which admitted not more than four abreast, were crowded together, trampled under foot, and stifled, by one another. Those who fled by the plain saved themselves from the charges of the cavalry, in the neighbouring friendly cities. A great portion were cut down, and the ground was covered with heaps of slain. The Persians' loss is estimated by Diodorus at 100,000 infantry, and not less than 10,000 horse; while the Macedonians had only 300 of their infantry killed, and half that number of their cavalry.

Night put an end to the conflict. The Macedonians dropped their pursuit, and occupied themselves with plunder. Immense treasures were found about the royal tents, and the mother, wife and children, of Darius, with innumerable other ladies of rank, were taken prisoners. Alexander himself returned from the pursuit of Darius about midnight. The Persian monarch, with not more than four thousand followers, took refuge in Thapsacus, hastening to place the Euphrates between himself and his conqueror. Such was the battle of Issus. It was fought in January, says Arrian, when Nicos-

tratus was Archon of Athens. Diodorus calls him Nicocrates, and places the event in the fourth year of the one hundred and eleventh Olympiad. It must, therefore, have been fought at the beginning of the next year. A. J. P. 4382. B. V. Æ. 332.

The treasure found in the king's tent amounted, says Arrian, *only* to three thousand talents; for Darius had deposited at Damascus the greater part of his money, and all that could be considered as superfluous. Parmenio was, therefore, sent to take it, while Alexander remained on the sea-coast of Syria, to subdue the maritime cities to his obedience.

IV.

Having refreshed his army, Alexander determined to invade Egypt, and for that purpose came into Phœnicia. Tyre was the only city which refused to receive him, and he sat himself down to reduce it. We have seen that when Nebuchadnezzar besieged the old or continental city for thirteen years, the inhabitants built a new city upon an island, distant half a mile from the main land. Here, by their commerce, they had accumulated great riches; and now, relying on their insular position, they replied to the summons of Alexander with insolence and scorn. They sent, however, their old men, with their wives and children, to Carthage, and prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity. Overcoming incredible difficulties, Alexander built a causeway from the main land to the island, with the ruins of old Tyre, and, at the end of seven months, took the city, destroyed it entirely, and treated all the inhabitants who had not escaped with unsparing severity. According to Diodorus, more than 13,000 captives were sold as slaves, and not less than 10,000 young men were hung. But Arrian and Plutarch are silent as to this last act of cruelty. This destruction of Tyre took place in the first year of the one hundred and twelfth Olympiad, about the month of August or September. It was the final accomplishment of the Almighty A. J. P. 4382. B. V. Æ. 332.

doom, pronounced by the mouth of Ezekiel, on the 30th of December, B. V. Æ. 588, four years before Nebuchadnezzar began the siege of old or continental Tyre, and the two hundred and fifty-seventh year before the utter destruction of new or insular Tyre by Alexander. If the prophecy respecting Tyre, in the ninth chapter of Zechariah, was uttered by that prophet, it cannot have been earlier than B. V. Æ. 518, fifty-three years *after* the destruction of old Tyre, and consequently could apply only to the *insular* city. "Though Tyre hath built her a fortress, and hath heaped up silver as dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets; *behold, Jehovah will cast her out, and will smite her strength in the sea, and she shall be devoured by fire.*"[7] Notwithstanding this calamity, the city was again built, but never rose again to her ancient splendour. Once the most famous for her magnificent tissues and extensive commerce, "the mart of nations," as she was called by the prophet, she gradually sank, as her successors, Alexandria and Venice, have sunk, to make way for the commercial cities of more modern times. Maundrell, at the close of the seventeenth century, and Bruce, in the last half of the eighteenth, saw only a visible argument how God had fulfilled his word. "Passing by Tyre," says the latter, "from curiosity only, I came to be a mournful witness of the truth of that prophecy, — that Tyre, the queen of nations, should be a rock for fishers to dry their nets on."[8]

While Alexander was besieging Tyre, he sent messengers to the Jewish high priest, demanding subsidies both of men and provisions. But, much to his honour, Jaddua continued faithful to Darius, notwithstanding his calamitous defeat at Issus; while Sanballat and the Samaritans declared for the victor. Irritated by the fidelity of the Jews to the Persian

[7] Zech. ix. 3, 4. Abp. Newcome's trans. For a thorough examination of the fate of Tyre, see Bp. Newton's excellent dissertation xi., in his work on the Prophecies.

[8] Maundrell's Journey, Sat. March 20, 1697. Bruce's Travels, Introduction, p. 59. 4to. ed.

government, Alexander meditated and threatened revenge. He marched from Tyre to Gaza, which, after two months' siege, he took by storm, and then advanced rapidly upon Jerusalem. Terrified by his approach, Jaddua first offered prayers and sacrifices; and then, being warned, says Josephus, in a dream, threw open the gates, and went in procession on the road leading down to Gaza, to meet the Macedonian monarch. The high priest was clothed in purple and scarlet and fine linen, the garments of gladness and beauty, with his mitre on his head, bearing the inscription, "Holiness to Jehovah;" while the priests wore only the white linen dresses appropriated by divine command to seasons of humiliation. The inhabitants followed in lengthened train, and also in white garments. As soon as Alexander met them, he descended from his horse, and, to the amazement of his army, prostrated himself before the high priest. Parmenio alone ventured to ask him why he, who was worshipped by all others, should worship the high priest of the Jews? "I worship not him," replied Alexander, "but God, who has honoured him with the high-priesthood; for while I was at Dius, in Macedonia, I saw him in a dream in this very form, promising me that I should conquer Asia, and exhorting me not to delay." Having said this, he gave his hand to the high priest, and marched with him to the city.[9] Here was shown to him the book of the prophet Daniel, and especially the prophecy in the eighth chapter respecting the subversion by himself of the Persian monarchy. The conqueror, pleased and elated by the discovery that the God of the Hebrews had promised him the empire he coveted, now asked the high priest to make any request which it was in his power to grant. "Only that we may be permitted to live according to the laws of our fathers, and that we may be exempt from tribute every

[9] Joseph. Ant. lib. xi. cap. viii. § 3—5. Having no other authority for this but Josephus, some have doubted its truth; but, making all due allowance for his partialities, and love of the marvellous, the main facts of the story seem credible. The heathen historians are silent respecting the Jews, whom they hated.

seventh year." This moderate petition was immediately granted, and Alexander, as the end of the year was now approaching, hastened his march to Egypt. There he founded Alexandria, and afterwards proceeded into the deserts of Lybia, to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon. On the return of spring, and before the annual inundation of the Nile, he returned to Syria, with a view of meeting Darius, who had, in the mean time, collected an immense army. Its numbers are estimated by Diodorus at 800,000 foot and 200,000 horse, besides an immense multitude of scythe-armed chariots. Even this mighty force was dispersed like chaff before the wind, in the battle fought at Gaugamela, a village in the neighbourhood of Arbela. This decisive engagement, in which Darius lost his crown and his life, was fought, as may be gathered from Plutarch, on the first of October. A. J. P. 4383. B. V. Æ. 331.

It is unnecessary to continue further the history of Alexander. Suffice it to say, that, after sullying his victories, and his hitherto unspotted fame, by cruelty, intemperance, and debauch, he died at Babylon, at the age of thirty-two years and eight months, when he had reigned twelve years and eight months. All the historians agree that he died in the first year of the one hundred and fourteenth Olympiad.[10] According to the diary quoted by Plutarch, he breathed his last on the 28th day of the Syro-Macedonian month Dæsius, which corresponded with the Jewish month Sivan and the Attic Thargelion. It must, therefore, have taken place on Wednesday, the 6th of June. The great horn in the goat's forehead was broken. A. J. P. 4391. B. V. Æ. 323. Alexander 13.

V.

We have now arrived at a period of history dark and difficult: dark, from the paucity of historians and the absence of contemporary writers; difficult, because the threads of which it is woven are to be collected, compared, and assorted,

[10] See Chron. Introd. Tables, p. 133.

by the careful investigator of truth. Two of Alexander's generals recorded his actions from day to day; but, after his death, all his chieftains were too much occupied with intestine broils to think of history. Alexander had suddenly died in the midst of gigantic preparations for the subjugation of the west, even to the Columns of Hercules or Straits of Gibraltar, the then supposed barriers of the habitable world. He had named no successor, and had even intimated, if the report of some be true, that he foresaw the deluge which, after his death, was to overwhelm his empire. But he gave his ring, as he expired, to Perdiccas; and this was considered as sufficient testimony that he confided to him the care of regulating the succession. Accordingly, a council of the military chieftains was called. Arridæus, a natural son of Philip, was placed as a pageant king upon the empty throne; and Perdiccas proceeded to distribute the vast empire, acquired by Alexander, under nearly thirty of the ambitious leaders, who then submitted to him as the regent of a government vast in extent, but without affinity or cohesion. At the end of three years, Perdiccas was killed; and Antipater, the father of Cassander, was chosen to the vacant office of administrator. A new arrangement was now made of the satrapies; but Antipater died about two years after his appointment; and, by his nomination, Polysperchon, the oldest and the worst of Alexander's generals then living, became administrator. As soon as the death of Antipater was made known in Asia, Antigonus, to whom he had given plenary powers as general-in-chief in that region, aspired to become its sovereign; but Eumenes, who had been the private secretary of Alexander, was faithful to the royal family; and, being appointed by Polysperchon their general in Asia, endeavoured, with consummate skill, to counteract the designs of Antigonus. Treachery, however, did that which force could not; and in the first year of the one hundred and sixteenth Olympiad, Eumenes was delivered a prisoner to Antig- A. J. P. 4398—4399. B. V. Æ. 316—315.

onus, by the silver-shield Macedonian cavalry, and by his orders was put to death.[11]

In the mean time, Polysperchon, who, from his ill success at the battle of Megalopolis, had fallen greatly into contempt, brought from Epirus, Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, and with her the young Alexander, her grandson. As soon as she entered Macedon, the soldiers, reverencing her person as the mother of their victorious king, delivered Philip Aridæus into her hands; and he was put to death, by her orders, when he had reigned six years and four months.[12] Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and a hundred of his chosen friends, such as she most feared, were put to death by her orders. Cassander himself was at that time besieging Tegea, in the Peloponnesus; but as soon as he heard of the return of Olympias and the death of Philip Aridæus, he raised the siege, and returned with his forces into Macedonia. Olympias, upon this, appointed a general to conduct the war against him, and shut herself up with Roxana, Alexander, and other members of the royal family, in Pydna, a city of Macedonia, on the Thermæan Gulf. It was an imprudent step; but she hoped to receive supplies by sea from the Greeks and Macedonians. Cassander advanced to besiege her by sea and land. Reduced to the utmost extremities of famine, desertions taking place continually, and the inhabitants and soldiers dying in heaps around her, she attempted to escape, with her family, by sea, in a quinquireme galley. The vessel was captured; and Olympias, Roxana, and the young Alexander, became the prisoners of Cassander. Pella, under Monimus, and Amphipolis, under Aristonous, were the only cities which held out for the royal cause. These were soon given up; and Cassander, having assembled the states of Macedon, caused Olympias to be tried for her

A. J. P. 4397. B. V. Æ. 317.

[11] Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. 2, to lib. xix. 44.

[12] Diodorus places this event in the fourth year of the cxv. Olympiad. If Aridæus was proclaimed the day after Alexander's death, on the 7th of June, B. V. Æ. 323, his death was about the 7th of October, in the seventh year of his reign.

life. She was not present, nor were there any to testify in her favour, or to plead her cause. Her friends attempted to provide for her safety, by a secret flight to Athens; but the high-spirited princess refused what she deemed base and ignoble, and declared that she was ready to plead her own cause. Cassander, fearing the effect of her eloquence upon the fickle multitude, sent a body of two hundred picked men to put her to death. As they entered her presence, they were overawed by her majestic mien, and recoiled from the foul deed. But the relatives of those officers whom she had caused to be put to death, instigated by revenge and the expectation of Cassander's favour, accomplished what those rough and brutal men could not. Olympias met her death without cowardice or womanly prayers. Thus fell the widowed queen of Philip and the mother of Alexander the Great, in the spring, about a year and a half after the murder of Philip Aridæus.[13] A. J. P. 4399. B. V. Æ. 315.

VI.

Cassander now began to aspire to the throne of Macedon. He even thought of putting Roxana and her son Alexander to death; but was deterred, by the fear of public opinion, so soon after the death of Olympias. He contented himself, therefore, with sending them to Amphipolis, for safe custody, and determined to ally himself with the royal family, by marrying Thessalonica, the daughter of Philip Amyntas. This he effected, and then resumed his military operations in the Peloponnesus; while Polysperchon, who administered the empire in the name of the young Alexander, departed into Ætolia, despairing, when he knew that Olympias was dead, of preserving Macedonia.[14]

The next year, Antigonus, pursuing his design of subduing all Asia to his dominion, marched to Babylon, and was there received by Seleucus with regal magnificence. But when

[13] Diod. Sic. lib. xix. 35, 36, 49—51.

[14] Diod. Sic. ut sup. 52—54.

Antigonus demanded of him an account of his revenues, he replied that he was not obliged to render such an account, to any one, of a country given to him by the Macedonians in the lifetime of Alexander. Seleucus, now suspecting the intentions of his guest, and unable to resist so powerful an army, fled into Egypt, and was received with the utmost kindness by Ptolemy. Antigonus affected to rejoice at this event, as being a voluntary abdication of his government; but the Chaldæan soothsayers, whose predictions, with regard to Alexander's entrance into Babylon, had been verified by his death, infused into his soul a lasting source of uneasiness, by predicting that, in thus permitting the escape of Seleucus, he had forfeited his own life. Under the influence of these fears, he sent messengers to Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus. Ptolemy, having resolved to make war upon him, took the same step with regard to the two last-named commanders. Antigonus, having wintered at Mallos, in Cilicia, marched, in the spring, into Upper Syria. A. J. P. 4400. B. V. Æ. 314. Here he received the legates of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, requiring, as a condition of peace, that Cappadocia and Lycia should be given to Cassander, the Hellespontic Phrygia to Lysimachus, all Syria to Ptolemy, and Babylon to Seleucus. The treasures he had gained by the extinction of Eumenes were to be divided equally among them. These terms, being utterly inconsistent with the designs of Antigonus, were promptly rejected; and thus a league offensive and defensive was formed by Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, to carry on the war with Antigonus and his son Demetrius, and to restore Seleucus to his sovereignty. On the other hand, Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, was sent to form a league with Antigonus, by which succours were promised from the Peloponnesus. Thus the war continued, with various success, until Seleucus recovered his authority in Babylon, and a short-lived peace was concluded among the belligerents, towards the close of the third year. By the terms of this treaty, Cassander was to be gen- A. J. P. 4403. B. V. Æ. 311.

eral-in-chief in Europe, during the minority of Alexander, the son of Roxana; Lysimachus was to retain Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt and the conterminous cities in Lybia and Arabia; Antigonus to preside over all Asia, except the Grecian cities, which were to be governed by their own laws. Cassander, fearing, from the terms of this treaty, that he should lose his power, commanded the captain of Alexander's body-guards to kill both the king and his mother Roxana, and conceal their bodies, no one but himself being privy to the transaction. This event must have taken place early in the next year; and, the only legitimate descendant of Alexander being now cut off, there could be no successor to the whole empire. The ambitious generals were relieved from all apprehension, and thenceforward might consider their respective territories as kingdoms acquired by the right of conquest.[15] A feeble attempt, indeed, was made, the next year, by Polysperchon, to place upon the throne of Macedon the son of Alexander by Barsine; but the wily Cassander, by well-timed and liberal promises to the aged general, not only turned him from his purpose, but persuaded him to put the luckless Hercules privately to death. With him perished the last who bore in his veins the blood of Alexander, the Macedonian conqueror.[16]

A. J. P. 4404. B. V. Æ. 310.

VII.

Antigonus was the first of the contending generals who actually assumed the diadem. Ptolemy had charged him with violating the treaty, and had renewed the war. The struggle between these powerful rivals was long, and of doubtful and varied issues. But in the second year of the one hundred and eighteenth Olympiad,[17] Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, obtained so decisive a victory, in a naval engagement near Cyprus, that Ptolemy was forced to retire into Egypt. This so elated Antigonus that he not only proclaimed himself king,

[15] Diod. Sic. ut sup. 55—105.
[16] Diod. Sic. lib. xx. 20—28.
[17] See Chron. Introd. Tables, p. 133. A. J. P. 4107—4108, B. V. Æ. 307—306.

but also saluted his son with the same title.[18] Upon this, Ptolemy also assumed the crown; and emulous of these examples, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, did the same, — alledging, as a justification of this act, that they had ever retained the territories which had been given to them after the death of Alexander. At length, a most decisive battle was fought at Ipsus, in Phrygia, between the four allied kings and Antigonus, in which the latter was defeated and slain, at the age of eighty-four years. Demetrius, his son, and the widowed Stratonice, his queen, being then in Cilicia, sailed for Cyprus.[19] But Demetrius, though a valiant and often victorious commander, became literally a soldier of fortune, and finally fell a victim to indolence and excess, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.[20] Thus the empire of Alexander, divided at his death under about thirty of his Macedonian generals, was finally reduced to four potent kingdoms. Seleucus was master of all Asia between the Euphrates and the Indus; Ptolemy, of Egypt, Lybia, Judæa, Phœnicia, all Syria, and the coasts of Asia Minor; Lysimachus, of Thrace, Bithynia, and the countries beyond the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; while Cassander, for the small remnant of his life, possessed in tranquillity the original kingdom of Macedon and Greece. Such were the four conspicuous horns which sprang from the goat's forehead after the destruction of the great horn, in the prophetic vision of Daniel.

VIII.

During the fierce struggles which followed the death of Alexander, the land of Judæa became, of necessity, the frequent theatre of war. Amid the embattled fluctuations of Greek against Greek, it is wonderful that the desolating tide did not roll over Jerusalem till the first year of Contracts, when, after his victory over Demetrius, at

A. J. P. 4402.
B. V. Æ. 312.

[18] Diod. Sic. lib. xx. 53. Justin, lib. xv. c. ii.

[19] Diod. Sic. excerpta. lib. xxi. and ed. Wessel. tom. ii. p. 489.

[20] Plutarch, Demetrius.

Gaza, Ptolemy Soter led his army to the holy city.[21] The high priest, Jaddua, had survived Alexander but a short time,[22] and was succeeded by his son, Onias, who held the pontificate twenty-one years.[23] It was in his time, therefore, that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, by stratagem or force, got possession of Jerusalem.[24] Naturally clement, the king seems, on this occasion, to have treated the Jews with great severity; for, if we may believe Aristeas, he carried with him into Egypt 100,000 captives, of whom 30,000 able-bodied men were made soldiers.[25]

History is silent for many subsequent years. Onias was succeeded by his son Simon, surnamed the Just, who held the office of high priest, as is variously stated, from fourteen to nineteen years.[26] The character given of him by Jesus, the son of Sirach,[27] who, if not contemporary, as some suppose, must have lived less than a century after his death, exhibits not only his own excellence, but the flourishing state of the Church and commonwealth under his administration. His chief work was that of finishing the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were then settled as we now receive them.[28]

[21] Jos. Cont. Apion. lib. i. ex. Hecatæs.

[22] Jos. Ant. lib. xi. c. viii. § 7.

[23] Sync. Chron. p. 269.

[24] Jos. Ant. lib. xii. c. i., comp. with Cont. Apion. lib. i.

[25] Aristeas, ap. Hody. Appian adds that he demolished the walls of the city. Lib. de Reb. Syr. ed. Schweig. tom. i. p. 410.

[26] Syncellus says 19; Eusebius and the Chronicon Alexandrinum, 14. Prideaux cuts this down to 9, and Hales calls it a judicious alteration, *on the authority of Eusebius*, vol. ii. p. 531. But in this assertion the learned chronologer is mistaken; for Eusebius makes the first year of Simon the year of Abraham 1716, and the first year of his successor Eleazar 1729. Chron. Ed. Ven. vol. ii. pp. 227—229. I know not why so much credit should be here given to the Chron. Alex.; for in the dates and arrangement of the high priests, it is singularly incorrect. Contrary to the authority of Josephus, it places Eleazar before Simon, and makes Onias II., and not Eleazar, contemporary with Ptolemy Philadelphus. It places the first year of Jaddua in the fourth of Olym. CV. = B. V. Æ. 357; Onias, in Olym. CX. 1 = B. V. Æ. 337; Eleazar, in Olym. CXIV. 1, the year in which Alexander the Great died; and Simon in Olym. CXIX. 4 = B. V. Æ. 301. The arrangement of Syncellus appears to me far less objectionable. He places the death of Jaddua two years after that of Alexander. Then Onias 21 years and Simon 19 = 40. This exceeds the true time a few years; for he places the accession of Eleazar one year before the accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus. All, in fact, is conjecture and computation. We know, from Josephus, that Jaddua was still living when Alexander died, and that Eleazar was high priest when Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to Jerusalem to obtain a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.

[27] Ecclus. l. 1—21.

[28] Prideaux, Connec. Part. i. Book viii. ad fin.

To arrange the succession in accordance with his own wishes, Ptolemy voluntarily abdicated the throne of Egypt, Lybia, and Syria, in favour of his younger son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, the eldest of his beloved queen, Berenice. The regal munificence with which he had attracted to his court men of all nations who were eminent for their literature and the elegant as well as useful arts, had given to the Egyptian monarchy a gorgeous splendour, which continued for three reigns, with scarcely fading brightness, and continued even after the setting of its political glory. Among others, Demetrius Phalereus, being expelled from the government of Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes,[29] fled to Alexandria, where he was received with the greatest honours.[30] Ptolemy, the father of Philadelphus, consulted with him on all occasions; and by his advice, commenced the celebrated Museum at Alexandria, as a receptacle for all that was curious and valuable in the learning of that and preceding ages. As he opposed the settlement of the crown upon Ptolemy Philadelphus, the young king did not extend to him the confidence and favour enjoyed under the reign of the former king. Nevertheless, he seems to have taken the advice of Demetrius, with regard to the library; and in particular to have followed it in sending an embassy to Eleazar, the Jewish high priest, to obtain a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, and to have a translation made of them into Greek. This most important event is placed, by Eusebius, in the seventh year of Eleazar, and the fifth of Ptolemy Philadelphus.[31] Now, for the first time, were the Holy Scriptures translated from that language of awful

A. J. P. 4429. B. V. Æ. 285

A. J. P. 4434. B. V. Æ. 280.

[29] That event took place A. J. P. 4407, B. V. Æ. 307.

[30] Diod. Sic. lib. xx. 45.

[31] Jos. Ant. lib. xii. c. ii. Euseb. Chron. ed. Ven. P. ii. p. 231. I have been unwilling to enter into the question respecting Aristeas, on whose narrative both Philo and Josephus have relied. Whoever wishes to examine it may consult Hody's learned work, De Bibliorum textibus, where he will find the Greek history of Aristeas, with the learned and acute refutation of it by the English editor. The entirely different story of the Talmudists may be seen in Lightfoot's Works, vol. ii. p. 801, &c. The fact that a Greek translation, of the Pentateuch at least, was made in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, seems to be quite certain; and I see no reason to doubt that it was during the pontificate of Eleazar.

antiquity in which the inspirations of the Holy Ghost had communicated them to men. Now were the oracles of the only true God transfused into one of the noblest forms in which human thought can be embodied; which, from the early settlement of the Greeks in Asia and along the shores of the Mediterranean, from the force of the Macedonian arms, and the brilliant corruscations of Grecian intellect, had become one of the most widely cultivated of all languages; and which, even at the present day, is living and likely to live, the solitary survivor amid the sepulchral monuments of its departed contemporaries. Now, for the first time, were the records of divine revelation placed side by side with the most illustrious monuments of human genius and wisdom. Now was the preparation made to introduce among heathen nations that knowledge which would lead them, in the fulness of time, to accept the great doctrines of the incarnation and the cross. The Jews might institute a fast, and bewail an event which wrote, as they thought, the departure of their glorious peculiarity;[32] but well may Christians rejoice at this commencement of a train of consequences, which have not yet ceased, and will not cease, until the kingdoms of this world shall have become the kingdoms of the anointed Redeemer. The establishment of the Museum at Alexandria, the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, and the collection of all that human learning could then bestow, led the way to the Christian schools, in which Clemens and Origen were trained, and which became the prime models, at the revival of the universities and schools of Europe, in the eighth and ninth centuries. In imitation of these, we have formed ours; and thus, we may go back to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus

[32] "There is a story of five elders, who transcribed the law for Ptolemy, the king, in Greek, and that day was bitter to Israel as the day wherein the golden calf was made." Massecheth Sepharim, ap. Lightfoot, Heb. and Talmud. Exercit. Works, tom. ii. p. 804. According to Lamy, the fast for the translation of the Scriptures was observed on the 8th of Tebeth; but Philo, in his life of Moses, says that the Jews of Alexandria celebrated a feast on this day in memory of the 70 interpreters. Introd. B. i. c. v.

for the first movement of that system in which all of human knowledge that is truly valuable still continues to revolve.[33]

IX.

Under the indulgent sway of the Ptolemies, and the immunities granted by Alexander, the very silence of history proves the tranquillity and temporal prosperity of the Church. But as to its spiritual condition, we are absolutely and utterly in the dark. Josephus is our only authority; and his meagre pages merely tell us that Eleazar was succeeded in the high-priesthood by his uncle Manasses, at whose death, Onias II., the son of Simon the Just, received that dignity. Of slender capacity, and habits of great parsimony, Onias neglected to pay the inconsiderable tribute of twenty silver talents, or a little more than 30,000 dollars, which the kings of Egypt were accustomed to receive from Judæa. For this neglect, Ptolemy Euergetes, the king then reigning, threatened to send an army against Jerusalem. He was, however, diverted from his purpose by the adroit management of Joseph, the high priest's nephew, who went down to Egypt, and not only pacified the angry monarch, but obtained his confidence by farming the revenues of his Syrian provinces, and increasing their amount. The story is too trifling to be related here, and is remarkable only as indicating the power in temporal matters which, from the time of Jaddua, and during the Grecian empire, the high priests had received or assumed.

Ptolemy Euergetes died about this time, and with him expired all that was glorious and good in the character of the Lagidæ. The succeeding Ptolemies plunged into all the excesses of vice and infamy; province after province was wrested from them by their more energetic, though equally sinful, rivals; until the sceptre fell from their enervated hands, a few years before the incarnation. We there-

A. J. P. 4492. B. V. Æ. 222.

[33] For a short but very interesting account of the library, museum, and academy of Alexandria, see Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. ix. p. 370.

fore turn to that horn of the Macedonian empire, which, under the name of the Seleucidæ, continued to increase in power, until, with all the other horns, it was finally subdued by the Romans.

X.

We have seen that Seleucus, surnamed Nicator the victorious, regained Babylon, after the defeat of Demetrius Poliorcetes, at the decisive battle of Gaza. From that time, during his ten years' struggle with Antigonus for the dominion of Asia, he never lost his capital; and, therefore, from that time commences one of the most important epochs in history, the Æra of the Seleucidæ, or of the Greeks. It was also called the Æra of the Syro-Macedonians. By the Jews, after they became subject to the Seleucidæ, and by the Arabs, it has been called Tarik Dilkarnaim, or the Æra of Contracts. It is, even now, used in the East; but some confusion has arisen from the different dates of its commencement. The author of the first book of Maccabees, for example, takes the *sacred*, and the author of the second book, the *civil* year of the Jews: the one beginning with *Nisan*, near the *vernal*, the other with *Tisri*, near the *autumnal*, equinox.[31] Dating, therefore, from that year, Seleucus was not fully and securely established till he had taken Demetrius captive, about sixteen years afterwards. He then devoted himself, as a wise and prudent prince, to promote the welfare of his subjects. As Babylon had become unhealthy from the stagnant waters of the Euphrates, he built a new city upon the western bank of the Tigris, called it after his own name, Seleucia, and made it the capital of his kingdom. The inhabitants of Babylon removed thither, and the proud city became literally the abode of wild beasts.[35] Seleucia, on the other hand, became so populous, that, in the time of Pliny, it was

A. J. P. 4402.
B. V. Æ. 312.

[34] For a brief but very accurate account of these varieties, see "Dissertation sur les dates des Chartes et des Chroniques," § viii. in "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates." Consult, also, Petavius de Doc. Temp. lib. x. cap. xliii.—xlv.

[35] Isaiah xiv. 22, 23. Plin. lib. vi. c. xxvi. Hieron. Comment. in Esai. c. xiv.

the greatest city in the East. It had 600,000 inhabitants, and was thenceforward often called Babylon. The Jews of old Babylon were treated with the greatest kindness, admitted to equal privileges with all others in the new capital, and thus became loyal subjects of the Syro-Macedonian dynasty. The same policy was observed at Antioch, and all the other cities founded by that wise and powerful monarch.

Seleucus was treacherously murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, who, on the accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, had taken refuge, and been received with unsuspecting kindness, at his court. This event took place, according to Porphyry, in the first year and fifth month, or about November, of the 125th Olympiad. His son, Antiochus Soter, then ascended the throne. This prince is noted for having fallen in love with Stratonice, his father's wife. He struggled in vain with his passion; and, to save his life, by the advice of the physician, Erasistratus, his father resigned her to him. From this incestuous union proceeded all the Asiatic kings who afterwards so cruelly laid waste the land of Judæa.

A. J. P. 4434. B. V. Æ. 280. An. Soter 1.

Antiochus II., his son, by Stratonice, received from the Milesians, soon after his accession to the throne, the impious title of *Theos*, or the God, by which he was distinguished from all the other kings who bore the name of Antiochus. He was poisoned by his first wife, Laodice, whom he had repudiated, from motives of policy, that he might marry Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. On the death of that monarch, he removed Berenice, and recalled his first wife, Laodice. But she, fearing that the son of Berenice might succeed to the throne, committed the crime of murdering him who was her brother as well as her husband, to secure the succession to her own son, Seleucus Callinicus. This event, according to Porphyry, occurred in the third year of the 133d Olympiad.[36] Not content with this murder,

A. J. P. 4468. B. V. Æ. 216.

[36] Ptolemy Philadelphus died, according to the Canon of Ptolemy the Astronomer, in the year of Philip 77, and was succeeded by Ptolemy Energetes in 78.

Laodice conspired with her son to destroy Berenice and her son, their hated rivals. All these events are supposed to have been foretold by the prophet Daniel. His king of the north is interpreted to mean the king of Asia, and his king of the south to mean the king of Egypt.[37] However this may be, Ptolemy Euergetes avenged the death of his sister, by putting Laodice to death, and pushing his victories even to Seleucia; nor would he have stopped till he had stripped Seleucus of all his provinces, if he had not been compelled to return to Egypt by a sedition among his own subjects. That superstitious people, however, were so affected by his bringing back the idols which Cambyses had taken, that they hailed him with transports of joy, and gave him the title of Euergetes the Benefactor.[38]

Seleucus, though surnamed Callinicus, or "the glorious victor," was always unfortunate. Most of these high-sounding titles, if compared with the conduct and fortunes of those who bore them, seem to have been given in bitter irony. He was routed and taken prisoner by Arsaces, king of the Parthians, and died in captivity, in the second year of the 138th Olympiad. A. J. P. 4187—4188. B. V. Æ. 227— 226.

His son, Seleucus Ceraunus, or "the Thunderer," who never did a noble or brave act, reigned about three years, was then slain by the treachery of Nicanor, a Galatian, and was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, then a youth of fifteen,

These numbers being added to 424, give 501 and 502 of the Æra of Nabonassar, which, by the tables, began on the 24th of October, A. J. P. 4166 and 4167, or B. V. Æ. 248 and 247. Seleucus Callinicus, therefore, ascended the throne of Asia one year after Ptolemy Euergetes, the brother of Berenice, became king of Egypt, Syria and Palestine. See Introd. to the Hist. of the Church, p. 135. Porphyry and the astronomer Ptolemy thus shed light upon each other. The murder of Antiochus was after Oct. 24th, B. V. Æ. 248, and probably in the early part of 247.

[37] I speak in doubtful terms of these expositions, because I am not sure that the predictions in Dan. xi. 5—29 have yet received their *ultimate* accomplishment. I say *ultimate*, because there may be what the great Lord Bacon calls a *germinant* accomplishment. The reader will find, in St. Jerome's Commentary on Daniel, Opera, tom. iii. 1122, &c., the source from which the modern commentators have chiefly drawn. Bishop Newton's Dissertation xvi. will convey to the English reader a very lucid statement of the whole subject, with the authorities in the margin.

[38] Justin, lib. xxvii. c. i. 2. Hieron. ut sup.

more justly surnamed "the Great." Porphyry states that he began to reign in the second year of the 139th Olympiad, and continued to the second year of the 148th Olympiad, or thirty-six years.[39] During this long period, in the various struggles with the kings of Egypt for the possession of Syria, he treated the Jews with great kindness and liberality. Ptolemy Philopator, on the contrary, after the battle of Raphia, in which he had been victorious over Antiochus,[40] marched with his army to Jerusalem, and there attempted, by force, to enter the Holy of Holies. This act of sacrilege, and his subsequent cruelty to the Jews in Egypt, so alienated the affections of the nation as to predispose them towards Antiochus.[41] When, therefore, he had obtained a decided victory, at the fountains of Jordan, over Scopas, the king of Egypt's general, the Jews declared for him, and received him in Jerusalem with great honours. Bitter cause had they, afterwards, to repent for this submission.

XI.

Antiochus having been slain in Elymais, his son, Seleucus, reigned till the first year of the 151st Olympiad. A. J. P. 4538—9. B. V. Æ. 176—5. He was the first of the Seleucidæ who designedly attempted to oppress the Jewish people; and to this conduct he was driven by his necessities. The humiliating terms of peace, after the battle of Magnesia, in which Antiochus the Great was defeated by Scipio Asiaticus, imposed the immense sum of 15,000 Euboic talents for the expenses of the war with the Roman people. Five hundred were to be paid down; 2500 when the Senate should ratify the treaty; and 1000

[39] Euseb. Chron. P. i. p. 347, and P. ii. p. 235—237, ed. Ven.

[40] For a full account of this battle, see Polybius, lib. v. c. xvii., and the observations of M. de Folard appended to the French translation.

[41] A full account of Ptolemy's conduct is contained in the third book of Maccabees, which, in Breitinger's edition of the Alexandrian text, tom. ii. p. 623, and in the Vatican text of Holmes and Parsons, vol. v., follows the second book. It is not among the Apocryphal books of our translation. For an account of it, see Horne's Introd. vol. iv. p. 238, 7th ed. Josephus gives at length several documents which show the benevolence of Antiochus towards the Jews. Antiq. lib. xii. c. iii.

annually for twelve years. These hard conditions led Antiochus to plunder the temple of Jupiter Belus, at Elymais; and this act occasioned his death, about three years after he had submitted to the treaty.[42] The great burthen, therefore, of this tribute, fell upon his successor; and the whole reign of Seleucus was occupied in devising ways and means to meet the demands upon his revenue. In the expressive language of the prophet Daniel, he was all his days "a raiser of taxes." Having been informed that a great treasure was accumulated in the temple of Jerusalem, he sent his general, Heliodorus, to seize it. The Jewish historian, who has given so marvellous a relation of this event, speaks of the previous condition of the holy city as exceedingly peaceful and prosperous. Under the high priest, Onias III., a man of great piety and vigilance, the law was strictly observed; and the kings of Asia had, from their own revenues, provided victims for sacrifice, and other expenses of the temple service. Even Seleucus himself had done this; but the treachery of Simon, a man of Benjamin, who, for some malversation in office, had been censured by the high priest, was the ultimate occasion of this calamity. As an act of revenge, he conveyed false representations to the king, which led him to this deed of violence. The sacrilege was prevented, as the historian relates, by the visible interposition of divine power; and Heliodorus, who humbled himself before God, was preserved to be the murderer

[42] The terms dictated by Scipio, and ratified by the Senate, are given by Appian, de rebus Syriacis, xxxviii. Ed. Schweig. tom. i. pp. 593—595. Polybius, Reliquiæ, lib. xxi. 11. Ed. Schweig. tom. iv. pp. 170—171. Livy. lib. xxxviii. c. xxxviii. Ed. Drakenb. tom. v. pp. 230—237. Appian and Polybius say, *Euboic* talents; Livy, "*Attica* talenta." The Attic talent, says Prideaux, on the authority of Festus, was equal to 6000 Attic drachmæ; but the Euboic talent was much higher. As Livy, in the protocol of the treaty, (lib. xxxvii. c. xlv. tom. v. p. 97,) says that the sum to be paid was "quindecim millia *talentûm Euboïcorum*," Prideaux supposes that he confounded the Attic standard of silver, which was very pure, with the Attic talent, which did not weigh as much as the Euboic. The Romans demanded that Antiochus should pay in *talents of the highest weight*, and in *silver of the best and finest standard* in all Greece. He estimates the Euboic talent at £240 sterling. But on this point his note is not very satisfactory; and there is still great doubt as to the actual value of the Euboic talent, or whether it was not of gold rather than of silver. A thousand silver talents, valued each at £240 sterling, it would not have been so difficult for the king to raise. See Prideaux, Connec. Part ii. Book ii. An. 199.

of his master.[43] This "vile person" seized the crown, but his claims were unacknowledged; and he was soon expelled by Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and Attalus, his brother, who thus, by their loyal friendship, preserved the kingdom for Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes.[44]

Antiochus, who, as Athenæus says, deserved the title of *Epimanes*, "the furious," rather than *Epiphanes*, "the illustrious,"[45] was the younger brother of Seleucus; and had been sent to Rome, by his father, Antiochus the Great, as a hostage for his fidelity to the terms of his inglorious and disastrous treaty.

There he remained till his brother, Seleucus, ransomed him, with the consent of the Roman Senate, by substituting his own son, Demetrius, then a child. On his way from Rome, he received, at Athens, the news of his brother's death, and the usurpation of Heliodorus. Having, by the assistance of his friends, driven out the usurper, his conduct was afterwards marked with that utter disregard to dignity and decorum which often constitutes the caprice of tyrants. The disgusting details are given by Athenæus;[46] and no one can read them without the strongest conviction that the title of "madman," given by his subjects, was better suited to his nature, than that of "illustrious," which he himself assumed.

His sister, Cleopatra, who had married Ptolemy Epiphanes, had, ever since the death of her husband, ruled Egypt with great wisdom and prudence. She had carefully avoided a rupture with her father and brother, on account of the Syrian and Phœnician provinces; though, by the original division, and afterwards by express treaty, they belonged, of right, to Egypt, as a part of her dowry. But, after an

A. J. P. 4532. B. V. Æ. 182.

[43] 2 Macc. iii. Appian Syriaca 45.

[44] This accounts for the two years which elapsed, in Porphyry's account, between the death of Seleucus, Olymp. CLI. 1, and the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, Olymp. CLI. 3, A. J. P. 4540, B. V. Æ. 174. He makes no mention of Heliodorus; but this usurpation explains the difference of his dates. The author of the first book of Maccabees reckons the accession of Antiochus in the year 137 of the kingdom of the Greeks: that is, (312—137,) B. V. Æ. 175, or immediately after Seleucus was poisoned.

[45] Athen. Deipn. lib. v. 21.

[46] Deipnosoph. lib. v. 21—24. Ed. Schweigh. tom. ii. 246—255.

administration of eight years, Cleopatra died; and her son, Ptolemy Philometer, being only fourteen years of age, the regency devolved upon Lennæus and Eulæus, the king's tutors. These immediately demanded the restitution of Cœlesyria and Palestine; and the claim being resisted by Antiochus, both parties, after ineffectual negotiations, prepared to decide the controversy by the sword.[47] The arms of Antiochus were successful in several expeditions into Egypt;[48] the whole country, except Alexandria, submitted to his sway; and he had invested that city to reduce it by siege, when an embassy from the Roman Senate forced him to retire. As the three members of that embassy entered the royal presence, Antiochus addressed and held out his hand to Caius Popillius, with whom he had been well acquainted at Rome; but, instead of taking the king's hand, the Roman put into it the decree of the Senate, and sternly commanded him to read it. The king did so in silence, and then replied that he would confer with his friends upon the matter. Popillius, with a piece of vine-stock, which he held in his hand, proudly drew a circle around the king, and demanded his answer before he stepped over it. Mute with astonishment at this imperious act, Antiochus at length broke the universal silence, by saying, "I will do whatever the Roman people command." The Romans instantly threw off their reserve, grasped his hand, and saluted him in the most friendly manner. The purport of the decree was, that he should immediately terminate the war with Ptolemy.[49] Stung with rage, the more violent because it was impotent, Antiochus marched, with his army, to Jerusalem, and vented upon that unhappy city the fury which, elsewhere, his fears would not allow him to exhibit. The author of the first book of Maccabees places this event in the one hundred and forty-third year of the Greeks.

A. J. P. 4540. B. V. Æ. 174.

A. J. P. 4545. B. V. Æ. 169.

[47] Polyb. Legat. 82 and 72. Op. ed. Schweigh. tom. iv. p. 421 and 387.

[48] I say *several*, because it is a question on which modern historians and chronologers are not agreed, whether there were two or more.

[49] Polyb. ut sup. Legat. 92, pp. 448—449. Liv. lib. xlv. 12.

XII.

We must now retrace the steps of our narrative, to consider the events which, in Jerusalem, followed the sacrilegious attempt of Heliodorus.

The pious and prudent high priest, Onias III., fearing the influence of the wicked Simon, (who had attempted to defame his character,) determined to go at once to the king, and explain to him the exact state of affairs, and particularly that of the temple treasury. But Seleucus dying soon after this interview, Onias was exposed, unsheltered, to the malice of his enemies. His own brother, Jason, knowing the necessities of Antiochus, occasioned by the tribute paid to the Romans, offered him, from himself, 360 silver talents, together with 80 from some other source, to depose Onias, and confer the high-priesthood on himself. He also bought, for 150 talents more, the privilege of erecting a gymnasium, and a school for the education of youth in those athletic exercises of which the Greeks were so fond. The right of citizenship in Antioch, for such Jews as desired it, was also asked and conferred. This is the first instance on record of the bartering of sacerdotal functions for money, and the exercise of power, by a heathen king, in changing the succession of the high priests in the Church of the living and true God. But the source of this evil must be traced higher, and to more remote causes, than the ambition of Jason, or the cupidity of Antiochus.

It has already been remarked that alliances by marriage with the royal family of Judah were permitted to the house of Aaron. Thus, by the mother's side, did the blood of David run in the veins of the high-priesthood; and when, from causes hidden by the ruins of history, the family of Zerubbabel, in the male line, were reduced to the condition of private life, the maternal and sacerdotal line was elevated to political sovereignty. This we have traced as high as the sixth in descent from Joshua, the son of Josedech, who accompanied

Zerubbabel from Babylon. It may have been earlier, from some incompetency in the direct descendants of Zerubbabel to meet the exigencies of the state. Certain it is, that when the high priest, Jaddua, met Alexander the Great, the Grecian hero recognized in him the sovereignty of the Jewish people, and *from that time to the period of which we now write, there are not the least traces of sovereignty in the male line of the family of David.* The "trunk of Jesse," in the expressive imagery of Isaiah, from whose roots the Messiah was to spring forth, was now so cut down and decayed that in its direct line it seemed hardly to have life. Yet from it was soon to spring up that tender plant, of which the prophet speaks, so small at first, and weak and inconsiderable, but, finally, to be so productive of blessed and glorious fruits.[50]

The union of temporal and spiritual power, and the influences of tributary dependence upon the idolatrous sovereigns of Egypt and Asia, had a most baneful effect on the high priests. They became ambitious and worldly-minded; were governed by political expediency, rather than by a sense of right; and were disposed to treat their nation more as their own subjects than as subjects with themselves of their Almighty King. We have traced their succession down to Onias the Second, the son of Simon the Just, and have seen how, by his imbecility and avarice, he incurred the displeasure of Ptolemy Euergetes. By the adroitness of his nephew, Joseph, he was extricated from this danger, and suffered to end his days in peace. He was succeeded by his son, Simon, who was high priest when Ptolemy Philopator endeavoured by force to enter the Holy of Holies.[51] Simon had three sons, all of whom lived to be high priests. Onias, the eldest, and third of that name, was high priest when Seleucus sent Heliodorus to plunder the temple. The next

[50] Isa. xi. 1. See Bp. Lowth's translation, and excellent notes. "The subject of the great redemption, and of the glories of Messiah's kingdom, *arises out of the restoration of Judah from the captivity of Babylon, and is all along connected and intermixed with it.*"

[51] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. iv. § 10. 3 Maccab. ii. 1.

son was named Joshua, or Jesus, but, for love of the Greeks, changed his name to Jason. He it was who conspired against his good brother, and, by wickedly bribing the king, was the first who thus obtained the high-priesthood, and began the miseries which soon after overwhelmed the nation. His younger brother bore at first the name of Onias, but being, like Jason, addicted to the manners and customs of the Greeks, he changed his name to Menelaus.

Jason did not long enjoy the fruits of his iniquity. About three years after his elevation, he sent his brother Menelaus with a sum of money to Antiochus; and Menelaus, as unprincipled and wicked as himself, took that opportunity of bribing the king with an offer of three hundred talents more than his brother had given, to instate him in the high-priesthood. A civil commotion was the consequence: for the greater number of the Jews took part with Jason, while the Grecizing faction favoured Menelaus. The party of Jason prevailed, and Menelaus and his adherents retreated to the king. They represented to him that they wished to forsake the laws and customs of the Jews, and to follow his; and this personal flattery induced the vain and profligate monarch to interpose his authority. He went in person from Cilicia to Jerusalem, restored Menelaus, and left Andronicus, as his deputy, to prevent all further disturbance or altercation. This led to the death of the good Onias, who, at the instigation of Menelaus, was murdered by Andronicus. At a subsequent visit, the king, being informed of this unjust murder, deprived Andronicus of his dignity, and put him to death. He spared, however, the real author of the deed, and Menelaus continued high priest until the second expedition of Antiochus into Egypt.[52] We now, therefore, return to his history.

XIII.

While Antiochus was still in Egypt, Jason, deceived by a false rumour of his death, suddenly attacked the holy city, at

[52] 2 Macc. iv. to v. 1.

the head of a thousand men, forced his way into it, obliged Menelaus to take refuge in the citadel, and then slaughtered, without mercy, the defenceless inhabitants. Tidings of these events reached the ears of Antiochus at the moment when he was compelled by the Romans to retire from Egypt. Chafing with fury at this affront, and imagining that the Jews had revolted, he immediately marched to Jerusalem. At his approach, Jason fled to the Ammonites, and thenceforward lived a wandering life, till at length he perished among the Lacedemonians. The partisans of Menelaus opened the gates to Antiochus; but, unappeased by this act of submission, he spared neither friend nor foe, age nor sex, and for three days gave up the city to pillage and slaughter. No less than forty thousand were slain, and as many sold for slaves. Under the guidance of Menelaus, he plundered the temple, entering into the sanctuary, and taking the golden altar of incense, the table for the show-bread, the golden candlestick, all the precious vessels, and treasure to the amount of eighteen hundred talents. This judgment came upon the nation, as the historian confesses, for the sins committed after the high-priesthood of Onias, and the abortive attempt of Heliodorus.[53]

To so great a height did the madness of Antiochus arise, that he published a decree, commanding his subjects, of whatever nation they might be, to worship the gods whom he worshipped, according to the ceremonial which he himself observed. At the end of two years after the atrocities above recited, he sent to Jerusalem his treasurer, Apollonius, with an army of 22,000 men, and with strict orders, if the inhabitants did not comply with his demands, to put the men to death, and sell the women and children for slaves. These orders were executed, as far as the intentions of Apollonius were concerned, with unsparing severity. He plundered and burned the city; broke down its walls; placed a

[53] 2 Macc. v. 2—21; 1 Macc. i. 20—29. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. v. pp. 1—3.

heathen garrison on Mount Zion, or the city of David, which he strongly fortified; stored it with arms, provisions and munitions of war, and there deposited the plunder he had taken. To avoid death or captivity, great numbers submitted, and sacrificed to idols. All were forbidden to celebrate the Sabbaths, and other solemn feast or fast days, or to circumcise their children. The books of the law, wherever they could be found, were rent and burned. Altars, and groves, and chapels, and idols, were set up throughout the land. Swine, and other unclean beasts, were offered in sacrifice. In a word, every indignity was heaped upon the divine institutions which the wicked ingenuity of man could devise; and all who would not consent to forsake the law were put to death, or took refuge in caverns and holes of the earth. On the FIFTEENTH day of the month Casleu, in the hundred and forty-fifth year, "*they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Judah;*" and upon the TWENTY-FIFTH of the same month, "*they did sacrifice upon the idol altar which was upon the altar of God.*"[54] Not satisfied with these public profanities, the furious king descended to gratify his

A. J. P. 4547.
B. V. Æ. 167.

[54] 1 Macc. i. 29; 2 Macc. v. 21—vi. 17. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. v. There is some difficulty in ascertaining the precise year in which the temple was thus polluted. The author of the first book of Maccabees says that it was the 145th year of the Seleucidæ, which, according to common computation, began on the kalends of October, 312—144 = B. V. Æ. 168. That date corresponded with A. J. P. 4546; in which year, as will be seen by the tables, Chron. Introd. to Hist of the Church, p. 137, col. 1, the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad began at the summer solstice. In that year the golden number was v., and the Sunday letter B. The Jewish month Casleu began Monday, Oct. 31. The fifteenth day, therefore, was Monday, Nov. 14, and the twenty-fifth, Thurs., Nov. 24th. Abp. Usher places it in his year of the world 3837, which began on the 23d of October, by his computation. There is, therefore, no real difference between his computation and mine. Petavius has confounded the return of Antiochus from Egypt with this profanation, two years after that event. Josephus says it was in the 145th year of the Seleucidæ, and then adds, in the 153d Olymp., without naming any year of the Olympiad, which he *would have done, had it been in the second year.* I think these reasons sufficient to place the events of profaning the temple on the 14th and 24th of Nov., B. V. Æ. 168. But if the reader thinks differently, and computes from the first of Nisan, B. V. Æ. 167, he must calculate the Jewish months by the golden number VI., and the Sunday letter A. In that year the fifteenth of Casleu fell on Sunday, Dec. 3, and the twenty-fifth on Wednesday, Dec. 13th.

personal hatred and thirst for blood, by acts which, if they were not so horrible, would be accounted puerile. Knowing that to eat the flesh of swine was forbidden by the law, he compelled the Jews to eat it in his presence. If they refused, they were tortured, as the Indian warrior tortures his captive. The case of the aged Eleazar, and that of the woman and her seven sons, St. Paul had probably in his view, when he spake of those who "were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.[55] There could not, indeed, be a more glorious testimony to the constant and uniform faith of the Church in the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust, than the confession then made: "Thou, like a fury, takest us out of this present life; but THE KING OF THE WORLD shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, unto everlasting life." — "As for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life." With that spirit of prophecy which seems often to be given to martyrs in the hour of their torments, they exclaimed to the tyrant: "Abide a while, and behold his great power, how he will torment thee and thy seed." "Thou, that hast been the author of all mischief against the Hebrews, shalt not escape the hands of God."[56] From this time forth, the vast empire of Seleucus rapidly crumbled. Four years after these cruelties, Antiochus was smitten with a most excruciating, loathsome, and incurable disease, of which he died, in great agony.[57] The eleventh chapter of the Book of Daniel, from the twentieth verse to the end, is supposed by many to relate wholly to this godless monarch; but however grievous were his cruelties, they were too transient to be the ultimate fulfilment of that sublime prophecy. That it wonderfully portrays the history of the period now under review, is certain. The

[55] Heb. xi. 35, and Grotius and Macknight, in loc. 2 Macc. vi. vii. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. v. Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. i. De Maccab. 5—17.

[56] 2 Macc. vii. 9, 14, 17, 31.

[57] This is the account in 2 Macc. ix. Appian says that he died of *consumption*, lib. de Reb. Syr. 66; Polybius, that he was *smitten by a demon* for having plundered the temple of Diana. Reliq. lib. xxxi. c. ii. Both, compared, corroborate the truth of the Jewish historian.

philosopher, Porphyry, was so convinced of this fact, that, to avoid the necessary inference of the prophet's inspiration, he said that the prophecy was spurious, and must have been written in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.[58] But this concord does not prove that it will not hereafter have a grander accomplishment, more analogous to the whole system of prophecy, which embraces the second coming of our incarnate Lord. Antiochus was a forerunner and type of Antichrist; and was so regarded by the ancient expositors, who applied to him the prediction of Daniel.[59]

[58] Hieron. Præf. in Dan. Op. tom. iii. 1071. Such an assertion is too wild to be now refuted, though, formerly, it exercised the pens of Methodius and Apollinarius, Christian defenders of divine truth, and, afterwards, in the fourth century, of the learned Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea.

[59] "Sicut igitur Salvator habet et Salamonem et cæteros Sanctos in typum adventus sui: sic et Antichristus, pessimum regem Antiochum, qui Sanctos persequutus est Templumque violavit, recte typum sui habuisse credendus est." Hieron. Op. ut sup. col. 1127.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE MACCABEES OR ASMONÆAN DYNASTY.

COMPREHENDING FROM A. J. P. 4548, B. V. Æ. 165, TO A. J. P. 4650, B. V. Æ. 64, OR 102 YEARS.

I. The first resistance by Mattathias, a great-grandson of Asmonæus. — Died the next year. — His sons, Simon and Judas, succeed him. — Origin of the name Maccabees. — Their success. — The whole army of Antiochus routed, at Emmaus. — Flight of Gorgias. — This decisive battle saved the Church. II. The next year Lysias renews the war. — Attacked and routed by Judas. — The Maccabees remove pollutions and repair the sanctuary. — It is consecrated anew. — The annual feast of the Dedication instituted. — A general rising to exterminate the Jews frustrated by Judas and Simon. — Minority of Antiochus Eupator. — Battle of Beth-Zachariah. — Self-sacrifice of Eleazar, the brother of Judas. — The latter compelled to retreat. — The king and Lysias advance upon Jerusalem. — Forced by the return of Philip to make peace. — Menelaus put to death. III. Antiochus Eupator and Lysias slain by Demetrius, the son of Seleucus. — He confirms the high priest, Alcimus, and appoints Nicanor governor of Judæa. — Different accounts of Nicanor's conduct towards Judas. — Battle, in which Nicanor loses his life. IV. Judas sends an embassy to the Romans. — From this time his affairs decline. — The army of Demetrius under Bacchides and Alcimus. — Judas slain. — Alcimus struck with palsy. — Bacchides returned to the king. — Rest for two years. — Jonathan succeeds Judas. — Exact period of the Asmonæan dynasty. — On the appointment of Alcimus, Onias, the rightful high priest, went to Egypt, and built the temple at Heliopolis. — Jonathan the first of the Maccabees appointed high priest. — Then began the Asmonæan dynasty. V. Jonathan espouses the cause of the impostor, Alexander. — Demetrius loses his dominion and dies. — His son, Demetrius Nicator, expels Alexander. — Taken prisoner by the Parthians. — Trypho usurps the throne. — Struggles occasioned by that event. — Jonathan treacherously slain by Trypho. VI. Simon high priest. — Confirmed by Demetrius, the rightful sovereign of Asia, who relinquishes all claims to tribute. — Prosperity of the nation. — The first year of Simon made an epoch. — Antiochus Sydetes passes through Jerusalem, on his way to Egypt. — Confers various privileges upon Simon. — Tryphon besieged. — Antiochus becomes jealous of Simon, and revokes his promises. — His army put to flight by Simon. — He and his two sons treacherously slain. — End of the first book of Maccabees. — Character of that history. VII. Simon succeeded in the high-priesthood by his son John. — Antiochus Sidetes comes against Jerusalem, and obliges John to surrender. — The Jews again made tributary. — John accompanies Antiochus against the Parthians, and, from his exploits in Hyrcania, takes the surname of Hyrcanus. — Antiochus killed. — Demetrius restored. — Decline of the Seleucidæ. — John resumes his independence. — Destroys the temple of Gerizim, 204 years after it was built. —

Compels the Idumæans to embrace the Jewish religion. — Renews the treaty with the Romans. — Reflections on these proceedings. VIII. Antiochus Grypus. — Opposed by Antiochus of Cyzicus. — Their divisions relieve Hyrcanus. — Rise of the three Jewish sects, Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes. — Their development. — Hyrcanus educated by the Pharisees. — Causes of his subsequent aversion. — Joins the Sadducees. — His quarrel with the popular sect shortened his days. IX. His son, Aristobulus, assumes the diadem, and thus violates the rights of the Messiah. — His cruelty and death, after a reign of one year. — His widow, Salome, or Alexandra, marries his younger brother, Alexander Jannæus. — Dissatisfaction of his subjects. — His dying advice to his queen. X. Alexandra the only queen regnant in Judæa, but all power in the hands of the Pharisees. — Her two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. — The "vain traditions" of the Pharisees established. — Persecution of the Sadducees. — Aristobulus takes their part. — Moderation induced by the threatened invasion of Tigranes. — The queen and the Pharisees alarmed. — Invasion prevented by the Romans, under Lucullus. — The illness of Alexandra brings on the civil strife which finally destroys the Asmonæan dynasty. — The queen dies. XI. Hyrcanus II. high priest and sovereign. — Defeated by Aristobulus. — Resigns. — Rise of Antipas, or Antipater, the father of Herod. — Hyrcanus flees to the Arabians. — Pompey sends Scaurus into Syria. — Both brothers offer him bribes, but he espouses the cause of Aristobulus. — The quarrel referred to Pompey. — He decides against Aristobulus. — This brings on the siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Roman arms. — Hyrcanus restored, but forbidden to wear the diadem. — Judæa captive and tributary to Rome.

I.

THE overwhelming miseries which came so suddenly upon the faithful Israelites seemed to have stunned for a while the whole nation. Their persecutors, knowing their reverence for the Sabbath, attacked them on that day, and slaughtered the resistless multitude like sheep. The first who roused them from their lethargy was a priest, of the course of Joarib, a direct descendant from Phinehas, the son of Aaron, and the worthy inheritor of his zeal. Mattathias, the great-grandson, according to Josephus, of Asamonæus,[1] was of Modin, the site of which is now doubtful. He retired thither, after the pollution of the temple, but was soon followed by the king's officers, who vainly endeavoured to persuade him and his five sons to sacrifice as the king commanded. A cowardly Jew coming up at that moment to apostatize, Mattathias

[1] Ant. lib. xii. c. vi.

killed both him and the king's commissioner on the spot, and pulled down the altar. He and his sons then fled to the mountains, calling upon all who were zealous for the law and the covenant to follow them. The first effect of this was the slaughter of a thousand men, women and children, who offered no resistance, on the Sabbath; but this led Mattathias and his sons to the conclusion, that, if attacked on that day, it was their duty to defend themselves. This resolution being taken, they were constantly successful. Mattathias died the next year, and, on his death-bed, appointed his son Simon to be the counsellor and father of the rest, and Judas Maccabeus to be the captain-general and commander of their forces. The name which Judas assumed, and from which all his soldiers were called, MACCABEES, was formed from the Hebrew initials of Exod. xv. 11, "*Who is like unto thee, O* LORD, *among the gods?*" which was inscribed, no doubt, upon their standard.[2] Under this valiant leader, the Maccabees became invincible. They went through Judæa, destroying all the monuments of idolatry, enforcing the observance of the law, and putting to death all who opposed their progress. Apollonius, the king's lieutenant, who had at first despised the Maccabees, was now so alarmed at their success, that he raised a large army of Samaritans, renegade Jews, and heathens of the neighbouring nations, and advanced to give them battle. His whole force was routed, and he himself slain. Among the rich booty taken by the victors, was the sword of Apollonius, which Judas afterwards used in defending the liberties of his country. Seron, the deputy governor of Cœlesyria, under Ptolemy Macron, made a similar attempt, and experienced a similar defeat. He also was killed, with eight hundred of his men. Philip, the governor of Judæa, now thought it necessary to acquaint the king of these disasters. The enraged Antiochus, being obliged to go

[2] מַכַּבַּאי. *Maccabai*. Such technical student of Hebrew knows, in common words to aid the memory are, as every usage.

into Persia to replenish his exhausted revenues, commissioned Lysias to conduct the war, with orders to exterminate the whole Jewish nation. An army of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse was sent, under three able generals, Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. These advanced as far as Emmaus, between seven and eight miles to the north-west of Jerusalem, where they were joined by auxiliaries from Syria and the neighbouring nations, together with many of the apostate Jews. So sure were they of success, that slave merchants followed the camp with money to purchase, and chains to shackle, the prisoners. Gorgias was sent, with 5000 foot and 1000 horse, under the guidance of traitorous Jews, to surprise Judas by night; but that able general, suspecting, or being informed, of their intention, kindled fires in his camp, and then secretly marched to fall upon the main body of his enemies, when they least expected him, at Emmaus. Gorgias found the camp deserted, and supposed, in his pride and confidence, that Judas had fled to the mountains with his feeble force, amounting only to 3000 men. He was not undeceived till he saw the smoke rising from the camp at Emmaus, and found that Judas and his little band had routed the whole army. Three thousand were left on the field of battle, and the rest were pursued on the roads to the plains of Idumæa, to Ashdod and Jamnia. Judas recalled his men to fight with the detachment under Gorgias; but these, though double their number, basely fled before them, leaving undisputed the immense spoil in their camp to the victorious Jews. This battle took place in the hundred and forty-seventh year of the Seleucidæ. Through the merciful interposition of Divine Providence, it saved the Church from destruction; supplied Judas with abundance of arms and money, of which they stood greatly in need; revived the fainting courage of the faithful in every part of Judæa; and, in the same proportion, confounded and dismayed the enemy. Lysias

A. J. P. 4548.
B. V. Æ. 166.

was so disheartened, that he made no further attempt that year.[3]

II.

The next year, Lysias assembled an army of 60,000 chosen foot, and 5000 horse. The forces of Judas were by this time increased to 10,000 men. With these he attacked and routed that great host. Five thousand were slain, and the rest fled. Lysias retired to Antioch, to recruit his scattered army; while Judas and his brethren went up to Mount Zion, to reduce that fortress, and to take measures for cleansing the sanctuary, and dedicating it anew to the service of the true God. They found it desolate; the altar profaned; the gates burned; plants growing in its courts, as in a forest; the priests' chambers pulled down; and the treasury emptied of all the holy vessels, and other furniture. Struck with the sight, the whole army prostrated themselves on the ground, uttered loud lamentations, rent their garments, and put ashes upon their heads. But Judas lost no time in unavailing grief. He detached a part of his forces to attack the garrison upon Mount Zion, while he, and chosen priests, of blameless life and ardent zeal, were engaged in removing the defilements of God's house. They determined to pull down the altar, but to preserve its stones until the prophet should come, who would show what should be done with them. From the time of Malachi, there had been no prophet, and the very expressions show their faith in the coming of that great prophet whom Moses had foretold, as being like unto himself.[4] They then took unhewn stones, according to the law, and built a new altar, like the former. Others were occupied in making new holy vessels, the golden

A. J. P. 4549. B. V. Æ. 165.

[3] 1 Macc. ii.—iv. 27. 2 Macc. viii. The author of the first book says, iv. 15, that 3000 of the enemy were slain; the author of the second, viii. 24, says above 9000; but there is everywhere a tone of exaggeration in this author, which prevents our giving him full credence, excepting where he is supported by the first. Josephus, Antiq. lib. xii. c. vii., follows the author of the first book.

[4] 1 Macc. iv. 46. The expression is obscured in our translation by the indefinite article "*a* prophet" for *the* prophet, which the Greek construction requires.

candlestick, the golden altar of incense, the table for the show-bread, and all other things necessary for the temple service. All these preparations, doubtless, occupied much time; but at length, *on the twenty-fifth day of the month Casleu*, in the year 148 of the Seleucidæ, exactly three years from the pollution of the temple by Antiochus, it was again consecrated to the service of God. It was now enacted, as a solemn statute to be observed perpetually by the Church of Israel, that a festival should be kept for eight days, beginning with the twenty-fifth of Casleu. It was kept by our blessed Lord, when he was upon earth; and it is still kept, now that the temple has been destroyed these eighteen hundred years, by the hapless descendants of those who crucified the Prince of glory.[5]

A. J. P. 4549. B. V. Æ. 165.

The restoration of the temple produced a general rising among the neighbouring nations, to exterminate the Jews. The whole nation, therefore, applied to Judas for relief; and he immediately sent his brother Simon, with 3,000 men, into Galilee, while he and his brother Jonathan, with 8,000, crossed the Jordan into the country of Galaad, where the heathen were assembled in great force, under a leader named Timotheus. Joseph and Azarias, with the remnant of the host, were left in Judæa, with strict injunctions to act only on the defensive until Judas should return. This order they violated, by advancing towards Jamnia, where Gorgias was posted. Here they were defeated, with the loss of 2000 men. Judas and Simon, on the other hand, were everywhere victorious. Timotheus was utterly discomfited by the former; after which he gathered all the Israelites who lived in Galaad, with their wives and children, and household stuff, and brought them safely into Judæa. Simon did the same with regard to the Jews who lived in Galilee; and the brothers having formed a junction at Bethshan, or Scythopolis, passed through

[5] 1 Macc. iv. 28—66. 2 Macc. x. 6—9. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. vii.

Samaria and the land of the Philistines, destroying everywhere the monuments of idolatry.[6]

It appears, from the narrative of Porphyry, that eighteen months before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, he placed his son on the throne.[7] This must have been when he went into Persia, where he died, in the 149th year of the Seleucidæ.[8] His last moments were embittered by retrospection, and he had the anguish to hear of the success of Judas and the restoration of the temple service at Jerusalem. In this miserable state, he gave his diadem, and ring, and royal robes, to Philip, with instructions to convey them to his son, and with power to be the guardian of his minority; for, according to Appian, the young Antiochus was then only nine years of age.[9] Porphyry, with more probability, states that he was twelve. Under either supposition, the appointment was disastrous for the Syrians, and advantageous for the Jews; for it kindled a war between Philip and Lysias, who assumed the regency as soon as he heard of the king's death, and, before the arrival of Philip, had proclaimed Antiochus Eupator.[10] Judas, in the year of the Seleucidæ 150, was still besieging the garrison on Mount Sion, when Antiochus Eupator and Lysias marched against him, with 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 32 elephants. Nothing dismayed, he raised the siege of the citadel, and marched from Jerusalem to a place called Beth-zachariah, about eight or nine miles from the royal army. Lysias and Antiochus were then laying siege to the strong fortress of Bethzur, near Hebron, and about twenty miles from Jerusalem.[11] But, on the approach of Judas, they raised the siege, and advanced to meet him. Here occurred the self-sacrifice of the intrepid Eleazar, a younger brother of Judas. Supposing that the king was in the tower on the back of the tallest elephant, he rushed through the

A. J. P. 4550. B. V. Æ. 161.

A. J. P. 4551. B. V. Æ. 163.

[6] 1 Macc. v. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. viii.

[7] Euseb. Chron. Part i. ed. Ven. p. 348.

[8] 1 Macc. vi. 16.

[9] Lib. de Reb. Syr. 46.

[10] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. ix.

[11] Reland, Palæstin. tom. ii. 658—660.

troops by which it was surrounded, crept under its belly, into the tenderest part of which he thrust his sword; and thus brought down the enormous mass upon his own head. Judas, after slaying 600 of the king's army, was compelled to retreat by the excess of numbers. The king took Bethzur, and then advanced upon Jerusalem. It was a sabbatical year; and, therefore, the city, filled as it was with the families who had accompanied Judas and Simon from Galilee and Galaad, was soon reduced to great straits for want of provisions. But, at this critical moment, Lysias received intelligence that his rival, Philip, had returned from Persia and Media, with the army which had accompanied Antiochus Epiphanes. He, therefore, advised the young king to make peace with Judas, allowing the Jews to live according to their own laws, as they had done before the reign of his father. This treaty, though it was shamefully violated, and the war which ensued with Philip, gave a short respite to the sufferings of the faithful Israelites.[12] It was about this time that the wicked Menelaus was put to death by the advice of Lysias. He was the principal cause of all the calamities which had fallen upon the nation; and now, by a most righteous retribution, he suffered that cruel punishment invented by the Persians, which is described by the author of the second book of Maccabees. A high tower filled with ashes, with a cylindrical fan, which whirled them around, received the wretched culprit, and, by this dreadful suffocation, soon extinguished life. He had held the high-priesthood ten years.[13]

III.

It was not long before Antiochus Eupator, and Lysias, his cousin and counsellor, were slain by Demetrius, the son of

[12] 1 Macc. vi. 2 Macc. xi.—xiii. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. viii. ix.

[13] 2 Macc. xiii. 3—8. This punishment of "the ashes" was invented by Ochus, B. V. Æ. 359, that he might put his brother Sogdianus to death without violating the promise he had made, "neither by the sword, nor by poison, nor by starvation, to take his life." See Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. v. 261, note O, and authors there cited.

Seleucus. We have seen that this prince was sent to Rome by his father, when he was a child, to redeem Antiochus Epiphanes. Contrary to the advice of the historian Polybius, as soon as he heard of the death of his uncle, he went before the Roman Senate, and claimed to be released as a hostage, because the person was dead for whom he had been substituted. But the Senate not granting his request, he escaped, by the contrivance of Polybius, privately, landed at Tripoli in Syria, and was received with acclamation, by the army and people of Antioch, as the rightful successor to the throne.[14] Demetrius had just entered on his twenty-third year, when he thus gained the crown of Asia; and so great were the transports of his subjects on this occasion, that he soon received the name of SOTER, "the saviour," or "deliverer." Porphyry places this event in the fourth year of the one hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad; both the authors of the Maccabees, in the one hundred and fifty-first year of the Seleucidæ. These two dates are easily reconciled, if we place them between the months of July and October.[15] A. J. P. 4553 B. V. Æ. 161.

Antiochus Eupator, or Lysias, who reigned in his name, had, immediately after the death of Menelaus, given the high-priesthood to Alcimus, a profligate priest of the Grecizing faction, and a bitter enemy of Judas and the faithful men of Israel. This man ingratiated himself with Demetrius, and, by false representations, inflamed him with resentment against the Maccabees. The king confirmed him in the high-priesthood, and sent with him Bacchides, the governor of Mesopotamia, with a large army, to reinstate him, by force, over the unwilling nation. Bacchides attempted, by guile, to get Judas into his power; but, having unwisely put to death the few who confided in his promises, he finally retired without effecting anything, and left Alcimus to contend alone for his

[14] Appian de Reb. Syriac, 47, ed. Schweig. vol. i. p. 607.

[15] July, as the beginning of the Olympic year, and October, as ending the year of the Seleucidæ. See Tables, p. 137 of Chron. Introd. Porph. ap. Euseb. Chron. P. i. ed. Ven. p. 348, and 1 Macc. vii. 1; 2 Macc. xiv. 4.

ill-gotten dignity. After harassing the nation for some time, and doing much injury, Alcimus, finding that Judas could not be overcome, returned to excite the king with new calumnies.[16] Upon this, Demetrius appointed Nicanor, the most faithful of his friends, and one of those who had escaped with him from Rome, to be governor of Judæa. The conduct of the new governor is variously represented. The author of the second book of Maccabees says that Simon, the brother of Judas, having *joined* battle with him, was *somewhat discomfited;* but Nicanor, being truly desirous of peace, had an interview with Judas, *loved him from his heart*, and induced him to marry and live at peace with him. The king, hearing this from Alcimus, was angry with Nicanor, and ordered him to send Judas a prisoner to Antioch. This led to an entire change in Nicanor's conduct; and he threatened the Jews to destroy the temple, if they did not deliver up Judas as a prisoner; for that cautious general, having perceived the change, had provided for his own safety by a timely flight. The author of the first book of Maccabees, who is followed by Josephus, represents the conduct of Nicanor as deceitful from the very first; and that his designs were defeated by the wary circumspection of Judas. The latter seems the more probable account. Both agree, however, in the event of the great battle fought on the 13th of Adar, or Thursday, February 21st, in which Nicanor lost his life. Judas had only 3000 men; but, Nicanor being slain, his whole army fled, and during their flight were all, amounting to 9000 men, cut off in straggling parties by the enraged inhabitants. This number is swelled, by the author of the second book of Maccabees, to 35,000; and with this battle, as giving rest to the city of Jerusalem, he ends his narrative.[17]

A. J. P. 4554.
B. V. Æ. 160.

[16] 1 Macc. vii. 1—25. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. x. The author of the second book of Macc. xiv. 1—10, makes no mention of Bacchides.

[17] 1 Macc. vii. 2 Macc. xiv. xv. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. x.

IV.

Judas now determined to send an embassy to the Romans, that, by a treaty with them, he might strengthen himself against Demetrius. This recurrence to human aid, when he had been so signally protected from on high in answer to his prayers, indicated a wavering faith, and was soon followed by his death. In the hundred and fifty-second year of the Seleucidæ, Demetrius sent forth, a second time, Bacchides and Alcimus, and with them the chief strength of his host, 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. The forces of Judas amounted only to 3000 men; but, instead of the valour they had before displayed, so panic-stricken were they, that they melted away to 800. The noble Judas, distressed as he was by this desertion, exhorted the remaining band, small as it was, to attack the enemy. Instead of listening as usual, and at once obeying, they advised a retreat. "God forbid," replied the hero, "that I should flee. If our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren, and let us not stain our honour." The battle continued from morning till night. Judas rushed, with his mightiest men, upon Bacchides, who commanded the right wing, threw them into disorder, and routed them; but the left wing turning upon his rear, a desperate conflict ensued, and the valiant hero fell, covered with wounds. From this day forth, Bacchides and Alcimus had the ascendency, until the second month of the hundred and fifty-third year, when Alcimus was struck with palsy and died. As the second month in that year began on Monday, the 28th of April, this event must have happened in the month of May. Bacchides, upon this, returned to the king, and the people of Judæa had rest for two years. Nor at the expiration of these were they greatly harassed. Bacchides, after another inroad, was glad to make peace with Jonathan, who, on the death of his brother Judas, had taken the command; and Demetrius had soon enough to do in oppos-

A. J. P. 4555.
B. V. Æ. 159.

ing the claims of one who called himself a younger brother of Antiochus Eupator. With that fickleness which often marks the character of a people who are under despotic rule, the very men who had rejoiced at the death of the younger Antiochus were now ready to transfer their allegiance to his supposed brother, Alexander Balas. But the strife between Demetrius and Alexander was favourable to the Jews. Both sought to strengthen themselves by alliance with Jonathan; and the liberal concessions and privileges offered by each increased greatly the liberties and prosperity of Israel.[18]

It is now the proper time to ascertain the exact period of the Asmonæan dynasty, as that of the Maccabees was called. This is a most important period of the Jewish history, since with it terminated the sacerdotal government, and the female line of the family of David. Josephus affirms that, reckoning backward from the death of Antigonus, the last high priest of that dynasty, in the year when Herod became de facto the king of Judæa, it had continued one hundred and twenty-six (current), or, as he elsewhere expresses himself, one hundred and twenty-five (complete) years.[19] But that, in this respect, he counted inaccurately, will appear from a strict examination of well-authenticated dates. Josephus himself furnishes the clue by which to detect his own error. He says that the death of Antigonus took place in the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad, and the consulship of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus. The reader will find, by consulting the tables of the Introduction to this History, that the year thus described coincided with A. J. P. 4676, or B. V. Æ. 38.[20] Deducting 125 complete years, we are led to A. J. P. 4551, or B. V. Æ. 163, as the year in which the dynasty began. But there was no event in that year which could properly be called the commencement of a dynasty. Judas had retired before

[18] Appian de Reb. Syriac. 67. Justin. lib. xxxv. 1. Polyb. Legat. xxxiii. 14—16. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii.

[19] Comp. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. xvi. 4, with lib. xvii. c. vi. 3.

[20] See Tables in pp. 140 and 600, and P. ii. e. i. pp. 354, 356.

the superior numbers of Lysias and Antiochus Eupator. Nothing but the opportune arrival of Philip induced Lysias to advise the peace of that year, by which the Jews were allowed the free exercise of their religion. The wicked high priest, Menelaus, was soon after put to death; but the sufferings of the nation were far from being ended by that event. Alcimus, who belonged not to the family of Joshua, the son of Josedech, nor to that of the Maccabees, was appointed by the king high priest. This so disgusted Onias, the son of the good Onias III., who was the rightful heir, that he withdrew into Egypt, and there obtained permission to build a rival temple at Heliopolis. It was an unwarrantable transfer of the high-priesthood from the temple at Jerusalem, the only centre of unity appointed by God; and, for this act, Onias seems to have been punished by the utter excision of his race.

Alcimus was soon expelled from the actual exercise of his functions, on account of the profligacy of his personal character, and his attempts to introduce heathenish rites into the temple service; but, being supported by the kings of Syria, he retained his usurped dignity for three years or more, until he was struck with palsy, as we have seen, in the month of May, B. V. Æ. 159. There is no proof that Judas Maccabeus ever exercised the functions of the high-priesthood, though Josephus affirms, in one place, that he retained that office for three years before his death.[21] He silently corrects his own error in his subsequent catalogue of high priests,[22] in which he speaks of Alcimus under the name of Jacimus, and admits that the high-priesthood was vacant for seven years. Judas was the captain of the host of Israel until his death, B. V. Æ. 160. After that event, his brother Jonathan assumed the command, and continued the war of defence until the struggle began between Demetrius and Alexander Balas. Porphyry places the commencement of that struggle in the third year of the hundred and fifty-seventh Olympiad, which

[21] Antiq. lib. xii. ad. fin.

[22] Antiq. lib. xx. c. x.

began at the summer solstice, A. J. P. 4564, or B. V. Æ. 150. The author of the first book of Maccabees places it earlier, in the hundred and sixtieth year of the Seleucidæ, or about the year B. V. Æ. 152. It was then that Alexander wrote the letter to Jonathan, in which he appointed him high priest, called him the king's friend, and sent him, in token of sovereignty, a purple robe and a crown of gold. "In the seventh month of the hundred and sixtieth year, at the feast of Tabernacles," says the accurate historian, "Jonathan put on the holy robe," (that is, assumed the functions of the high-priesthood.[23]) The feast of Tabernacles, in the year B. V. Æ. 152, the earliest date on which it could have happened, fell on Sunday, the 19th of September. Following, therefore, the Jewish author, rather than Porphyry, we date the high-priesthood of Jonathan, and with that the sovereignty of the Asmonæan dynasty, full seven years and four months after the death of Alcimus; and it continued, not *one hundred and twenty-five*, but ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN years. The whole period from the death of Alcimus to that of Antigonus was less than one hundred and twenty-two years.

V.

But to return to our narrative. During the intestine divisions of the Seleucidæ, secretly fomented by the Romans, who sat like a cormorant watching for their prey, the Jewish people enjoyed rest, under divine protection, as long as they were quiet, and in proportion as they were faithful. But Jonathan, though good and pious, and earnest in his zeal for the purity of the faith, was personally brave, and had all the temporal ambition of a warlike prince. The wrongs inflicted by Demetrius led him to espouse the unjust cause of Alexander. All the heathen historians agree that this pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes was an impostor, set up to gratify the private revenge of a corrupt and disappointed cour-

[23] 1 Macc. x. 21.

tier. It suited the rapacious and iniquitous policy of Rome to uphold his pretensions; but it was unworthy of God's people and God's high priest to *do* wrong because they had *suffered* wrong. This measure, and the renewal of the treaty with the Romans, laid the foundation of subsequent miseries, which fell heavily on the Asmonæan family and the Jewish nation.

"Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, through hatred for Demetrius, aided Alexander; and so, by means of Ptolemy, Demetrius lost his dominion, and died. Demetrius, the son of this Demetrius Soter, expelled Alexander, and was called Nicator by the Syrians, because he conquered this man of spurious race. He, like that Seleucus who bore the same title, warred against the Parthians, was also taken captive, and, having married Rhodogune, the sister of their king, Phraates, remained in exile. During this anarchy, Diodotus, a servant of the king, proclaimed the child Alexander, whom Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, had borne to the spurious Alexander; and, having the boy in his power, aspired himself to the sovereignty, taking the name of Trypho. But Antiochus, the brother of the captive Demetrius, hearing of all these events at Rhodes, overcame and slew Trypho, with great difficulty, and then, marching against Phraates, compelled him through fear to release Demetrius. The marriage of the latter with Rhodogune roused the anger of his queen, Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, who had forsaken Alexander to become his wife; and she treacherously murdered him, after his restoration to his kingdom." Such is the succinct narrative of Appian.[24] It agrees in substance with that of Porphyry, who places the captivity of Demetrius Nicator in the third year of the hundred and sixtieth Olympiad, which began at the summer solstice. The liberation of the captive monarch, by the Parthian king, is placed by him in the second year of the hundred and sixty-second

A. J. P. 4576.
B. V. Æ. 138.

[24] De Reb. Syr. 67—68. Ed. Schweig. vol. i. 637—9.

Olympiad, which could not be later than midsummer. The points of difference between Appian and Porphyry are these. The one calls the Parthian monarch Phraates; the other, Arsaces. The one represents Antiochus Sidetes, so called from Sida, his birth-place, as marching upon the Parthians, to liberate his brother; the other, as having reigned nine years, and being then attacked by Arsaces, who had previously liberated Demetrius and sent him into Syria. Antiochus fought bravely, but fell, mortally wounded, in the engagement, at the age of thirty-five. Porphyry places this event at the beginning of winter, in the fourth year of the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad. It must, therefore, have been about the month of December. As Porphyry agrees, in these particulars, with the author of the first book of Maccabees, we receive it as the most accurate account.

A. J. P. 4584. B. V. Æ. 130.

A. J. P. 4585. B. V. Æ. 129.

At the time when Demetrius began to reign, in the one hundred and sixty-seventh year of the Seleucidæ, Jonathan began a most vigorous siege of the heathen and apostate garrison, which, from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, had constantly retained the citadel on Mount Zion. Angry at this, Demetrius sent for Jonathan to come to him immediately at Ptolemais, and the high priest obeyed the summons. He ordered the siege to continue without relaxation, but, with a retinue of priests and elders of Israel, and with magnificent presents, went as he was bidden. This bold and confiding policy appeased the king, and induced him to grant very large concessions. He not only confirmed Jonathan in the high-priesthood and all his other honours, — a ceremony which seems always to have been observed at the beginning of every reign, — but he released the nation from tribute, and enlarged the borders of Judæa by a permanent gift of three governments taken from Samaria.[25]

A. J. P. 4569. B. V. Æ. 145.

[25] The original grant at full length is preserved by the Jewish historian, 1 Macc. xi. 30—37, and copied by Josephus, Antiq. lib. xiii. c. iv., whose Greek, as Dr. Hudson remarks, is the purer of the two. The reason of this

Demetrius continued for three years to enjoy undisturbed repose; but having imprudently dismissed all his native troops, and retained only some foreign mercenaries, the dissatisfaction which this occasioned led to the attempt of Trypho, of which we have already spoken. At this time, Jonathan requested the king to order the evacuation of the citadel of Jerusalem and other fortresses in Judæa. His present necessities compelled him to grant the request, on the condition that Jonathan would send him three thousand of his ablest veterans. This was done; and to the Jews the king owed his safety from the universal insurrection of the people of Antioch. The city, given up to fire and plunder, was reduced to unconditional submission; the Jews returned, laden with great riches, to Jerusalem; and Demetrius, who had become jealous of Jonathan, and did not fulfil his promises, was soon after routed by Trypho, at the head of the native troops, who had revolted. The young Antiochus was now crowned, and nominally placed upon the throne. He confirmed Jonathan in all his honours, and sent him a purple robe with a golden buckle, and a service of gold for his table. But these were deceitful gifts from Trypho, who was enraged for his having sent succours to Demetrius, and was secretly resolved to get him into his own power and destroy him.[26]

Jonathan was now a confederate of Antiochus and Trypho, and therefore at war with Demetrius. United with him, for the first time, were the native forces of Syria; but Demetrius had still a strong party, which advanced against Jonathan, who was lying near the waters of Gennesareth. Here he was surprised by an ambush they had laid for him, and suffered great loss. He rent his clothes, and cast earth upon his head, and prayed; after which, he turned again upon the enemy, with about fifty of his most valiant followers. His soldiers,

may have been that the author of the first of Maccabees translated into his own Syriac or Hebrew, from which it was afterwards translated back again into Greek. The text of Josephus may have been the original.

[26] 1 Macc. xi. 38—58. Jos. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. iv.

seeing this, rallied and won the battle. They pursued the flying foe, with great slaughter, to Cadesh, in Galilee, where the camp of the Syrians lay.[27]

At this time, wishing to strengthen himself against both parties, Jonathan had recourse to the very doubtful policy of renewing the treaties with the Romans and the Lacedemonians. No good resulted from it, and he did not live to have either personal gain or loss. Trypho, who was insidiously laying snares for him, came to Scythopolis, and Jonathan went thither to meet him, at the head of 40,000 chosen men. Trypho, pretending surprise at this, as there was no war between them, prevailed upon his frank and unsuspecting nature to send them away, and accompany him to Ptolemais. As soon as the high priest arrived there, all his retinue were slain, and he was detained a close prisoner. When this was made known at Jerusalem, the people chose Simon as their leader. He immediately completed the fortifications which Jonathan had been carrying on, and was soon in such a posture of defence as to march against Trypho. The crafty Syrian again dissembled with him; pretended that Jonathan was held as security for money due to the royal treasury; and promised to liberate him, if Simon would send him a hundred talents of silver, and the two sons of Jonathan as hostages. By a strange infatuation, Simon, though sensible of Trypho's deceit and treachery, sent the money and the children, without insisting upon the simultaneous liberation of his brother. Trypho intended to advance upon Jerusalem, to succour the garrison, which still held out against Simon; but a deep fall of snow, an unusual event in that country, forced him to retire beyond Jordan. Here he put the unfortunate Jonathan to death, and then, returning to Syria, slew the young king, and assumed the diadem.[28] Just before this, Demetrius had been made prisoner by the Parthians; the news of which event induced Trypho to accelerate the murder of Antiochus.

[27] 1 Macc. xi. 60—74. Jos. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. v.

[28] 1 Macc. xii. 1—xiii. 32. Jos. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. v. vi.

VI.

Simon was now the high priest; but an incidental remark of the historian shows that both priests and people were expecting that prophet, greater than Moses, who was to rectify all the disorders of their government. They "were well pleased that Simon should be their governor and high priest forever, *until the rising up of the faithful prophet.*"[29] His character was foreseen by his father, when, on his death-bed, he appointed him, rather than Jonathan or Judas, to act in his own stead, as the counsellor and father of the people. He immediately opened a communication with Demetrius, the rightful sovereign of Asia, who confirmed him in the high-priesthood, and made a formal surrender of all the claims of his empire to receive tribute from the Jews. Thus was the yoke of the heathen taken away from Israel, in the hundred and seventieth year of the Seleucidæ. A. J. P. 4572. B. V. Æ. 142. From this time forth, the nation remained in great tranquillity. So prosperous were they, that the first year of Simon the high priest, the father and benefactor of his people, became an epoch from which they dated their contracts. In the following year, the heathen garrison upon Mount Zion, all supplies being cut off, were obliged to surrender; and Simon, who treated them with clemency, entered the citadel on Saturday, the 1st of May. Being the Sabbath, this joyful event, which completed the deliverance of A. J. P. 4573. B. V. Æ. 141. the Church from her enemies, was celebrated "with thanksgiving, and branches of palm-trees, and with harps and cymbals, and with viols, and hymns and songs." Simon ordered it to be observed as an annual festival; and thenceforth made the city of David his constant residence.[30] Josephus says that the hill of Zion was now levelled, so that the temple might be

[29] 1 Macc. xiv. 41. The expression is again weakened in our trans., as it is in v. 46 of chap. iv., by the substitution of the indefinite for the definite article.

[30] 1 Macc. xiii. 33—53. Jos. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. vi.

higher than it, and that this work, pursued without intermission, day and night, occupied them for three whole years.

Demetrius, having been taken prisoner in the year of the Seleucidæ one hundred and seventy-two, consented, as we have seen, to marry Rhodogune, the king of Parthia's sister. This insult to his queen, Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometer, so enraged her, that she wrote to his brother, Antiochus of Sida, who was living at Rhodes, offering him her hand, with the kingdom, if he would deliver her from the power of Trypho. The young prince accepted the offer, and, with Simon's permission, passed through Judæa, on his way to Syria. On this occasion, he confirmed all the gifts which had been made by his predecessors; gave Simon leave to coin money with the Jewish stamp; and promised, as soon as he should obtain his kingdom, to bestow greater honours upon him, his nation, and the temple. But these magnificent promises were easier made than kept. By the revolt of the army, and the general disaffection of the people, Trypho was obliged to take refuge in Dora, a maritime city of Phœnicia, near Mount Carmel.[31] Here he was besieged by Antiochus, both by sea and land, with a force, beside his navy, of 120,000 foot and 8000 horse. Elated by this success, Antiochus haughtily rejected the supplies which Simon sent him, and claimed as his right all that he had previously conceded and relinquished. As soon as his fears of Trypho were at an end, he sent Cendebeus with an army against Jerusalem. Simon, with a far inferior force, put him to flight, killing two thousand of his men; after which, he was unmolested, and the people enjoyed the quiet of their ancient and most prosperous times. "Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victuals for the

[31] Rel. Pal. tom. ii. lib. iii. voc. Dor, Dora, Dura. pp. 728—744.

cities, and set in them all manner of ammunition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy; for every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree, and there was none to fray them."[32] Such (and much more of acts of mercy, and justice, and pious liberality, and strict observance of religious duties) were the inscriptions on tables of brass, set upon pillars in Mount Zion, to commemorate the administration of Simon, by a grateful people. These tables were erected on the 18th day of Elul, or the 10th of September, in the third year of his pontificate. This happy state of things continued until Simon and his two sons, Mattathias and Judas, were treacherously slain, at Jericho, by his own son-in-law, Ptolemy, the Son of Abubus, in the month of January.[33]

A. J. P. 4571. B. V. Æ. 140.

A. J. P. 4579. B. V. Æ. 135.

With the death of Simon, we must bid farewell to the excellent author of the first book of Maccabees. Though not inspired, he was a most faithful and accurate historian, far superior to the writer of the second book, who, if we may judge from the termination of it early in the year B. V. Æ. 160, must have written about twenty-five years earlier. Josephus is now the only remaining authority concerning the affairs of the chosen people.

VII.

Simon was succeeded in the high-priesthood by his son John, surnamed Hyrcanus. He had early given evidence of his personal bravery and military skill, and had been placed by his father in command of all the forces.[34] But in the first year of his pontificate, Antiochus Sidetes, repenting of the concessions he had made, came against Jerusalem, and obliged John to surrender at discretion. The victor treated

[32] 1 Macc. xiv. 8—12.
[33] 1 Macc. xiv.—xvi. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. vii.
[34] 1 Macc. xiii. 53.

him with great moderation, rejected the advice of those who urged him to destroy the nation, and sent sacrifices to be offered in the temple. His forbearance, when he might have been severe, reconciled the Jews to a new treaty, which again made them tributary. On this occasion, Hyrcanus is said by Josephus to have opened the sepulchre of David, and taken thence three thousand talents.[35] When we consider the various revolutions which had taken place in eight hundred and eighty-five years, from the death of David to the pontificate of John, it seems hardly credible, that, if there were such treasures within, the sepulchre could have remained so long unviolated. The next year, John accompanied Antiochus in the expedition against the Parthians; and his exploits in Hyrcania were the supposed cause of his taking the cognomen of Hyrcanus.

Antiochus having been killed in the last battle with the Parthians, Demetrius, who, by the policy of their king Phraates, had been set at liberty, regained his dominion. These events bring down the history of the Seleucidæ to the winter of the fourth year of the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad. The internecine wars, which followed the return of Demetrius, so weakened the almost exhausted monarchy, that, at length, by the general consent of the people, the crown was offered to Tigranes, the king of Armenia. He, in his turn, was obliged to yield it to the victorious Roman general, Lucullus, who appointed Antiochus, son of Antiochus Cyzicenus, to the empty throne. "What *Lucullus granted*," says Justin, "*was by Pompey taken away.*" By right of conquest of their king, Tigranes, Pompey reduced it to a province of Rome; and thus fell the great Asiatic Horn of the Græco-Macedonian empire.[36] A. J. P. 4585. B. V. Æ. 129.

John availed himself of the disturbances in the Syrian kingdom to shake off the restraints imposed by Antiochus Sidetes, and regain the independence of his sovereignty. He therefore marched immediately, with his army, into Syria, and

[35] Joseph. Ant. lib. xiii. c. viii. § 4.

[36] Justin. Epit. lib. xl.

invested the city of Medeba, which had formerly belonged to the tribe of Reuben.[37] Notwithstanding its garrison had been greatly diminished, it held out against him six months. Thence he proceeded to Samega or Samaia, and thence turned his arms against the Samaritans. The temple, which Sanballat had built upon Mount Gerizim, by permission of Alexander the Great, for his son-in-law, Manasses, the brother of Jaddua, the high priest, of which mention has been already made, [p. 294,] was now laid waste. Dating from the year in which Sanballat obtained permission to build, and probably laid the foundation, this temple had continued until the death of Antiochus Sidetes, two hundred and four years. From the Samaritans, he proceeded to the Idumæans, whom he conquered; and he permitted them to remain in their country, only on the condition of their embracing the true religion. He next renewed the treaty of amity with the Romans, by sending an embassy to their capital. The answer returned by the Senate, which Josephus has preserved, clearly shows that it was the object of the Jewish high priest to strengthen himself against both the Syrian factions, by bringing upon them the dreaded and imperious mandate of the haughty republic; "that Joppa with its haven, Gazara and its fountains, and all other cities captured by Antiochus, contrary to the decree of the Senate, should be restored, and the royal troops no longer permitted to march through their borders; that all the attempts of Antiochus, being contrary to the Senate's decree, were null and void; and that they would send legates to see that due restitution be made, and damages properly assessed, for the ravages committed by Antiochus in that war." The Senate declined, for the present, any interference for past injuries, but promised their protection for the future.[38] Considering the whole course of God's dealings with his people as requiring implicit and exclusive trust in divine protection,

A. J. P. 4332.
B. V. Æ. 332.

[37] Reland, Pal. tom. ii. p. 893.

[38] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. ix.

all this policy was inconsistent with true faith, and tended only to hasten the infliction of more dreadful miseries. The devastation of the Samaritan temple is capable of defence; but the attempt to propagate the true faith among the Idumæans, by force of arms, was inconsistent with the principle, that true religion is a voluntary submission of the human heart. This unlawful method of compelling the Idumæans to adopt the Jewish rites prepared the way for the elevation of Herod on the ruins of the sacerdotal sovereignty. It led, indeed, to the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning the incarnation; but, as in the case of the crucifixion, this was done by Hyrcanus unwittingly.[39]

VIII.

Antiochus, surnamed Grypus, from his aquiline or vulture-like nose, came to the throne of Syria, according to Porphyry, in the second year of the hundred and sixty-fourth Olympiad.[40] He was opposed by the son whom his mother Cleopatra had borne to Antiochus Sidetes. This latter prince was surnamed Cyzicenus, from Cyzicus, the place of his education; and during the contest which continued for many years between them, both were afraid to make war upon Hyrcanus, who, therefore, enjoyed great peace and prosperity. But this peace without warmed into life the baleful spirit of party within, to devour the vitals of the Church. After the restoration of the temple from the pollutions of the heathen, there sprang up three sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. Josephus first mentions them under the pontificate of Jonathan; and although the period of their previous existence is uncertain, their birth must be placed within the Syro-Macedonian monarchy. The revolt of Manasses, and the establishment of temple worship upon Mount Gerizim, was a schism *from* the Church; but these

A. J. P. 4591. B. V. Æ. 123. Ant. Gryp. 1.

[39] Comp. St. John, ch. xi. 47—52, with St. Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 8.

[40] Apud Euseb. Chron. Part i. ed. Ven. p. 352. Chron. Introd. Tables, p. 138.

were sects of later date *within* the Church, connected with the questions respecting free-will and fate, and the nature of the soul, which agitated the Grecian and Oriental schools of philosophy. Josephus was himself a Pharisee, and, with due allowance for that bias, may well be considered as a competent witness of what the three sects had become in the first century of the Christian æra. As regards the Pharisees and Sadducees, his testimony fully accords with that of the apostles and evangelists. But it is the nature of all sects gradually to develop the peculiar changes by which they are designated. The Jewish sects were not at first all that they afterwards became; and this single observation will account for the perplexities and doubts of modern writers, who have commented on the language of the Jewish historian.[41]

Hyrcanus had been educated by the Pharisees, and was, therefore, partial to them and their doctrines; but an event occurred, towards the close of his reign, which changed his affections, exhibited the power they had imperceptibly acquired, and led to important changes in the Jewish polity. At a feast he had made for them, he spake of his constant endeavour to please God, and asked them to correct any errors of his administration. They all replied in terms of commendation, excepting one Eleazar, a man of surly temper and seditious propensities. "Since you are desirous to know the truth," said he, bluntly, "if you wish to be righteous, abdicate the high-priesthood, and content yourself with only the government of the people." Being asked why, he added, "We have heard from the elders that your mother

[41] The reader who wishes to examine this interesting and curious subject will find materials for it in the following authors: Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. v. ix. xviii. c. i. De Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. viii. Baronius Apparatus ad Annal. Eccles. tom. i. viii.—xii. with I. Casauboni Exercit. i. p. 53. Bruckeri, Hist. Crit. Phil. tom. ii. pp. 653—812, particularly from sect. xix. to sect. xxx. Lightfoot, Hor. Hebr. et Talmud. in Matt. iii. Works, fol. vol. ii. Prideaux, Connec. Part ii. Book v. anno. 108, pp. 353—386. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tomes iii. iv. or liv. ii. c. xiv.—xxiii. Very good summaries may be found in Calmet's Dict. ed. Robinson, and Horne's Introd. vol. iii. P. iii. ch. vi. sec. ii. § 1. But the authors mentioned exhaust the subject.

was a captive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." This brutal speech, which had no foundation in truth, greatly irritated Hyrcanus. An intimate friend of his, who was a Sadducee, suggested that it was a studied insult of the Pharisees; and that he might easily ascertain this by inquiring of them what punishment should be inflicted on the calumniator. Hyrcanus adopted his advice; and, being dissatisfied with their answer, renounced all connection with them, and joined the sect of the Sadducees. From this act of the high priest, it is inferred that the Sadducees could not, at that time, have held the erroneous doctrines which they afterwards professed, but were merely opposed to the unwritten traditions of the Pharisees. However that may have been, from this time forth the popularity of Hyrcanus declined; for, says Josephus, "if the Pharisees uttered anything, even against the king or the high priest, they had so much power over the multitude as to be implicitly believed." It is probable that this struggle with the popular sect shortened his days, and led to the prediction, which Josephus mentions as prophetic, that his sons would not long continue masters of the government. He died, however, in comparative tranquillity, in the thirty-first year of his government.[42]

A. J. P. 4609. B. V. Æ. 105. Last year of Hyrcanus.

IX.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Aristobulus, who "thought proper," says Josephus, "to change the government into a kingdom, being the first who put a diadem upon his head, *four hundred and eighty-one years and three months* after the people were released from the Babylonish captivity. This, as Dr. Hales remarks, was a violation of

A. J. P. 4610. B. V. Æ. 104. Aristob. I.

[42] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. x. Dr. Hales, I know not on what authority, makes the reign of Hyrcanus 30 years. Eusebius places his death in the first year of the hundred and sixty-ninth Olympiad, or B. V. Æ. 104. In the next chapter, Josephus, speaking of the assumption of the crown by Aristobulus, says it was just 481 years and three months after the return of the nation from the Babylonish captivity, in B. V. Æ. 536. This accords very well with the date I have given.

the law, and contrary to the express reservation of the priests and people, when they elected Simon their ethnarch, or prince.[43] The title of king belonged only to the Messiah, whose coming they were then expecting. Aristobulus cast his own mother into prison, and there starved her to death, because she asserted the rights which Hyrcanus had conferred upon her. He put in bonds all his brethren, excepting Antigonus, whom he loved. Even this brother was murdered, from a hasty fit of jealousy, and under a false suspicion that he was plotting his death. The discovery of his error so affected him as to hasten his death, when he had reigned only one year.[44]

His queen, Salome, or Alexandra,—for she was known by both names,—immediately liberated his brothers from prison, and placed upon the throne the very son whom Hyrcanus had endeavoured to exclude.[45] Alexander Jannæus was energetic and brave, but cruel and unscrupulous. The earlier part of his reign was occupied in wars of doubtful issue with Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, whom his mother, Cleopatra, had forced into exile; and the latter part, in quarrels with his own subjects, especially the Pharisees, by whom he was detested. As an evidence of the feelings of the people towards him, Josephus relates that in the very temple, when, as high priest, he was about to offer sacrifice at the feast of Tabernacles, the people rose against him, and pelted him with citrons. Together with this act of contumely, they reviled him as unworthy of his high dignity, and unfit to offer sacrifice. In the rage which this occasioned, he slew six thousand, and erected a partition of wood around the altar and the sanc-

[43] 1 Macc. xiv. 41.

[44] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. xi.

[45] Josephus makes no mention of two Alexandras; yet this is assumed by Prideaux, who makes Alexandra, the queen of Alexander Jannæus, a different person from Alexandra, the queen of Aristobulus. He does this to avoid a difficulty respecting the age of Hyrcanus; and this opinion of his has been acquiesced in by subsequent historians. The reasons of my dissenting from him will be given when we come to the death of Hyrcanus II., and there consider his age. The reader's attention is called to it here, that he may compare Prideaux's narrative, Book vi. Connections, vol. iv p. 391, with mine. Both are founded upon Josephus.

tuary, to defend himself from the exasperated multitude. Not being able to trust his own subjects, he kept in pay a body of 6200 heathen mercenaries from Pisidia and Cilicia. This state of intestine warfare continued for six years, during which time he slew no less than fifty thousand Jews. Tired, at length, he attempted a parley, and asked what he should do to content them. "Kill yourself!" was the laconic and universal reply. As an example both of his cruelty and his abandoned life, it is mentioned that, after taking by siege the city of Bethome, he sent the men to Jerusalem, and, while publicly feasting with his concubines, ordered eight hundred of his prisoners to be crucified. While his victims were still living, the throats of their wives and children were cut before their eyes. His debaucheries and hard drinking so injured his constitution that he fell into a quartan fever, of which he died, at the age of forty-nine, when he had reigned twenty-seven years. As he was lying on his death-bed, before Ragaba, a fortress beyond Jordan, which he was besieging, his queen, Alexandra, came to him weeping, and exclaimed, beating her breast, "To whom dost thou leave me and my children, destitute of aid, knowing as thou dost how badly disposed the nation is towards thee?" To this, the dying prince replied, that "if she complied with his advice, she would securely retain the kingdom for herself and her children. Conceal my death from the soldiers till thou hast taken this fortress; then march, in the splendour of conquest, to Jerusalem, and put power into the hands of the Pharisees. They will praise thee for this honour, and will render the nation benevolent towards thee. For these men have great influence over the Jews, to injure those whom they hate, and be of service to those whom they befriend. When they speak against any one, even from envy, they are sure to be believed by the multitude; and it is because I have treated them with arrogance, that I have so offended the people. When thou, therefore, art come to Jerusalem, send for their

principal men; show them my dead body; permit them to do with it as they will, whether to bury it with all honour, or to leave it unburied, because of the injuries I have done them; and then promise that nothing shall be done in the kingdom without their consent. Thus shall I be honoured with a splendid funeral, and thou shalt reign in safety." This crafty advice was followed with complete success. The Pharisees, because they were permitted to treat his body with ignominy, thought it more politic to honour his memory and to give him a magnificent burial; and were willing, as they should in reality possess the power, to give Alexandra and her sons the outward show of sovereignty.[46]

X.

In this way the government was conducted for nine years. Alexandra had no children by Aristobulus, and was, therefore, permitted by the law to marry his brother, Alexander Jannæus, who was at that time but twenty-two years old, while she was thirty-eight. Her first son, by Alexander, was consequently reckoned as the son of Aristobulus, and thus by double right entitled to the throne. But Hyrcanus, the elder son, was infirm of purpose, and loved a tranquil life, while Aristobulus, the younger, was resolute and daring. Alexandra, therefore, assigned to the former the functions of the high-priesthood, while she kept the latter by her side, as a private man, without any political influence. As to her own administration, she was entirely governed by the Pharisees; and to this reign must be traced the establishment of those "vain traditions," mentioned in the New Testament, and continued among the Jews even to this day. One of the first measures taken was to repeal the prohibitory statutes of John Hyrcanus, and restore the Pharisaic observances he had abrogated. This act was soon followed by the persecution of the Sadducees. The dominant party, relying on the popular

[46] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. xii.—xv.

favour, and increasing the strength of their sect by recalling those whom Hyrcanus and his sons had banished, directed their steady and murderous aim at the rich and hitherto powerful Sadducees, whom they accused as advisers of the barbarous executions in the late reign. All the atrocities of Alexander Jannæus were excused to the people, as being not his own, but those of the party with which he and his father had been connected. The young Hyrcanus, from his indolent temper, appears not to have opposed these proceedings, apparently sanctioned by his mother's authority; but Aristobulus, who resembled his father in character, boldly placed himself at the head of the proscribed, reproached his mother for her womanly weakness in yielding them to the fury of their enemies, and demanded for them all the fortresses in the land, as places of refuge, or else permission to enter the service of Aretas, the king of Arabia, and other hostile monarchs. In this dilemma, Alexandra yielded to them all the fortresses, except three, in which she deposited her treasures; and as at this juncture intelligence was received that Tigranes, the king of Armenia, had entered Syria with a large army, and intended to invade Judæa, the queen and the Pharisees were so alarmed, that all internal commotions were, for a time, suspended. An embassy was sent to Tigranes, who was then besieging Ptolemais, and was by him favourably received; but what he might have done, or intended to do, was prevented by the necessity of his return to Armenia, which was then laid waste by the Roman arms, under Lucullus.

In the mean time, Alexandra was attacked by a dangerous illness; and Aristobulus, fearing the power of the Pharisees, whose policy it would be to place the passive Hyrcanus on the throne, determined to secure it for himself. He left Jerusalem privately, and his friends being in possession of almost all the strong holds, twenty-two of them declared for him in about a fortnight. By the aid of the neighbouring princes,

who from motives of policy favoured him, he raised a foreign army; and the people, fond of change, began to flock to his standard. The Pharisees were now in the greatest consternation. They imprisoned the wife and children of Aristobulus, as hostages for his good behaviour, and, taking Hyrcanus with them to the apartment of the dying queen, obtained from her full powers to do what they might think proper. Thus did the civil strife begin, which ended in the destruction of the Asmonæan dynasty. The queen soon died, at the age of seventy-three. "She was a woman," says Josephus, "who exhibited in nothing the weakness of her sex;" but though inordinate in her love of power, and possessed of great practical judgment, she was compelled, by force of circumstances, to sanction what she did not approve. She was the first, and the *only*, queen regnant in Judæa.

XI.

Hyrcanus, as high priest, entered on the sovereignty in the third year of the one hundred and seventy-seventh Olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, afterwards surnamed Creticus, were consuls at Rome. This double testimony of Josephus, compared with the Capitoline Tables, fixes the date of Alexandra's death between the months of July and December, in the year of Rome 684. The sovereignty of Hyrcanus II. may, therefore, with great exactness, be computed as beginning with the close of that year; but he had scarcely held it three months when he was defeated, at Jericho, by his brother, Aristobulus, and forced to resign the government to him. This greatly excited the displeasure of Antipas, or, as he afterwards called himself, Antipater, a rich and powerful Idumæan, a man of bold and turbulent temper, and for this reason, if not for others, a friend of the pliant Hyrcanus, and an enemy of the bold and resolute Aristobulus. By his persuasion, Hyrcanus fled privately to Aretas, king of the Arabians, who, by large promises, was

A. J. P. 4614, B. V. Æ. 70.

induced to make an expedition against Aristobulus, with an army of 50,000 horse and foot. Aristobulus was in his turn defeated, and Jerusalem closely besieged by the Arabians. The inhabitants favoured Hyrcanus; and Aristobulus was supported only by the priests. Such was the state of things at the Passover, which, in that year, fell on Tuesday, the 7th of April. A. J. P. 4645. B. V. Æ. 69.

In the mean time, Pompey, who was carrying on the war with Tigranes, in Armenia, had sent Scaurus into Syria. That general, finding Damascus already in the power of the Romans, advanced rapidly into Judæa. He was met by ambassadors from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, both claiming his assistance, and supporting their claims by equal offers.[47] Scaurus accepted that of Aristobulus, because he was better able to pay than Hyrcanus, and commanded Aretas to retire with his army, if he would not be declared an enemy of the Romans. Under this fear, Aretas raised the siege, and was pursued by Aristobulus. In the battle which ensued, Aretas and Hyrcanus were defeated, with the loss of 6000 men. Among the slain was Phalion, the brother of Antipas, or Antipater, who was thus rendered a more implacable foe of Aristobulus.[48]

But things assumed a different aspect when Pompey came through Syria to Damascus. This took place early in the spring. The two brothers lost no time in referring their quarrel to his arbitrament. Antipater was sent by Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus by Aristobulus, as orators to plead in their behalf. But Nicodemus was so imprudent as to charge both Gabinius and Scaurus with bribery, and thus made those powerful commanders the enemies of Aristobulus. The Jews, also, sent a deputation to Pompey, protesting against both the brothers, because they claimed the royal dignity. Pompey condemned Aristobulus for his violent conduct, but

[47] Viz., of 400 talents.

[48] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. i. ii. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. vi.

deferred the decision, and in the mean time commanded the brothers to remain quiet. This roused the pride and obstinacy of Aristobulus, who prepared for war; and Pompey, angry at his resistance and his bad faith, commenced the siege of Jerusalem. The city was taken, says Josephus, in the third month, on the fast day, at the one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls. This, as we have elsewhere shown at large, was on the 19th or 20th of June.[49] The Jews who took part with Aristobulus entrenched themselves in the temple, and sustained the siege for some time longer. Twelve thousand were slain, and many others perished. It was finally taken by storm; and Pompey violated its sanctity by entering the Holy of Holies. He took, however, none of the treasures of the temple; and this conduct Josephus ascribes to his virtue and regard to religion; but it is very remarkable that, from this time forth, he was unsuccessful in all his undertakings, and, finally, in his contest with Julius Cæsar, was basely murdered. The crimes of men are often subservient to accomplish the judgments of the Almighty.[50]

A. J. P. 4650. B. V. Æ. 64.

The next day, Hyrcanus was restored to his pontificate, but forbidden to wear the diadem; and henceforth Judæa was considered as a captive country, and made tributary to the Romans. Aristobulus and his family, consisting of two sons and two daughters, were carried captives to Rome.[51]

[49] See Chron. Introd. to this History, Part i. chap. vi. pp. 183—188.

[50] Hales' Anal. Sac. Chronol. vol. ii. p. 583.

[51] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. iii. iv. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. vii.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN MONARCHY.

I. When founded. — Its territory confined within eighteen miles from the gates for 243 years. — Its progress in the next 467 years. — Additions under the emperors. — The entrance of the Roman arms into the Grecian monarchy. — Battle of Pydna. — The whole of that vast empire subdued in 137 years. — No history describes it so forcibly as the prophecy of Daniel. II. Expedition of Scaurus against Petra. — Adroit conduct of Antipater. — Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, heads a revolt. — The Senate send Gabinius to Syria. — Important change introduced by him in the civil government of Judæa. — Aristobulus escapes from Rome with his youngest son, Antigonus. — Severe engagement with the Romans. — They are captured and sent back to Rome. — The Senate liberate Antigonus and his two sisters. — Alexander defeated at Mount Tabor. — Crassus succeeds Gabinius. — Plunders the temple. — His ill-fated expedition into Parthia. — Cassius returns and harasses the Jews. — Aristobulus released by Cæsar, and sent to Syria. — He is there poisoned, and his son, Alexander, beheaded, by the partisans of Pompey. III. Defeat and death of Pompey. — Cæsar, in Egypt, receives important succours from Antipater, in the name of Hyrcanus. — He appoints Antipater procurator of Judæa, and pronounces Hyrcanus to be the rightful high priest. — Antipater appoints his eldest son, Phasael, governor of Jerusalem, and his next son, Herod, governor of Galilee. — His energetic administration excites alarm. — Summoned to Jerusalem for trial. — His conduct on that occasion. — Boldness and integrity of Sameas. — Herod meditates revenge. IV. Death of Julius Cæsar. — Antipater poisoned. — Herod and Phasael dissemble their resentment. — Attempt of Antigonus to dethrone his uncle, Hyrcanus. — Defeated, and driven out of Judæa. — Herod betrothed to Mariamne. — Mark Antony creates Herod and Phasael tetrarchs. — Irruption of the Parthians. — Flight of Herod. — Death of Phasael. — Barbarity of Antigonus. — Mutilates his uncle to exclude him from the high-priesthood forever. — Hyrcanus II. carried a prisoner into Parthia, and Antigonus acknowledged by all parties high priest and sovereign. — Herod, contrary to all his own expectations, declared king of Judæa by the Senate. — The war which ensued, between Herod and the Romans on one side, and Antigonus and the Jews on the other, terminated by the capture of Jerusalem and the death of Antigonus.

I.

HAVING now brought down our history to the subjugation of Judæa by the Romans, it is proper that we should ascend upon the stream of time, and consider the progress of that tremendous power, raised up by Divine Providence for the fulfilment of its own great designs.

According to the computation of Varro, the city of Rome was founded on the 21st of April, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.[1] Its whole territory, according to Sextus Rufus, was confined "within the eighteenth mile-stone from the city-gates; and so it continued, under its seven kings, for not less than two hundred and forty-three years."[2] "Under its consuls and dictators," continues the same author, "for four hundred and sixty-seven years, Italy was occupied beyond the Po, — Africa conquered, — Spain annexed, — Gaul and Britain rendered tributary, — the Illyrians, Histrians, Liburnians, and Dalmatians subdued. They crossed into Achaia. The Macedonians were overcome, and war was made with the inhabitants of Dardania, Mœsia and Thrace. They arrived even at the Danube. Antiochus being expelled, the Romans first placed foot in Asia. Mithridates being overcome, the kingdom of Pontus was occupied, and Armenia Minor, which he had held, was obtained by arms. The Roman army came into Mesopotamia. A league was entered into with the Parthians. War was carried on with the Cordueni, the Saraceni, and the Arabs. All Judæa was conquered. Cilicia and Syria came under the power of the Roman people. The kings of Egypt became confederate. Under the Emperors, the maritime Alps, the Cottian, the Rætian, and the Noric, were added to the Roman world; the Pannonias, the Mœsias, and the whole shore of the Danube, reduced into a province. All Pontus, the greater Armenia, the whole East, with Mesopotamia, Assyria, Arabia, and Egypt, passed under the laws of the Roman empire."[3] Such are the boastings of a Roman and heathen annalist, writing, at the command of an emperor, in the year of Rome 1117; but they are only the exordium. He goes on to show in what order the Roman republic acquired the

A. J. P. 3961. B. V. R. 753.

[1] See the Chronological Introduction to this History, P. i. chap. ii. pp. 44—54.

[2] Subregibus septem, per annos ducentos quadraginta tres, non amplius quam usque ad portum atque Ostiam intra octavum decimum milliarium a portis urbis Romæ, utpote adhuc parvæ et a pastoribus conditæ, quum finitimæ circum civitates premerent, Romanum processit imperium." Breviarium Sexti Rufi. ed. Verheyk. iii.

[3] Sex. Rufi. Brev. ut sup.

several provinces. Sicily was the first. Sardinia and Corsica followed. In defence of Sicily, the Roman arms passed into Africa, and after three rebellions, as he calls the Punic wars, Carthage was blotted out; so that the Roman empire did not *begin* its rapid enlargement until the time of the Scipios, within the last half of the second century before the Incarnation. The earliest entrance of the Romans into the empire of Alexander the Great was at the close of the fourth year of the one hundred and fifty-second Olympiad, on the 22d of June, when A. J. P. 4546. B. C. Æ. 168. they fought, with Perseus, the decisive battle of Pydna.[4] From that time, in the course of thirty-four Olympiads, or one hundred and thirty-seven years, they subdued the whole of that vast empire to their sway. Horn after horn crumbled under the pressure of their iron tread. No history describes their progress so forcibly as the prophecy of Daniel, dictated by the Spirit of God, while they were yet within the eighteen miles of their primitive boundary. "I saw in the night visions, and behold, a fourth beast, dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. . . . . Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast" . . . . *but it was not explained till the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven.* "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and tread it down, and break it in pieces."[5] The vision will not be fully understood till the Son of man shall come with the clouds of heaven; but all the proceedings of God, in plucking up, and pulling down, or in planting and building, nations, have had, and will have, reference to the twofold coming of the Son of man. We are now, therefore, to speak of the dealings of the Messiah with his Church, in the brief interval which

[4] The date of this battle is fixed by the total eclipse of the moon which took place the evening before, at 8 o'cl. P. M. See Appendix to Sermons on Prophecy, pp. 164, 165.

[5] Dan. vii. 7—23.

remains before they filled up the measure of their iniquities in rejecting and crucifying Him who came to save them.

II.

While Pompey was conducting his captives to Rome, Alexander, the eldest son of Aristobulus, contrived to elude the vigilance of his guards, and, making his escape, returned to Judæa. Scaurus, whom Pompey had left as the governor of Cœle-Syria, made an expedition against Petra, in which his army suffered greatly from the want of provisions. In this condition, he was relieved by Antipater, at the command of Hyrcanus; and the adroit Idumæan, being sent as ambassador on the part of the Romans, persuaded Aretas to pay a sum of money, for which he himself became security, to prevent Scaurus from doing further injury. This arrangement was equally acceptable to both parties. The Romans were glad to retire, and Aretas to rid himself of his troublesome invaders. Antipater thus added much to his personal influence, by giving to the administration of Hyrcanus an energy not its own. By equally increasing the respect of the Arabians and the Romans, he preserved the tranquillity of the Jewish nation.

But this quiet did not long continue. Alexander, though young, displayed the dauntless vigour of his father; and many of the Jews, under the idea of recovering their lost independence, joined the standard of revolt. To suppress this insurrection, and protect Hyrcanus, the Roman Senate gave the command of Syria to Gabinius, who, on this occasion, corrupt and rapacious as he was, seems to have acted with great wisdom and moderation. While with a firm hand he repressed all commotion, he rebuilt ruined cities, established useful laws, and, so far as his personal cupidity would permit, promoted the happiness of the people committed to his charge. The general of his cavalry was Marcus Antonius, who afterwards became so distinguished as the rival of Octavius. Him,

with other leaders, he sent into Judæa, against Alexander; and these, aided by Antipater and the forces of Hyrcanus, commanded by Pitholaus and Malichus, completely routed the insurgent army, near Jerusalem. Gabinius followed up the blow by speedily reducing the fortresses which held out for Alexander. He then, at the intercession of his mother, granted favourable terms to the young prince; but he reëstablished Hyrcanus at Jerusalem. A most important change, however, was now made in the civil government. Instead of the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, and the smaller courts in every city, he divided Judæa into five coördinate jurisdictions. This measure put all power into the hands of the nobles, and left to Hyrcanus only the shadow of sovereignty.[6]

The flight of Aristobulus, with his younger son, Antigonus, from Rome, soon renewed the disturbances. A large number of Jews, from love of change, or former partiality, resorted to him. Even Pitholaus, who held the command at Jerusalem, went over to him, at the head of a thousand men. Gabinius having sent against him Sisenna, Mark Antony, and Servilius, a severe engagement ensued. The Jews fought desperately, but were defeated with great loss. Five thousand were slain on the field; two thousand contrived to hide themselves; and the remaining thousand, with Aristobulus at their head, broke through the Roman ranks, and took refuge in the fortress of Machærus. Here they held out two days, and were then captured. The king and his son were sent back again to Rome, by Gabinius, loaded with chains; but as Gabinius had promised the mother of his children to obtain their liberation, the Senate ordered Antigonus and his two sisters to be sent back to Judæa, while Aristobulus was strictly confined. The indefatigable Alexander, unterrified by these disasters, continued to harass the Romans, but was defeated at Mount Tabor, with the loss of ten thousand men, the one third of his army. Gabinius at length returned to Rome, and was suc-

[6] Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. v. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. viii.

ceeded in his province by Crassus.[7] Intent upon subduing the Parthians, the new governor, less scrupulous than Pompey, plundered the temple at Jerusalem of two thousand talents in money, and, not content with this, stripped it of its gold, to the amount of eight thousand talents more. The result of his ill-fated expedition is a well-known event in Roman history; but nothing is said there of the sacrilege by which he drew upon himself and his army the judgment of the Almighty. Cassius, his lieutenant, saved himself by flight, and returned to Syria, where he continued to fight with the Parthians, who, flushed with victory, had entered the province. In the course of these operations, he advanced against Tarichæa, a city of Galilee, near the lake of Tiberias.[8] Here he took captive and reduced to slavery thirty thousand Jews, who were, probably, of Alexander's party; and, by the advice of Antipater, put Pitholaus to death, for his treachery in deserting to Aristobulus. Such was the progress of events in Judæa previous to the 23d of November, which, by the confusion of the Roman calendar, was then reckoned as the 1st of January of the following year.[9] A. J. P. 4663. B. V. Æ. 51.

As Aristobulus had been taken by Pompey, and was now in chains and in prison at Rome, by the order of the Senate, he was, therefore, set at liberty by Julius Cæsar, and sent into Syria with two Roman legions. But this apparently favourable turn of events occasioned not only his own death, but that of his son, Alexander. On his arrival, he was poisoned by the partisans of Pompey, and his body, preserved in honey, was finally sent by Antony to Jerusalem, and there buried in the sepulchres of the kings. The death of Alexander soon followed. By letters from Pompey, he was ordered to be tried for his past conduct against the Romans; and the young and valorous defender of his country's liberty was beheaded at Antioch.[10]

[7] Jos. Ant. lib. xiv. c. vi. De Bel. Jud. ut sup.

[8] Rel. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 1026. D'Anville Anc. Geog. p. 419.

[9] Chron. Introd. to Hist. of the Church, p. 170, note.

[10] Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. vii. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. viii—ix.

III.

The defeat and death of Pompey, after midsummer, in the fourth year of the one hundred and eighty-second Olympiad, led Cæsar into Egypt, and occasioned the Alexandrian war. In this, he received important succours from Antipater, acting in the name of Hyrcanus; for the Idumæan not only led three thousand heavy-armed troops to his assistance, but, also, by his influence with the Arabians and Syrians, induced them to coöperate with Mithridates and himself against Egypt. By means of letters from the high priest, he also persuaded the Egyptian Jews to become the friends of Cæsar, and place themselves under the command of Mithridates. In a battle which ensued near Memphis, Antipater, by his bravery and military skill, saved Mithridates himself from rout and ruin. All this was made known to Cæsar; and, during his passage through Judæa into Syria, he conferred upon Antipater the rights and privileges of a Roman citizen, and confirmed him in his power as procurator of Judæa. Antigonus having petitioned Cæsar, in the presence of Antipater, on the ground that his father and brother had been put to death by the partisans of Pompey, and that he was the rightful heir to the throne, Cæsar, after hearing the representations of both, rejected the suit of Antigonus with great severity, and pronounced Hyrcanus to be the rightful high priest. He also gave permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had dismantled.[11] A. J. P. 4665. B. V. Æ. 49.

Antipater lost no time in securing the advantages which Cæsar had put into his hands. No sooner had he returned from attending the dictator into Syria, than he began to rebuild the walls of the city; made his eldest son, Phasael, the

[11] Jos. Ant. lib. xiv. c. viii. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. ix.—x. By a strange anachronism, Josephus introduces here, as applying to this Hyrcanus, the decree of the Senate in the ninth year of his ancestor John Hyrcanus, the first of that name. Dr. Hudson supposes this to be a mistake of his amanuensis, and observes that the decrees intended for this place are afterwards inserted in chap. x. of Book xiv., to which the reader is referred.

governor of Jerusalem; and sent his next son, Herod, who possessed great courage and capacity, into the unsettled and turbulent border region of Galilee. This was the commencement of that brilliant but tyrannical career, which obtained for him, afterwards, the title of Herod the Great. He soon cleared the country of those marauding Jews, who, after the death of Aristobulus and Alexander, had supported themselves by plunder, and had greatly infested the peaceful inhabitants of Syria. Hezekiah, their leader, was executed, by Herod's orders, in the most summary manner, without even the form of a trial. This caused the Syrians to celebrate his name in songs of gladness, and attracted the notice and benevolence of Sextus Cæsar, the Roman president of Syria. His brother Phasael, emulous of his fame and honours, endeavoured to make his own administration alike useful and popular. Thus he acquired the love of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and added lustre to the regal dignity, which the surrounding nations were ready to attribute to the office held by Antipater. All these circumstances combined to excite a strong feeling of alarm and envy among the principal native Jews, and rendered the passive Hyrcanus himself uneasy, though, from indolence, he disguised his real thoughts.

The storm first fell upon Herod, because he was the youngest, the most dangerous, and the most open to attack. Against him all the sects were united, and the friends of Hezekiah and his followers, who seem to have been persons of great influence, were equally clamorous and implacable. It was determined to bring him to trial, for having violated the law, by the infliction of death upon persons unheard and uncondemned. The institutions of Gabinius had been revoked by Cæsar, and the grand Sanhedrim reëstablished at Jerusalem, in which the high priest presided. Before this body Herod was summoned to appear. As soon as it was convenient for him, he obeyed the summons; but left Galilee well garrisoned, with a sufficient force to protect his person, without

appearing hostile. He came before the Sanhedrim in state, surrounded by his guards, and bearing a letter from Sextus Cæsar to the high priest, commanding his acquittal, because he loved him as his own son. All were struck with affright; no one dared to accuse him; and, amid the universal perplexity how to act, a profound silence was kept. At length, one voice broke the stillness of this intense anxiety. "Men of the Sanhedrim, and thou, O king," exclaimed Sameas, a just man, and therefore unconscious of fear, "never have I known one thus stand before us, when called to judgment. Every one arraigned before this tribunal appears humble and downcast, supplicating our mercy, with dishevelled hair, and in black apparel. But this excellent Herod, avoiding the verdict of murder, of which he is now accused, stands clothed in purple, his head adorned with hair nicely arranged, and surrounded with armed men, who, if he should be condemned according to the law, would slay us, and enable him to escape with impunity. I would not blame Herod for preferring his own safety to the law, but I blame you and the king for allowing him such exemption from fear. Know, however, that God is great, and that he whom ye now acquit for the sake of Hyrcanus will hereafter punish both you and the king himself." Josephus adds, that when Herod had obtained the kingdom, *he slew all who were then present, excepting Sameas.*

Indignant at the affront thus publicly received, Herod meditated revenge. He obtained from Sextus Cæsar, by purchase, the command of Cœle-Syria, and marched against Hyrcanus, with intention to dethrone him. From this purpose he was with difficulty turned, by the entreaties of Antipater and Phasael. This fact alone shows the enormous power to which he had arrived in less than four years. His fortune was now rapidly in the ascendant; and events apparently the most untoward served only to accelerate its rising. The death of Sextus Cæsar, who was murdered by his soldiers, threw Syria

into great disorders.[12] These were allayed by Cassius, who became the friend of Herod, entrusted him with a fleet and army, gave him the supreme command, and even promised, at the termination of the war, to make him king of Judæa.[13]

IV.

The Roman monarchy, begun by Julius Cæsar, had sustained a great shock, when he fell, covered with wounds, in the senate-house, at the feet of the statue of Pompey. The war which ensued had brought Cassius into Syria, to collect soldiers and money for the eventful struggle at Philippi; and when he and Brutus were conquered, Antony came into Asia, and became no less the friend of Herod than Cassius himself. Thus it is that, in the order of Divine Providence, the greatest events proceed from the most improbable causes.

But not to anticipate: while Cassius was still in Syria, occurred the death of Antipater, the father of Herod, the steady friend of Hyrcanus, and a real benefactor to the Jewish nation. But their jealousy of him and his family, as foreigners, led to continual machinations against his life, which were finally successful. The cup-bearer of Hyrcanus, bribed by the Jewish general, Malichus, presented to him, at a banquet, a poisoned cup of wine. Herod and Phasael were obliged, for a time, to dissemble their resentment; but at length it fell upon the culprit with unerring and murderous aim.

Soon after the departure of Cassius, Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, made an unsuccessful attempt to dethrone his uncle Hyrcanus. He was defeated by Herod, and driven out of Judæa, when he had scarcely entered within its borders. This obtained for the victor a most triumphant reception at

[12] Josephus (Ant. lib. xiv. c. xi., and de Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. x.) says that he was killed by Cæcilius Bassus; Appian, (de Bel. Civil. lib. iii. 77,) by his soldiers, who compelled Bassus to unite with them; Dion Cassius, (lib. xlvii. 26,) by his soldiers, instigated by Bassus.

[13] Jos. Ant. ut sup. c. xi. § 4.

Jerusalem; and Hyrcanus contracted to bestow upon him the hand of the beautiful Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander the son of Aristobulus, and granddaughter, on the mother's side, of Hyrcanus. They were now only betrothed; but this alliance with the sacerdotal family was contrary to the law, which forbade the priest's daughter to marry a stranger.[14] It was unhappy, and led to fatal results. Even as a political measure, it seems entirely to have failed; for when Antony came into Bithynia, the principal men of Judæa appeared before him, to accuse Phasael and Herod as having usurped all the power, and left Hyrcanus only the shadow of a name. Herod ably defended himself, and secretly employed the more effectual argument of money. Antony would not listen to their complaints, but treated Herod with great distinction. So, when the accusations were afterwards boldly repeated at Daphne, in Syria, even in the presence of Hyrcanus, Antony asked the high priest by whom the nation was best governed. On his replying, "By Herod and his friends," Antony, remembering the former kindness of Antipater, when he had served in Judæa under the orders of Gabinius, immediately created Phasael and Herod tetrarchs, and sent them back to Judæa, with full powers of administration. The Jews being still refractory, and having sent a deputation to Antony, of a thousand persons, thereby to prove how general was the discontent, the Romans fell upon them at Tyre, killed and wounded many, and would have slain the whole, but for the interference of Herod and Hyrcanus.[15]

In the forty-first year before the common Christian Æra, took place the irruption of the Parthians, for the purpose of dethroning Hyrcanus, and placing Antigonus in his stead. That this was done with the general approbation of the Jewish nation, appears from their not pressing the siege of Jerusalem until the feast of Pentecost,

A. J. P. 4673. B. V. Æ. 41.

[14] Lev. xxii. 12.

[15] Jos. Ant. lib. xiv. c. xii.—xiii. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. xii.

which fell that year on the 19th or 20th of May. At that feast, it was the duty of every male Jew to appear, and offer sacrifice in the temple. Crowds of bold and hardy men were now seen upon every road leading to the holy city. The Parthians opened their ranks, and suffered them to enter, well knowing that they were thus introducing their friends. No sooner was the feast ended, than the gates were thrown open, and the Parthians admitted. Herod saved himself by a timely flight; but Phasael was taken prisoner, and kept in close confinement, until his fate should be determined. To avoid the ignominious death which awaited him, he dashed out his brains against the walls of his dungeon. Hyrcanus, venerable for his years, kneeled as a suppliant at the feet of the young and triumphant Antigonus; but the nephew, with unexampled barbarity, stooping, as if to kiss his uncle, fixed his teeth in the lobes of his ears, and tore them both from his head. A maimed person was forbidden, by the law, to exercise the functions of the high-priesthood;[16] and this mutilation forever settled their personal controversy. Hyrcanus was carried as a prisoner into Parthia, and Antigonus was acknowledged, by all parties in the nation, as the high priest and sovereign of Judæa. As for Herod, he made his way to Rome, in the manner which has been related in the Introduction to this History.[17] All he then desired or expected was the appointment of Aristobulus, the brother of his beloved Mariamne, to be the high priest, and the protection of the Roman people, in the necessary contest to obtain for him that dignity. As the grandson of Hyrcanus on his mother's side, and the only son of Alexander, the elder brother of Antigonus, this Aristobulus was the only rightful heir, and therefore the only surviving competitor who could be set up against the claims of Antigonus. To make him the high priest and sovereign of Judæa would secure to Herod the

[16] Levit. xxi. 16—24.

[17] Chron. Introd. Reign of Herod the Great, P. ii. chap. i. p. 352.

same administration of affairs which his father Antipater had enjoyed under Hyrcanus, and which Antony had conferred conjointly upon him and his brother Phasael. Such was then the utmost extent of Herod's ambition. But God, who alone can order the wills and affections of sinful men, saw not as he saw. The Roman Senate, irritated that Antigonus should have applied to their enemies, the Parthians, and been placed by them on a throne which was tributary to themselves, considered him as having thereby become their enemy. They looked with indifference upon the rights or claims of the obscure Aristobulus, while they regarded Herod with complacency, under the combined influence of Antony and Octavianus Cæsar. On the nomination, therefore, of Antony, the conscript fathers, by acclamation, proclaimed Herod king of Judæa, and, in seven days after he had entered Italy, he was enabled to leave it, with a title which, in the wildest dreams of his ambition, he had never coveted. With the title, he received the whole power of Rome to support his new pretensions. Orders were sent to the Roman commanders, in Syria and the adjacent countries, to coöperate with him for the expulsion of the Parthians, and the subjugation of Antigonus; and Herod, on his arrival at Ptolemais, was enabled to collect a numerous army to begin his operations. For the detail of these proceedings, the reader must be referred to the narratives of Josephus.[18] Suffice it to say, that the war, being considered by the Jews as the defence of their civil and religious rights, raged fiercely, with slow progress and doubtful issues, till about the beginning of June, three years after he was so proclaimed, when Jerusalem was taken, Antigonus slain, and Herod the Idumæan firmly established on the throne. "The sceptre departed from Judah, and a lawgiver from between his feet," never to be restored till Christ shall sit upon the throne of his father David, ruling over the twelve tribes of Israel.

A. J. P. 4673. B. V. Æ. 41.

A. J. P. 4676. B. V. Æ. 38.

[18] Antiq. lib. xiv. c. xiv—xvi. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. xiii.—xviii.

CHAPTER V.

REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF JUNE, A. J. P. 4676, B. V. Æ. 38, TO MARCH 21, A. J. P. 4710, B. V. Æ. 4. 33 YEARS, 9 MONTHS, 18 OR 20 DAYS.

I. Herod espoused the cause of Marc Antony. — Reconciliation with Octavianus Cæsar. — State of his family and the nation at the beginning of his reign. — Hyrcanus at Babylon. — Induced by Herod to return to Jerusalem. — Jealousy of Aristobulus. — Appoints Ananelus high priest. — Affects to yield to the entreaties of Mariamne and her mother. — Deposes Ananelus and appoints Aristobulus. — Soon murders him. — Cited before Antony, gives secret orders, if he should be condemned, to put Mariamne to death. — Probable motives. — His orders discovered to Mariamne. II. His cruelty towards the nation. — Puts Hyrcanus to death. — All the males of the Asmonæn dynasty extinct, save Herod's own progeny. — Reflections. — Character of Hyrcanus. III. Return of Herod from his interview with Cæsar. — Reception by Mariamne. — She is tried and put to death. — Herod's subsequent agonies. — Alexandra slain, unpitied. — Salome quarrels with her husband, and divorces him, contrary to the law. — He and several others put to death. IV. Herod introduces heathen pastimes, a theatre *within*, an amphitheatre *without* the city. — Fortifies the citadel erected by Hyrcanus I., and calls it Antonia. — Rebuilds Samaria, and calls it Sebaste. — Enlarges Strato's tower, and calls the city Cæsarea. — Severe drought and famine. — Herod, by his liberality, produces a change in public feeling. — Deprives Jesus, the successor of Ananelus, and raises Simon to the high-priesthood. — Marries his daughter, Mariamne. — Alters his policy. — His rigid police. — Determines to rebuild the temple. — His design creates alarm. — Explains his intention to *repair*, not *build anew*. — How far he built anew considered. V. Banishes all house-breakers. — This illegal, and why. — Sails for Italy. — Marries his two sons by the murdered Mariamne. — The beginning of their misfortunes. — His eldest son, Antipater, with his mother, Doris, now brought from their obscurity. — Intrigues against the two young princes. — Cæsarea finished and dedicated. — Quinquennial games in honour of Cæsar. — Munificence of Herod great, but selfish. VI. Herod out of favour with Augustus. — Horrid state of his family. — Arrival of Eurycles, the Lacedemonian. — He promotes the designs of Antipater. — The sons of Mariamne loaded with chains and imprisoned. — Cæsar reconciled. — Pretended trial of the young princes. — They are strangled in prison. — The heirs of Herod's throne were now Antipater, an Idumæan, and Archelaus, the son of a Samaritan woman. VII. In that same year, the birth of John the Baptist announced. — Decree of the Senate for a census of the empire. — Nature of a census. — That, and the reformation of the calendar, designed to prepare for the Incarnation. — Six months after the angel appeared to Zechariah, Augustus shut the temple of Janus, as a sign of universal peace. VIII. In the same month, the annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary. — Her

descent. — Jewish genealogies. — The same angel sent to Daniel, to Zechariah, to the Blessed Virgin. — Her conduct and that of Zechariah contrasted. — Mystery of the Incarnation the central point of human history. — John the Baptist born at Hebron. — Spirit of prophecy renewed. IX. Divine assurances given to Joseph, that the son of Mary was the Son of God. — The census proceeding. — Arrival of the commissioners in Judæa Bethlehem. — Arrival of Joseph and Mary. — Caravanserai built over a stable. — Very probably at the place now shown. — Lowly birth of the Messiah. — Celebrated by angels. — Revealed to shepherds. — Sign given to the shepherds. — Birth of Christ, the Lord, recorded in the Roman Archives. — Circumcision. — Purification. — Songs of Mary, Zechariah, and Simeon. X. History of Herod resumed. — The children of the two murdered princes. — Herod forms plans for their future marriages. — Antipater alarmed. — Separate intrigues of the royal household. — Judgments now ready to descend upon them all. — The Pharisees resist the census. — The fine imposed on them paid by the wife of Pheroras, Herod's brother. — Predictions of the Pharisees. — Herod slays the principal members of the sect, and forbids all intercourse with Pheroras and his family. — Antipater dissembles. — Plots to poison Herod. — Antipater sent to Rome in the six months between the births of St. John and our Lord. — Suspicions of Salome roused. — Communicated to Herod. — Pheroras sent to his own tetrarchy, where he soon died. — Antipater's wickedness detected. — Measures taken for Herod's security. XI. The visit of the Magi. — Probably Persian priests of the religion of Zoroaster. — Excitement occasioned by their arrival. — Particular inquiries of Herod concerning the child. — Adoration of the Magi. — They proceed by the shortest way to Arabia and Persia, while Joseph flees with the holy child into Egypt. — Massacre at Bethlehem. XII. Antipater kept in ignorance of the events in Judæa. — He sends another poison from Rome. — Herod writes an artful letter, urging his return. — He receives it in Cilicia. — Informed of his danger, yet proceeds. — His arrival, trial, and condemnation. — Herod's mental agonies increase his bodily diseases now begun. —A complication of the most horrible of human maladies the punishment of his sins. XIII. A popular insurrection hastens his death. — The golden eagle torn down. — The king carried to Jericho, where he addresses the people. — The rioters burned. — Eclipse of the moon determines the date. — Herod visits Callirhoë. — Returns to Jericho. — Barbarous order. — Letters from Cæsar. — Antipater put to death. — Five days after, Herod expires.

I.

IN the struggle for universal empire which ensued between Antony and Octavianus Cæsar, Herod espoused the cause of Antony, and was preparing to augment his forces, and even to serve him in person. This step, which would have been his ruin, was prevented by the artifices of Cleopatra, who persuaded her Roman paramour to commit the war with the king of Arabia to his care. The policy of the rapacious queen

was to make these two kings prey upon each other. If Herod succeeded, she would enlarge her dominions by the accession of Petra and its dependencies; if, on the other hand, the king of Arabia should overpower Herod, it would, she thought, make her ultimately the mistress of Judæa, and perhaps of Syria, — a province which the sovereigns of Egypt of her family had always claimed and coveted. But all these intrigues were rendered unavailing by the issue of the battle of Actium, on the 2d of September, in the seventh year of Herod's reign, computing from the death of Antigonus. A. J. P. 4682. B. V. Æ. 32.

While Cæsar was at Rhodes, early in the following year, Herod seized the opportunity to obtain a personal interview with the man who now held in his hands the destinies of the world. No moment could have been so favourable. Antony was still alive, and it comported with the policy of his wily conqueror to detach his friends from him by a show of great moderation. Herod came into his presence without his diadem, in the garb of a private man, but in mien and bearing as a king. "Cæsar," he began, "having been made king of the Jews by Antony, I confess that in all things I have served him as a king. Nor do I wish to conceal that I should, in every way, have attempted to aid him with my arms, nay, have fought with him to the utmost of my power, if I had not been hindered by the Arabians. I also sent him great quantities of wheat; and even after the blow at Actium, I deserted not my benefactor. Profitable no longer as a warrior, I became his best adviser. I told him that he could redress his affairs only by the death of Cleopatra. That done, I promised him money, walls for his protection, an army, and myself also, for mutual war against thee. His love for Cleopatra stopped his ears, and to thee the power has been given by God. I am conquered with Antony, and with his fortunes I have laid down my diadem. I come to thee, placing my only hope of safety in thy magnanimity, and presuming that thou wilt consider not *whose*, but *what sort* of friend, I have been."

Pleased with this frank and bold speech, Cæsar with his own hands put the diadem upon his head. "Thou art safe," he said, "and more firmly a king than ever. Thou art worthy to rule over many, because thou hast displayed such friendship. Antony did well to prefer Cleopatra to thee; for I have gained thee by his madness."[1] Thus did Herod ride out the storm of the triumvirate; and the emperor becoming his fast friend, he was protected from all external aggression to the end of his reign.

But while his foreign relations were thus secured, his tyranny at home made him, by the righteous judgments of God, miserable himself, and the torment of his own family and of the whole nation. By his first wife, Doris, an Idumæan woman of low birth, he had one son, whom, after the name of his father, he had called Antipater. Yet the high priest Hyrcanus, knowing him to be thus married, had allowed him to betroth his own granddaughter. As a preliminary requisite, indeed, Doris was put away, and her son, Antipater, excluded from his father's presence. This injustice, as we shall soon see, was afterwards signally punished. The marriage with Mariamne was consummated in the spring of that year in which Herod took Jerusalem, and Antigonus was put to death.[2] At the beginning, therefore, of his actual reign, the royal household consisted only of Mariamne, her mother Alexandra, and her brother Aristobulus, then a youth of sixteen. The aged Hyrcanus had been permitted by the Parthians to dwell at Babylon, where he was greatly honoured by the Jews, as the rightful sovereign of their nation. But when Herod was upon the throne, Hyrcanus, contrary to the advice of the Jews, desired to return to Jerusalem; and Herod, to get him into his power, allured him by magnificent promises of sharing the kingdom with him, which he never intended to fulfil. When he had accomplished this scheme, he began the work of destruction.

A. J. P. 4676. B. V. Æ. 38. Herod 1.

[1] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. xx.

[2] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. Comp. c. xii. with xv. and xvi.

Aristobulus was the first victim. The tyrant, jealous of the priesthood, had sent to Babylon for Ananelus, an obscure descendant of Aaron, and had constituted him the high priest. This measure was alike odious to all classes of his subjects, but especially so to Alexandra and Mariamne, who had expected the appointment of Aristobulus, the only remaining scion of the Maccabees. Alexandra took measures to obtain the intervention of Antony and Cleopatra; and the beautiful Mariamne, whom Herod passionately loved, pressed him with vehement entreaties in favour of her brother. He affected to yield; professed that he had appointed Ananelus only on account of the non-age of Aristobulus; and, to allay all suspicion, promised to send away again the person whom he had so created. This was the first instance on record in which a gift of this nature had been rescinded. Antiochus Epiphanes had deposed one and set up another, but did not violate his own appointment. The contentions of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus were for contested claims assuming equal rights. Herod was the first who gave, and afterwards retracted, making the gift dependent upon the caprice of his will.[3]

Alexandra was now strictly watched, and all she said or did was made known to Herod. She was not slow in discovering this, and all her pride and womanly arts were occupied in contriving measures to relieve herself from this uneasy thraldom. Cleopatra invited her to escape, with her son, into Egypt. She had two coffins made, in which they were conveyed out of the palace by night, and a ship from Alexandria was waiting to receive them. But Herod had been informed of the plot, and had suffered her to proceed, so as to detect her in the very act. She and her son were brought back, and Herod assumed the show of generosity in silently forgiving them. But the fate of Aristobulus was from that moment determined. At the ensuing feast of Tabernacles, he officiated as high priest. Tall of stature above his years, — for he was

[3] Jos. Ant. lib. xv. c. ii. iii.

now only seventeen, — most comely in his excellent beauty, and arrayed in the splendid vestments of the high-priesthood, he performed the duties of his office with a grace and majesty which took the beholders with surprise, and roused all the affections which fondly clung to his honoured race. A cry of admiration burst from the crowd, in prolonged notes, which neither prudence nor terror could repress. No sooner was the feast ended, than Herod went to Jericho, where he was received and entertained by Alexandra, during the heats of autumn. The youthful high priest was now decoyed into one of the fish-ponds near the house, under pretence of bathing, and was there drowned, in the dusk of the evening, as if by accident. Herod joined in the general mourning, shed tears, and honoured his body with a magnificent burial. But Alexandra could not be deceived by this outside show. She knew that her son had been murdered; and, though her own safety required her to conceal that knowledge, her hate became the more intense, because it was pent up in her own bosom. By her instigation, through Cleopatra, Antony was led to summon Herod to answer for the death of Aristobulus. The summons was obeyed, with some apprehension that the trial might lead to condemnation and death. Herod, therefore, placed his uncle Joseph at the head of affairs, with secret orders, if it should go hard with him, to put Mariamne immediately to death. Various motives may be assigned for this extraordinary command. Herod passionately loved Mariamne; but it was not that generous love which seeks the happiness of its object. It proceeded only from intense selfishness; and he could not bear the thought of her surviving him. He was acquainted, also, with the intrigues of Alexandra, and might well fear the influence which the sight of Mariamne's surprising beauty might have on the susceptible and inconstant heart of Antony. By an equally strange act of folly, Joseph revealed this order to Mariamne herself, *to prove how much Herod loved her!* It

A. J. P. 4677.
B. V. Æ. 37.
Herod 2.

was a poisoned arrow which rankled in her heart; and when Herod discovered it, as he afterwards did from her own unguarded mouth, it destroyed forever their mutual sympathies and confidence, if any such existed, and filled the void with the constantly increasing gall of suspicion and distrust.[4]

II.

While things were thus proceeding in his own family, a relentless and systematic proscription thinned the ranks of those in the nation who had resisted, or were suspected of resisting, his power. All opposition had thus been silenced and subdued, when the victory of Actium seemed to render his affairs desperate, and roused the fainting hopes of his adversaries. Herod himself doubted whether his zeal for Antony had not rendered his destruction inevitable. Hyrcanus was still living at Jerusalem, in the most private and peaceful manner, having not the least thought of again involving himself in the contentions of political parties. But his daughter Alexandra was of a different temperament, and her hatred towards Herod would sharpen all her energies to obtain from Cæsar the restoration of her father's sovereignty. It was convenient, therefore, to remove Hyrcanus out of the way, before any attempt should be made at reconciliation with the Roman emperor. For this purpose, a false accusation of bribery and corruption was speciously founded upon the indiscreet movements of Alexandra, and a casual correspondence of Hyrcanus with the king of Arabia, to obtain four horses from his stable. To be thus accused was certain death; and the venerable high priest fell a victim to the ruthless policy of Herod. Thus, all the males of the Asmonæan dynasty became extinct within four months after the battle of Actium, from which is dated the sole sovereignty of Augustus.[5]

A. J. P. 4682. B. V. Æ. 32. Herod 7.

A. J. P. 4682. B. V. Æ. 32. Herod 7.

[4] Jos. Antiq. lib. xv. c. ii. iii. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. xxii.

[5] The news of the battle of Actium, which decided the destinies of Rome, and was one of the steps to prepare for the Incarnation, must have reached Herod

The misfortunes of Hyrcanus were chiefly owing to two causes: his mild and passive temper, which induced him always to bend like a bulrush before the wind; and the sad connection of ecclesiastical authority with the unhallowing influences of worldly and temporal power. Energy, indeed,

in September. Great promptness in the formation and execution of his plans marked his character. The death of Hyrcanus, therefore, cannot be placed later than the close of that year. The interview between Cæsar and Herod took place at Rhodes before the former returned to Italy; that is, before the 10th of January, A. J. P. 4683, B. V. Æ. 31. See Chron. Introd. p. 199. According to the present copies of Josephus, Hyrcanus was put to death in his eighty-first year. If this computation be correct, he must have been born A. J. P. 4602, B. V. Æ. 112, at least seven years before the death of his grandfather Hyrcanus I., (see p. 359, note 45.) when his father, Alexander Jannæus, was scarcely fifteen years of age, and his mother, Alexandra, full thirty or thirty-one! (See pp. 359—361.) This seems incredible, and creates a doubt whether some mistake has not crept into the text of Josephus as to the age of Hyrcanus when he was put to death. On this one point turns the solution of another doubt, whether his mother was the same Alexandra, or Salome, who was married to Aristobulus, the elder brother of Alexander Jannæus. That cannot be, says Prideaux, because Hyrcanus II., the son of Alexander Jannæus and Alexandra, was born at least five years before the death of Aristobulus. Connec. Part ii. Book vi. vol. iv. p. 431. This inference seemed so convincing to the authors of the Universal History, that they tax with absurdity, and give Prideaux the credit of confuting, the opinion of Capellus and others, who consider Alexandra, the widow of Aristobulus, as marrying the brother of her first husband, according to the law, that he might raise up seed to his brother. See Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. x. p. 362, note G. But the whole force of Prideaux's *confutation* rests on the *assumption* that there is no mistake as to the age of Hyrcanus II. at his death. In other places, the learned historian supposes mistakes in the text of Josephus, especially in numerals: why not, then, in this? In avoiding one difficulty, he runs into many others. Josephus speaks of Alexandra, the wife of Aristobulus, as having liberated his brothers, who were in chains at his death, and that she created king one of them, Alexander Jannæus, then a youth of 22 years. How could she have liberated the brothers, or created one of them king, if she had not herself been queen regnant? And how could she have made him king, but by marrying him, according to the law? Josephus mentions, and accounts for, the dislike of Hyrcanus towards his son, Alexander Jannæus. From his birth he would not see him, but sent him into Galilee, where he was born, to be brought up there; nor was he ever admitted into his father's presence. Who can believe that Hyrcanus I. would, in his lifetime, have allowed him to marry?—and, what is more absurd, to marry a woman at least sixteen years older than himself, when he was still a boy of fourteen or fifteen? It is not likely, therefore, that he was married during his father's life; and his being thrown in chains into a prison by Aristobulus, during the year of his reign, seems equally inconsistent with such a thought. Whereas, the whole matter is perfectly clear, if Alexandra married Alexander as the condition of releasing him and making him king. Ambition would persuade a youth of twenty-two to marry a woman of thirty-eight, if she brought him such a dowry. Supposing that Hyrcanus II. was born a year after their nuptials, he would, as his father reigned twenty-seven years, have been twenty-six when Alexandra began her reign of nine years. After seeing that the young Aristobulus exercised the functions of the high-priesthood at the age of seventeen, who can be surprised that Hyrcanus II. was permitted to exercise them at the age of twenty-six; and even if the law was then strictly observed,

is as necessary in the Church as in the state; but it is of a different character. A priest has nothing to do with the arms of human warfare. His weapons are spiritual, not carnal. He is bound to act for the healing of the nations, not for their subjugation or disquiet. During the whole of the Grecian monarchy, the high priests acted as the political rulers of Judæa, and became, as we have seen, worldly-minded, corrupt in their morals, greedy of power, and unscrupulous as to the means of acquiring it. The people, under such influences, degenerated. Their ancient love of idolatry, so far as it consisted in the works of graven and molten images, had been subdued by the dreadful infliction of the Babylonish captivity; but they still continued to set up idols in the heart. A superstitious obedience to vain traditions usurped the place of real godliness; and, though punished by the tyranny of Herod, they continued to decline, unrepenting and unreformed.

III.

On his return from the interview with Cæsar, and the confirmation of his sovereignty, Herod found his own family in great disorder. He had provided for that interview with the same atrocities which had marked his conduct when summoned before Antony, but he employed different agents. He had put to death Joseph, his uncle, and the husband of his sister, Salome, because he had betrayed his orders to Mariamne; a weakness which, to the jealous tyrant, implied a criminal intimacy between them. On the present

A. J. P. 4683. B. V. Æ. 31. Herod 7.

which made the canonical age thirty, some provision could have been made for four years in the service of the temple. On this supposition, Hyrcanus II. was 35 when Alexandra died, towards the close of B. V. Æ. 70. This would make him full 73 at the time of his death. Is it not, then, a far more absurd opinion to suppose two Alexandras, when Josephus apparently speaks only of one, than to suppose an error in numerals when Josephus mentions the age of Hyrcanus at his death as being more than eighty?

In speaking of the age of Herod when he received the government of Galilee, the same historian, as the text now stands, says he was *fifteen;* whereas he was then *twenty-five*, from the subsequent testimony of Josephus, as all critics and computists admit. It is much more rational, therefore, to believe that Hyrcanus was born after his father's elevation to the throne. This would make a difference of eight years, from B. V. Æ 112 to 104.

occasion, he committed his kingdom to his brother Pheroras, hoping that Cæsar would confirm him in it, should he himself be dethroned. But his queen Mariamne, and Alexandra her mother, he committed to Sohemus, the commander of the fortress Alexandrium, with orders to put them to death, if he should not return. But Sohemus was won over by the blandishments and promises of his fair prisoners, and disclosed to them the fatal secret. Herod, on his return, went first to tell his good fortune to Mariamne, flushed with love and triumph. His narrative was received by her, not merely with coldness, but with an irrepressible groan. Herod saw that she hated him; and, though his passion for her was inordinate, his mind was filled with suspicion and fury. His mother, and his sister Salome, who hated Mariamne for her haughtiness and because of Joseph's death, now inflamed his mind more and more against her; created suspicions that she had stooped to corrupt Sohemus by her charms; and aggravated all her imprudences and faults. These constantly accumulating sources of irritation were brought to their summit by her refusal, on one occasion, to satisfy his passions. A confidential slave was put to the torture, under the absurd pretext that he was employed by Mariamne in administering a love-potion to the king. Amid all his tortures, nothing could be extorted from the poor wretch, save that Mariamne's hatred was occasioned by something which Sohemus had said to her. This was enough. Sohemus was slain, without further inquiry, and Mariamne placed upon her trial, to answer this ridiculous accusation of the love-potion. Alexandra, in her fears for her own safety, forgot her dignity and her virtue. She reproached her daughter, in the presence of the whole court, as ungrateful, insolent and faithless to her husband, who had been their common benefactor. The lovely and innocent, though imprudent, Mariamne, was condemned to death. She uttered not a word to her mother, but looked at her steadily, with calm commiseration, and then went to her execution with a firm step, and even without changing colour.

A. J. P. 4634. B. V. Æ. 36. Herod 8, 9.

As for Herod, he suffered the tortures of a soul prematurely damned. He first endeavoured to banish his misery by perpetual festivities. But all would not do. In his solitude, —for sometimes he must be solitary,—her form was constantly before him. He raved at times, and then bitterly lamented; called aloud his dear Mariamne; sent his servants to her, as if she were still alive; forsook all the cares of office, that he might abandon himself to grief; went into desert places, under pretence of hunting, but in reality to give his affection vent. These mental agonies exposed him, while at Samaria, to a malignant disease. He was given over by his physicians, and his life was saved as if by miracle. While in that condition, Alexandra, being at Jerusalem, and thinking that he could not live, tampered with the officers in the fortresses of the city and temple, to get them into her own hands. She was unsuccessful; and when her attempt was made known to Herod, he sent orders to have her slain. She died unlamented, for there was a general feeling that her treachery to her daughter was now justly requited. As for Salome, her iniquities were not yet full. After the death of Joseph, Herod had bestowed her in marriage upon Costobarus, a noble Idumæan, who had succeeded Joseph as governor of Idumæa and Gaza. She now quarrelled with him, and sent him a bill of divorce. "This," says Josephus, "was contrary to the Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to put away his wife, but not for a wife to put away her husband." We may infer, from this observation, that no precedent of this kind had existed. Instigated by her revenge, Salome now accused her husband of some act of treachery formerly committed, and for a time concealed from Herod. Costobarus had been spared, at the time, for the entreaties of Salome and her mother; but now that his wife herself renewed the accusation, he and several others whom it was convenient to remove were put to death. No one was left henceforth to dispute the will of Herod. All the kindred of Hyrcanus were

A. J. B. 1635. B. V. Æ. 29. Herod 9, 10.

destroyed, and he could now oppress the nation and violate the law with impunity.[7]

IV.

During the Grecian monarchy, a godless faction, under a godless high priest, attempted, without success, to introduce the pastimes and rites of their Grecian masters. The nation was still strong and holy enough to resist the violation, and the arms of the Maccabees vindicated the sanctity of their religion. But, under the Roman monarchy, and the terrific sway of the Idumæan king, the priests and the people were supine and inert. From the eighth to the thirtieth year of his reign, Herod corrupted the morals, — or, if he did not that, shocked the consciences of his subjects, — by the introduction of foreign modes of life, heathenish in their origin, and abhorrent from the divine laws. It was a part of his ambition to excel his peers in regal magnificence, and to imitate, as far as he was able, the profusion and splendour of imperial Rome. He first instituted, in honour of Cæsar, the quinquennial games, in which foreign musicians and athletæ of every nation were not only permitted, but invited, to contend for honours and costly rewards. In the city he built a theatre, within which were painted on the walls the achievements of Cæsar; and there, also, were suspended imitative trophies of those which Cæsar had taken from conquered nations. On the plain without the city he built a costly amphitheatre, in which gladiatorial shows of naked men, and combats with wild beasts, were exhibited. The murmurs of the people were received with derision and contempt; and when conspiracies were made to take away his life, they were detected by his spies, and punished with implacable severity. To secure himself, he fortified more strongly the citadel built by Hyrcanus I., which, in honour of Antony, he now called Antonia; rebuilt Samaria, calling it, in honour of Augustus,

[7] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. c. vii.

Sebaste; and enlarged and strengthened the city on the sea-coast known as Strato's Tower, but thenceforth distinguished under the name of Cæsarea.[8]

In the thirteenth year of his reign, the country was afflicted by a severe drought, followed by a loss of crops and great mortality. This infliction lasted two years, and seems to have extended throughout Syria and the neighbouring provinces. Herod stripped his own palace, and melted down even his choicest plate, to buy corn from Egypt for the relief of his people. This produced a feeling of kindness towards him, and softened the bitterness of his greatest enemies. He took this opportunity to build himself a splendid palace, and also married another Mariamne, who was young and beautiful. She was the daughter of Simon, one of the priests; but as he was of too low a dignity for such an alliance, he was created high priest, by the deprivation of Jesus, the son of Phabet, who had succeeded Ananelus. A. J. P. 4688-9. B. V. Æ. 26-25. Herod 13-14.

Seeing now the effect of kindness upon the feelings of the populace, Herod began to alter his policy. He diminished the taxes to two thirds of the former amount, on account, as he said, of the late dearth. He still kept up, however, a most rigorous police; would not permit them to assemble in public, to walk or eat together; employed spies continually to watch everything they did or said; disguised himself even, in order to hear with his own ears their opinions of his conduct; and often, both openly and in secret, punished them with death. By this severity on the one hand, and liberality on the other, he reduced them to the tamest and most abject submission.

As he had been accused of irreverence for divine institutions, he determined to rebuild the temple on a larger scale of magnificence and beauty. It was begun in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign, the forty-sixth year before the first Passover of our Lord's ministry.[9] A. J. P. 4693. B. V. Æ. 21. Herod 18.

[8] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. c. viii. lib. xvi. c. v. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. xxi.

[9] See the Synoptical Tables of A. J. P. 4693 and 4737, at the end of the Chron.

Before he began the work, and, probably, at the Passover, the first day of which fell, that year, on Tuesday, the 17th of April, he thought it expedient to disclose his intentions in a formal address to the people. After a brief exordium, in which he adverted to his former works, intended for their benefit, and subservient to their glory and happiness, rather than his own, he proceeded to speak of the inferiority of the second temple to that built by Solomon. This he attributed to their subjection, first to the Persian, and then to the Grecian, monarchy, which had prevented their following out the original model of that sacred edifice. But, since he was now their ruler, with large revenues, and in favour with the Romans, who were the masters of the world, he wished to remove an imperfection, which had arisen solely from their necessities and submission to a foreign yoke. He was impelled to this measure by a sense of thankfulness to God for having given him the kingdom, and for bestowing upon him so many blessings!

This hypocritical speech did not produce the effect he intended. To account to them for his designs and conduct, was so utterly new, that the very fact affrighted them. It covered up, as they supposed, some dark and nefarious purpose. What could it be but to make them quiet, while he demolished the only temple of the true God in the world, without the intention or the power to build another! He was forced, therefore, to enter into further explanations and promises. He assured them that it was not his intention to destroy, but merely to repair and enlarge, what had been dilapidated by the waste of time and war. For entire security on this point, the oversight was committed to a thousand priests, instructed in the art of building, and with ten thousand

Introd. to this History, pp. 601, 616. The saying of the Jews to our Saviour, St. John ii. 20, having the verb in the aorist, must mean "Forty and six years hath this temple been *a-building*." See Casaub. annot. in Baron. p. 280. Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. x. p. 431, note A. Bloomfield, in loc. vol. i. p. 340. For Herod's design was not wholly carried out, even in our Saviour's time, and for many years after. This will appear from the testimony of Josephus himself.

men at their command. All the necessary materials were to be collected before any part was taken down. Josephus himself testifies, that the substructions of Solomon were still existing;—that they were only enlarged by Herod;—and that his additions were so inferiour in strength, that a part of them sunk under the incumbent weight. This could not have been the temple proper, or sanctuary, which was founded directly on the summit of the rock. Into this none but the priests could enter; and they rebuilt it in one year and six months. The work of the porches and outer enclosures was carried on by the king, and occupied eight years, to the twenty-fifth year, of his reign.[10] It is clear, therefore, that the second temple was preserved, and only embellished. The enlargements were carried on, and the repairs rendered necessary by the comparative weakness of his foundations continued; so that the period of forty-six years, as stated by the Jews to our Saviour, was literally true.[11]

A. J. P. 4700- 1.
B. V. Æ. 14-13.
Herod 25.

[10] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. c. xi.

[11] The account of Josephus is so indistinct that modern opinions are exceedingly various. This being the case, it will not be thought impertinent if I state here the reasons for my assertion that *he speaks of the substructions of Solomon as still existing in his time*. His words are these: "Our first king Solomon, under God's direction, built up the wall above the summit of the hill, in a very elaborate manner. He built it up, beginning from its base, where there is a deep ravine towards the south-west, with blocks of stone bound together with lead on the inner side, and increasing in depth so as to admit of no passage; the extension and height of the building being quadrangular. The greatest magnitude of the stones appeared without in the façade; but *they were secured within so as to hold the joints together immovable for all time*. The work being thus fitted together, to the very summit of the hill, its apex was cut away, so as to fill the hollow parts about the wall, and make it, in appearance, a smooth and level plain. The whole area was four stadia in circumference; each angle comprehending a stadium in length. Within this, and about the very summit, he built another stone wall, above towards the eastern ridge, having a double porch, with a wall of equal width, constructed in the midst of the temple, and looking towards its gates." Antiq. lib. xv. c. xi. 3. This description is of *Solomon's* constructions, made with such strength as to be "*immovable for all time*." They were consequently in being when Herod built, and even in the time of Josephus. The work "*about the very summit*," I take to have been *about the rock*, which is still seen in the mosque of Omar, as described by Mr. Catherwood; the elevation, on which stood the Holy of Holies, and the holy place. Herod may have enlarged these, by encrusting them on the outside, and enlarging the building to 100 cubits. He may also have made it 120 cubits in height; and this may have sunk, as Josephus describes, by being extended beyond the original design. The area of Solomon's temple, he says, was four stadia in circumference. In another place, Bel. Jud. lib. v. c. v. 2, he remarks that, *including the fortress Antonia*, it was *six* stadia. How

V.

While these constructions were going on, some extensive burglaries were committed, both in the city and country, which induced Herod to pass a severe edict, banishing all house-breakers from his dominions. This act is censured by Josephus as contrary to the divine law, which requires a fourfold restitution; and if the thief have nothing, that he be sold, at the utmost, for six years: the Sabbatical year being always a year of release.[12] When the Church was confined to one nation, *to banish a criminal was to take from him all the hallowing influences of religion, and expose him, defenceless, to the corruptions of heathenism.* The enactment of Herod was, therefore, illegal, and would not have been made if he had had a proper sense of the spirit and meaning of God's ordinances.[13]

About this time, also, Herod sailed for Italy, that he might have an interview with Augustus, and bring back his two sons, by Mariamne, who had been sent to Rome for their education, and had now completed their studies. At this time he was affectionately disposed towards them; and though the eldest could not have been more than twenty-one years of age, he gave them both wives. Aristobulus received the hand of Bernice, the daughter of Salome, and Alexander that of Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. But notwithstanding this connexion, the unnatural Salome revived and transferred all her hatred for Mariamne to her two sons.

is this to be reconciled, but by considering the one as Solomon's, the other as Herod's? The excess is the measure of Herod's enlargement. Is it not probable that the whole surface on which Solomon's temple was built was a square, each side of which was about 940 English feet, as measured on the south side by Mr. Catherwood, and that the area of the temple was a square of one stadium, or 625 Roman feet, on each side? Josephus, in the place last quoted, speaks of the whole platform as extending to the eastern wall. In the course of time, it was enlarged, he says, *towards the north*. Then followed the enlargement by Herod, so as to include Antonia. See Chron. Introd. Part ii. c. vii. note, pp. 451, 452, and what has been said in this volume of the erection of the second temple, pp. 256—261.

[12] Comp. Exod. xxii. 1—4, with Deut. xv. 12.

[13] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvi. c. i.

They were young and inexperienced, beautiful, like their mother, and, like her, imprudent of speech; proud of their descent, on her side, from a long line of sacerdotal ancestors, and, for the same reason, favourites of the people, and objects of jealousy and alarm to the family and political partisans of Herod. His suspicious and jealous temper was easily excited; and the artful Salome, by slight and covert, but continual insinuations, was ever at work upon it. Any unguarded language, or arrogance of youthful bearing, every sentiment of commiseration for their mother's hard fate, every sentiment at variance with their father's conduct, were tortured into thoughts and acts of sedition and privy-conspiracy. To guard against these supposed machinations, Herod brought from their obscurity his eldest son Antipater, and, afterwards, at his suggestion, Doris, his Idumæan wife. Antipater was shrewd; but his chief characteristic was a low, selfish, and subtle cunning, disguised under the appearance of great humility and deference for his father. With such coadjutors, the designs of Salome were rapidly hastening to their consummation, between the twenty-first and twenty-fifth years of Herod's reign, when his attention was diverted from these domestic troubles by his attendance on his powerful friend Agrippa, while he was in Syria.[11] The intrigues, however, against the young princes, went steadily on; and when their unhappy father returned, the accumulated weight of calumny was all poured upon his heart. He frequently wrote to Cæsar, in favour of Antipater; and, finally, when Agrippa returned to Rome, sent this unworthy son with him, that he

[11] Agrippa was sent into Syria in A. U. C. 736—7, A. J. P. 4697, or B. V. Æ. 17, and died in A. U. C. 740—1, A. J. P. 4701, or B. V. Æ. 13. See Chron. Introd. pp. 206–7. He had not, therefore, as Josephus asserts, *ten years'* government in Asia. His mistake arose, probably, from the *appointment of Agrippa to the tribunitial power for ten years.* This appointment first took place for five years, in the consulship of C. Sentius Saturninus and Q. Lucretius Vespillo, A. U. C. 733–4, A. J. P. 4694, or B. V. Æ. 20. At the expiration of that time, he was reäppointed for five years more. See Dion. Cass. lib. liv. But he died before the expiration of this second period.

might ingratiate himself personally with the emperor.[15] At length, stung even to madness, Herod determined to lay the case before the judgment-seat of Cæsar; and, with that intent, took the sons of Mariamne with him, and sailed again for Italy. A formal hearing took place, and the young princes were acquitted. Cæsar himself interposed in their behalf, and produced a seeming reconciliation. Even Antipater affected to rejoice; and Herod, lightened of a heavy load, returned with his sons to Jerusalem, assembled his people, exhorted them to concord, and settled the succession, first to Antipater, and then to the sons of Mariamne. As long as he lived, however, they were to regard him, and him alone, as king.[16]

In the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad, and the twenty-eighth year of Herod, Cæsarea was finished, and dedicated with the greatest magnificence. On this occasion, the quinquennial games, in honour of Cæsar, were celebrated there, with contests of musicians and of naked athletæ. There had been no good haven, where ships could be protected from southerly winds and a stormy sea, on the whole coast, from Phœnicia to Egypt, until Herod, at vast expense, built a mole, with sunken stones, the greater part of which were fifty feet in length, nine in thickness, and ten in breadth. Some were even larger; and they were sunk in water twenty fathoms deep. The whole work must have occupied at least fifteen years, though the building of the city occupied only ten.[17] In this connection Josephus mentions many other

A. J. P. 4703. B. V. Æ. 11. Herod 28.

[15] Jos. Ant. lib. xvi. c. i. ii. iii.

[16] Jos. Ant. lib. xvi. c. iv.

[17] This is the only way in which I can reconcile Josephus to himself. In his Antiquities, lib. xv. c. viii. ad fin., and c. ix. ad init., he speaks of Cæsarea as begun in the thirteenth year of Herod's reign; and yet, in lib. xvi. c. v. ad init., that it was completed in the tenth year, which was the twenty-eighth of his government. Now it will be seen by the tables, that "his thirteenth year" began in June, A. J. P. 4688, or B. V. Æ. 26, and his twenty-eighth year began in the first, and ended in the second year, of Olymp. excii., A. J. P. 4703, or B. V. Æ. 21. See Chron. Introd. pp. 603 and 607. The quinquennial games were instituted, (Antiq. lib. xv. c. viii. 1,) at latest, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and the third of these games fell in the twenty-eighth, probably near midsummer. As Cæsarea became afterwards the seat of the Roman government, and therefore the metropolis of Palæstina Prima, and is frequently mentioned in

cities, built or embellished by Herod, of which it is needless to speak here.[18] His munificence was great, but entirely selfish; to feed his love of glory and personal ambition; to do good to mankind only when it secured their praises.

VI.

In the midst of external splendours and uninterrupted success, this great prince, as the world estimates greatness, was one of the most wretched of men. He was, at this time, out of favour with Augustus, in consequence of a war with the Arabians, carried on without the knowledge and consent of the emperor. In this, Herod seems to have had just cause; but Cæsar had listened to false statements from Syllæus, the Arabian envoy; and, in his anger, wrote to Herod a severe letter, the substance of which was, that formerly he had used him as his friend, but that now he should use him as his subject. Cæsar was soon convinced that he had acted precipitately; and became, in consequence, more friendly than ever; but, in the mean time, his displeasure, and this expression of it, had greatly aggravated the domestic afflictions, and increased the irritability, of the tributary king. Even with all the loathsome details which Josephus gives of the intrigues of Herod's family, it is difficult for a holy and virtuous mind to conceive how the torments of fiendish spirits were then and there mutually inflicted. His brother Pheroras, and Salome, their own sister, hated and hating one another; his eldest son, Antipater, of great mental capacity and penetration, —vigilant, wily, and venomous as a serpent, — of inordinate ambition, cloaked under the garb of meekness, candour and moderation, —jealous of Pheroras and Salome, but determined, with them, to effect the destruction of the two sons of Mariamne, and ready to invent and spread any

the Acts of the Apostles, it seems not unimportant to mention these facts of its early history. It is now in ruins, and many of its most splendid monuments grace the palaces of St. Jean d'Acre. See Robinson's Calmet, in voc.

[18] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvi. c. v. Bel Jud. lib. i. c. xxi.

calumny which could accomplish his purpose; the young men themselves, bold and haughty and rash, perpetually exposing their conduct naked and unguarded to the deadly aim of their adversaries; their wives, made to suspect, distrust and hate all around them, and each other,—and one, the daughter of Salome, the spy and informant to her mother against her own husband; and, finally, all these suspicions, jealousies, and fears, and calumnies, with all their separate exaggerations, poured, as by so many inexhaustible conduits, into the moody heart of this gloomy and ferocious despot, who had only to give the sign, and each one of them would instantly be sent to his awful and eternal account;—such is the scene placed before our eyes by the simple narrative of the Jewish priest.[19] But that event which seems to have brought all these frightful elements of evil into the most active and powerful concentration, was the arrival of Eurycles, a banished Lacedemonian, who insinuated himself into the king's friendship, and employed his malignant influence in promoting the designs of Antipater. Herod was made to believe that Alexander, the most formidable, as they thought, and as he really was, of the sons of Mariamne, was laying continued plots against his father's life. Under this impulse, Herod suddenly seized both the brothers, and, to the universal consternation of the people, loaded them with chains, and cast them into prison. The only real plot of the young men had been to flee from their father's court to that of Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, who was the father-in-law of Alexander.[20]

About this time, Herod received the joyful intelligence that Cæsar was reconciled to him, and had given him power over his sons to put them to death, if they should be found guilty of intended parricide. The court, for this trial, was to be held at Berytus, the modern Beyroot; and Saturninus and Volumnius, the governors of Sy ia, Archelaus, king of Cap-

[19] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvi. c. vii. viii. ix. De Bel. Jud. lib. i c. xxiv. xxv.

[20] Joseph. Antiq. ut sup. c. x. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. xxvi.

padocia, and as many more assessors as Herod might think proper to select, were appointed as judges by the emperor. The number chosen was a hundred and fifty, but Archelaus was excluded on the plea of his propinquity. The young men were not allowed to appear before them; and Herod himself stood forward as the public accuser of his own offspring. The value of evidence was not to be weighed, but to be received on the stamp of his authority. The young men's writings were read by him before the tribunal with exaggerated emphasis, but contained no confession, excepting of their purposed flight. They reproached him, it is true, for harbouring unjust suspicions; and these reproaches, as he read them, worked up his mind to the most ungovernable fury. He raved; took his oath that he had rather lose his life than endure such reproaches; asserted his own authority, both from nature and the concessions of the emperor, to do as he thought fit; alleged the Mosaic law, in a perverted sense, to prove that, if parents laid their hands on the head of an accused child, the bystanders were bound to stone him or her to death; and, finally, affirmed that the assessors were not properly judges, but that he, in condescension to their persons, had wished to show them his sons' crimes, in order to excite in them a detestation of such practices. Saturninus, who was himself a father, of consular dignity and great moderation, would neither acquit the young men nor condemn them to death. Volumnius, on the contrary, gave sentence of death, and carried with him the majority. Herod immediately removed his sons to Tyre, and there kept them in close confinement, till he should determine their fate. The very next intrigue, a false accusation that Alexander's friends had bribed the king's barber to cut his throat, brought this horrid tragedy to its termination. Amid the groans and tears and execrations of the whole nation, the sons of Mariamne were strangled at Sebaste, near Cæsarea. The dead bodies were, in the night-time, conveyed to Alexandrium, and there

deposited, with the remains of their uncle, the murdered Aristobulus, and the greater part of a long line of ancestors. By this crime, the finishing stroke was put to all succession from Judah, or any of the tribes of Israel. The only acknowledged heir to his throne now was Antipater, who, both by the father and mother's side, was a descendant of Esau, not of Jacob. Archelaus, the only son of Herod, who, in fact, succeeded him on the throne of Judæa, was also the son of Malthace, a woman of Samaria.

VII.

The time was therefore come, in the inscrutable purposes of Omnipotence, to rouse the fainting and almost despondent hearts of his chosen people. In the month of September, of that same year in which the two sons of Mariamne were murdered, a priest of the course of Abia, who had married one of the daughters of Aaron, but was childless, was ministering in the temple. It was his turn, in the order of his course, to burn incense on the golden altar in the sanctuary, while the people were praying in the court without. This expressive ceremony of the Mosaic law represented the merits of the great atonement as a sweet-smelling savour, wafting on high its perfumes, to render the prayers of sinful men acceptable at the throne of mercy.[21] While thus engaged, he saw an angel standing on the right hand of the altar of incense, whose name, Gabriel, denotes the power of the strong God. No such Divine Messenger had ever appeared in the second temple; and, therefore, the priest was terrified by the unexpected vision. The angel bade him not be affrighted, and announced that his wife, Elizabeth, would bring forth a son in her old age, whose name should be called John, to denote the approach of grace and mercy.[22] Many,

A. J. P. 4706. B. V. Æ. 8. Herod 31.

[21] Revel. viii. 3, 4. Numb. xvi. 47.

[22] The Hebrew name יוֹחָנָן, Johanan, i. q. יְהוֹחָנָן, from חָנַן, to be favourable, gracious, merciful, compassionate. See Gesenius, Lex., under the two words.

the angel assured him, would exult at the birth of this child; for he would even then be filled with the Holy Ghost; would turn many of the children of Israel to Jehovah, their God; and should go before him, the Angel-Jehovah, in the spirit and power of the great prophet Elijah, to prepare the way for His coming. The priest, with a doubting and trembling heart, asked how this was possible, since it was beyond the ordinary course of nature. He was not, like Abraham, unstaggered at the promise of God; nor did he, like him, believe against hope, in opposition to all human probabilities. He was, therefore, immediately struck dumb, for his want of faith. Thus incapacitated to perform his functions, Zechariah, as soon as his week was ended, retired with his wife to his residence in Hebron, the hill country in Judæa.[23]

In the mean time, a decree of the Senate had been passed, to take a census of the whole Roman empire. A Roman census was an enrolment of persons and property, with a view to future taxation, or the levy of men at arms. The practice had existed from the time of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome; but was now extended, from the pride of conquest, and the cupidity of ambition, to the whole Roman empire. The displeasure of Augustus towards Herod, and the threat that he would thenceforth treat him, not as a friend, but as a subject, doubtless had its influence, both in the enactment of the decree, and its being carried into rigourous execution in Judæa. But whatever might have been the motives of which the emperor was conscious, he himself was acting under the controlling will of Omnipotence. That an event of so much importance as the Incarnation should be placed beyond the possibility of doubt, preparations, as to its time and place and circumstances, were accumulated one upon another, in a way which the wisdom of God alone could direct. The reformation of the calendar, by Julius Cæsar, and the exact measurement of time, was not completed till the

[23] See Josh. xxi. 11.

twenty-ninth year of Herod, and the beginning of the year preceding the appearance of the angel to Zechariah.[24] So the provision for the census caused the enrolment of every person born in Judæa, exactly at the time of the Saviour's birth, in an official document, transmitted to the Roman emperor, and deposited in the archives of his administration.[25] There is another fact, to which the attention of the devout reader must here be called, that in the sixth month after the appearance of the angel Gabriel to Zechariah, Augustus shut the temple of Janus the third time, in token of universal peace; and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, the same angel announced to the Blessed Virgin *the incarnation of the Prince of peace!* That mind is not to be envied which cannot see, in the concurrence of such events, the overruling power of the Almighty.

VIII.

A. J. P. 4707. R. V. Æ. 7. Herod 31, 32.

Mary, or Miriam, for such was her Hebrew name, was lineally descended from Nathan the son of David,[26] and betrothed to Joseph, who was, in like manner, descended from Solomon.[27] The two lines, indeed, were united in the person of Zorobabel, but diverged again in his sons; Mary being descended from Rhesa or Meshullam, and Joseph from Abihud or Hananiah.[28] She was also connected, as the royal family of David alone were, with the sacerdotal race; for Elizabeth, the wife of Zechariah, is called her near

[24] See Chron. Introd. pp. 111—115.

[25] Chron. Introd. Part ii. chap. iii. pp. 370—374, and chap. x. p. 537, &c.

[26] St. Luke iii. 31.

[27] St. Matt. i. 6.

[28] Comp. St. Luke iii. 27, and St. Matt. i. 13, with 1 Chron. iii. 19. The learned reader is referred to Dr. Barrett's Prolegomena to his Evang. sac. Matt. ex. cod. rescrip. Pars 2da, pp. 15—52, on the subject of the two Genealogies in St. Matt. and St. Luke. Those who cannot have access to it may consult Dr. A. Clarke's note on St. Luke iii. 23, and Further Considerations, &c., in which he has well condensed Dr. Barrett's Treatise. Dr. B. thinks it indisputable that Ἡλὶ or Heli, in St. Luke ii. 23, is a contraction of Eliakim, which is the same in meaning as Joachim. This reconciles the tradition, so generally received, that the parents of the Blessed Virgin were named Joachim and Anna. For all that tradition can say, which amounts to very little, the laborious and accurate Tillemont may be consulted. Mémoires pour servir à l'hist. Eccl. tom. i. p. 60, Art. Premier.

relation, or cousin. The Jewish genealogies were kept in the temple with the most scrupulous exactness, especially those of the priesthood, and the family of David. The latter was, indeed, reduced to the lowest humiliation; but the Messiah was universally expected as the son of David; and, unless a clear title to such descent was known to exist, it would be vain to proclaim him. Every child, born in wedlock, was legally reckoned as the son of his mother's husband, and the heir of his reputed father. It was necessary, therefore, to count the genealogy of Joseph, who, as the descendant of Solomon, was entitled to the throne of David, as well as that of Mary, who, by the union of the two lines in Zerubbabel, was equally Solomon's descendant, but could not, as a woman, be reckoned in the genealogy. Such may be considered as a part of the divine reasons for selecting a pure and holy virgin, betrothed indeed to the rightful heir of the crown, but whose marriage was not yet consummated. More than five hundred and thirty years before the event of which we now speak, the angel Gabriel was sent to the prophet Daniel, to tell him, more distinctly than had ever before been revealed, the time of the Messiah's coming. As the end of that prophetic period approached, the same Gabriel came to announce the accomplishment of still earlier prophecies, in the birth of his fore-runner. Six months later, the same angel Gabriel was sent by God to Nazareth, a city of Galilee, that he might salute the meek and lowly Mary. "Hail to thee," he said, "O favoured and beloved of God! Jehovah is with thee. Blessed art thou among women!" Perplexed and agitated by the appearance and speech of the heavenly visitant, the virgin silently pondered in her heart what the salutation should mean. The angel knew her thoughts, and added: "Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God. Thou shalt conceive and bear a son, whom thou shalt call Jesus, THE SAVIOUR. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High. The Lord God — or, as it is in

Hebrew, Jehovah-Elohim, — shall give him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever. Of his kingdom there shall never be an end." Like Abraham, strong in faith, the holy virgin implicitly believed. She did not, like Zechariah, ask how she should be assured of this, but, how should she perform her duty. To this the angel replied, that "the Holy Ghost should come upon her, and the power of the Highest should overshadow her. Therefore, that holy being who shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." The third person of the adorable Trinity, — He who at the beginning sat brooding on the face of the waters, and, by his Almighty power, brought forth this fair creation, — He it was, by whose operation, a human being, "of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting," was generated in the womb of Mary, for the express purpose of being united with the DIVINE WORD, the Angel-Jehovah, so as to be God, not made, but begotten of the Father, before all worlds, — and Man, begotten of the Holy Ghost, and made of the substance of his mother; perfect God, and perfect man, united in one Christ, by taking of the manhood into God. Such was the stupendous mystery of THE INCARNATION. It was the central point of human history: — central, as regards the promises of God, and the divine government of the world; central, as the fulfilment of one series of prophecies and rites, and the commencement of another; central, as the termination of successive judgments, by which the world has been excommunicated, because of the prevalence of sin; central, as the point, predestined before all ages, of restoration to God's favour; central, as providing for that great atonement, which reconciled the justice of the Creator with his mercy; central, as opening the door of the Church to all nations, and enabling man, everywhere, to embrace the glad tidings of a risen and glorified Saviour.

In the following month of June, the near kindred of Elizabeth assembled, to be with her in her hour of trial and subse-

quent joy. Among them came the Blessed Virgin from Nazareth. These incidental testimonies to the near connection of the house of David with the house of Aaron, show that, in the most adverse circumstances, regard was had to the primitive dignity of both. Probably, on account of their well-known descent, the holy family had removed from Bethlehem, where, as the descendants of David, their patrimony lay, into the obscure city of Galilee, in which Joseph supported himself as a carpenter; and, on both these accounts, would be the less likely to become the object of Herod's jealousy. The extraordinary circumstances, related by St. Luke, of the birth of John the Baptist, and the hopes and expectations which thence became general,[29] tended still more to divert attention from Joseph and Mary.

It is remarkable that here, in Hebron, where Abraham, Isaac and Jacob dwelt, and where David first reigned, the spirit of prophecy was renewed. It had continued dormant more than four hundred years after the prediction of Malachi that God would send Elijah; and, as if the intervening ages had been a dream, or an oppression of the brain, the great theme, which had died on the lips of Malachi, now lived again on those of Zechariah. The punishment of his unbelief was ended, when he wrote, in obedience to God, the name of his son. The songs of Elizabeth and Mary are of joy and gladness, in the ancient metre of Hebrew poetry. They have respect, like that of Hannah, to personal feelings and personal blessings; but, unlike that, they do not end with prophecy. The song of Zechariah, on the contrary, while exulting and jubilant, speaks of Christ, before he was born, as a horn of salvation already raised in the house of David. And, as to his own son, with evident reference to the words of Malachi, he predicted: "Thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest; for thou shalt go before the face of the LORD to prepare his ways."[30]

[29] St. Luke i. 65, 66.

[30] Comp. Matt. iii. 1, with St. Luke i. 76. See Bishop Jebb's Sacred Literature, § xx. p. 391, § xxi. p. 403.

IX.

The period of Mary's gestation was now advanced three months, and was known and declared by Elizabeth. We must, therefore, place here the suspicions of Joseph respecting her purity. The law of Moses was very severe with regard to a betrothed maiden who afterwards became faithless to her vows;[31] while the punishment of her betrothed lover, for false suspicions, was comparatively slight. By a legal process, therefore, Joseph would incur little risk himself, but might expose Mary to the loss, not only of reputation, but of life. Being a righteous man, and unwilling to bring such a calamity on her whom he loved, he thought, upon his bed, of renouncing the betrothment privately. But the angel of the Lord, probably the same Gabriel, appeared to him in a dream, revealed the miraculous conception, and required of him publicly to espouse his wife, to adopt the child at his birth, and, according to custom, to give him the name of Jesus, as if he were his own son and heir. All suspicions being thus removed, Joseph knew that the first-born of Mary would be the long-expected Messiah, or Christ.[32]

In the mean time, the census was proceeding in all the provinces of the empire; and Augustus, though reconciled to Herod, was not unwilling that he should still receive such a token of his subjection to Roman supremacy. Commissioners for this purpose arrived in Judæa; and, according to their command, preparations were made for enrolling the names of men, women, and children, of every age, in their respective cities, towns, and villages. By the Mosaic law, which kept tribes and families inseparably connected with the lot of their inheritance, the family of David belonged to Bethlehem, a small city in the territory of Judah, distant from Jerusalem, towards the south, about six Roman miles.[33] Built on the ridge of a hill, from which the Dead Sea is distinctly visible,

[31] Deut. xxii. 13—21.
[32] St. Matt. i. 18—25.
[33] Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. pp. 642–8.

any celestial phenomenon over it would be seen from far in the eastern country, especially in the lowlands of Arabia and Chaldæa, towards the Persian Gulf.[34] More than seven hundred years before the event, it had been named by the prophet Micah as the birthplace of the "Ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from the days of eternity."[35]

In obedience to the commands of the Roman government, all persons belonging to it, who had been absent, were seen returning, previous to the time appointed for the enrolment. It has been well observed, that "the journey to Bethlehem with Mary, so far advanced in her pregnancy, was not a thing that Joseph could be supposed to choose; and if it had been in his desire that this character of the Messiah, — *that he should be born in that place*, or that he should be born at the time of the enrolment, — should be accomplished in his [adopted] son, it was not in his power to secure either of these points; these events, — the one an essential characteristic of the Messiah, the other useful and important in the discovery of his birth to the shepherds, — appeared more like the real care of Providence, and its powerful disposal and control, than the fictitious invention and studied management of men."[36]

Joseph and Mary arrived at Bethlehem on the 24th of December, exactly six months after the birth of John. They had doubtless travelled slowly, and arrived late; so that every place of private hospitality, provided by their kindred and friends, had been preöccupied. But where, and how, and why, they stopped as they did, are questions of difficult solution. Tradition is very ancient and uniform, that the

[34] Robinson's Calmet, p. 168. Dr. E. Clarke's testimony.

[35] Micah v. 2. The Chaldee Paraphrast, before his birth, explained it as spoken of Christ. "And thou Bethlehem Ephratha — from thee before me shall come forth the Messiah."

[36] Mr. Newcombe Cappe's remarks on the internal evidence of genuineness in the introductory chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke, first published in the Monthly Repository for 1813, pp. 188—190, and quoted in a Layman's "Vindication of the Authenticity of the Narratives contained in the first two chapters of those Gospels, in opposition to the Unitarian Editors of the Improved (!) Version of the N. T., London, F. C. and J. Rivington, 1822," 8vo. p. 64. Mr. Cappe being himself "an eminent Unitarian," these candid concessions are, as the Layman observes, "doubly valuable, because opposed to the prejudices of his party." Ut sup. p. 63.

scene of the nativity was a grotto, formed by art or nature in the limestone rock on which the city was built. That it may cave been under a caravanserai, is not improbable. Such buildings, as the name imports, were of Persian origin, and may have been introduced into Judæa under the Persian monarchy. These houses of public reception in the East, as Volney asserts, "are always built without the precincts of towns." They are frequented by men, not by women; are built around a quadrangular court; and are divided into little chambers about eight feet square. These cells, compared by Sir John Chardin to those of monks, are without windows, and generally without doors; lighted from the open corridor, which runs around the whole building, and looks down upon the court below; having only bare walls, and exposed continually to the view of passers-by. The necessity of the case, and the shrinking delicacy of her sex, may, therefore, have induced the Holy Virgin to take refuge in the stable below. She seems to have been spared the ordinary pains of parturition; for here, without any female attendant, or human help of any kind, she brought forth her first-born son, wrapped him herself in swathing bands, and laid him in one of the stone troughs there provided to hold provender. In this lowly manner did the Saviour of the world make his appearance among men. The thoughts of God are not as our thoughts; nor are his ways as our ways.

But, while the Messiah came into the world thus unhonoured and unknown by the creatures whom he came to redeem, his nativity was celebrated, by the innumerable armies of heaven, with a glory to which sinful man had hitherto been a stranger. Only two instances are on record, in which the angelic host shouted for joy; — the one, at the creation, while all but the spirits of evil were yet pure; the other, at the birth of Him who came to release the world, they had taken captive, from their bondage.[37] The great ones of the earth were sleeping

[37] Job xxxviii. 7, and St. Luke ii. 13.

on their couches. The inhabitants of Bethlehem had forgotten their joys, and sorrows, and cares; and only a few poor shepherds, who, as was usual at that season, had driven their flocks down from the mountains to the fertile plain, the better to feed and guard them from wolves, were watching them, as they lay within their hurdles. Suddenly the glory of Jehovah, an intense light above the brightness of the meridian sun, illumined the darkness of the midnight hour; at the very moment, probably, in which the child Jesus was born. The messenger-angel, he, doubtless, who had been all along commissioned to reveal the power of the Almighty, soothed their fears, and proclaimed those tidings of great joy, which in our language are called, in one word, THE GOSPEL. "Fear not; for behold, I bring you tidings of great joy, which shall be to ALL PEOPLE. For unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour which is Christ the Lord." The angel then gave them a sign, which marked the exact place of his birth, and must distinguish the Lord Christ from all other infants. The Blessed Virgin had, doubtless, with a mother's feelings, prepared for her expected son a robe wrought with more than ordinary care, and expressive, by its richness, of his royal descent and high dignity. Yet, after he was wrapped in it, he was laid in a feeding-trough for cattle, in the stable of a caravanserai. This incongruity was a sign which could not be mistaken. No sooner had the angel ended, than he was joined by an innumerable company of the heavenly host, who sang in the hearing, and plainly to the understanding, of the shepherds, that glorious hymn, which, ever since, in every age, and in every clime, the Church has responded: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."[38]

When the angels had disappeared from their view, the shepherds, after short consultation, resolved to go immediately

[38] St. Luke ii. 8—14. For the idea respecting the sign to the shepherds, I am indebted to Fragments illustrating Scripture, No. 314, appended to Calmet's Dictionary, Taylor's ed., being vol. iii. p. 403, Amer. edit. 1813, 4to.

and see, with their own eyes, the truth of this wonderful revelation. Having become eye-witnesses of its truth, they proclaimed throughout Bethlehem the birth, that day, of "Christ the Lord." The Roman notary heard it, went to the stable, and officially recorded on the eighth, before the calends of January, the words MARIA, EX QUA NASCITUR CHRISTUS. This document, the most indubitable evidence of the nativity, the solemn attestation of the Roman empire to the fact, was laid up in the archives, preserved for at least five hundred years, and seen and copied during that whole period. Thus did the Almighty bend the wills and purposes of the most exalted, as well as the humblest of men, to put beyond the reach of controversy the fulfilment of predictions reaching back almost to the creation.[39]

In obedience to the law, the child was circumcised on the eighth day after his birth, receiving then the appointed and covenant name of JESUS. On the second of the following February, the Blessed Virgin presented him in the temple, and received herself the legal purification.[40] By divine appointment, another illustrious attestation was now given of the fulfilment of prophecy. It had been revealed, — how, it is not said, but by the Holy Ghost, — to an aged man, who was waiting for the consolation of Israel, that he should not die until he had seen, with his own eyes, the Christ of the Lord. Prompted by inspiration, he entered the temple at this moment, took the child Jesus in his arms, and burst forth in the triumphant strains of a dying saint: "Now release thou thy servant, Lord, according to thy word, in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." It has been well observed, that the songs of Mary, Zechariah and Simeon, are consecutive in subject, as they are continuous in time. Where the Virgin ends, Zechariah begins. Where Zechariah

A. J. P. 4708. B. V. Æ. 6. Herod 32.

[39] As this subject has been fully discussed in Part ii. chap. x. of the Chronol. Introd. to the present History, I must refer the reader to it, merely observing that I have seen no reason advanced by any one to change or modify its conclusions.

[40] Gen. xvii. 12. Levit. xii. 1—5. St. Luke ii. 21—24.

ends, the song of Simeon commences. The three spake as the Spirit gave them utterance. The song of the Virgin resembles that of Hannah; that of Zechariah is a continuation of the words of Malachi; the inspiration of Simeon bears an obvious analogy to the sublime language of Isaiah. "The Virgin gives vent to her *immediate* feelings; and her subject closes with the birth of the Messiah. Zechariah opens a *prospective*, though limited, field of vision; he begins with the gracious visitation of Messiah's birth, and ends with the guidance of the Jewish people into the way of peace. But Simeon altogether passes by the first gathering of Jewish converts; he commences with the removal of the veil from the understanding and affections of the Gentiles; and concludes with that final manifestation of divine glory, when, after the fulness of the Gentiles shall have come in, all Israel shall be saved."[41]

X.

We must now return to the history of Herod, which we left, in the beginning of the thirty-first year of his reign, after the murder of the two sons of Mariamne, and just before the appearance of the angel Gabriel to Zechariah. Both the young princes had left sons; Alexander, two by Glaphyra, and Aristobulus three by Bernice, the daughter of Salome. Aristobulus had also left two daughters, Herodias and Mariamne; and all five were thus, equally, the grandchildren of Herod and his sister. The innocence of young children, their unsuspecting and artless natures, their lamb-like caresses even of the hand that smites them, can touch the most obdurate and ferocious tempers. Herod amused his fancy, and soothed, perhaps, the pangs of remorse, by forming plans for them of future alliances, by which they and the other members of his family were to be upheld. One of the daughters he wished to betroth to his son Herod Philip, her uncle; the

[41] Bp. Jebb's Sacred Literature, sec. xxii. pp. 418—428.

other to the son of Antipater. The elder son of Aristobulus was to marry the daughter of Antipater; and the elder of Alexander's sons, the daughter of Herod's brother, Pheroras. These absurd projects were very alarming to Antipater; and, by his consummate artifice, the king was led finally to abandon them. In the mean time, the separate intrigues of the royal household were continued with increased activity. An event had occurred which accelerated, by its consequences, the judgments now ready to descend upon them all. The Pharisees, restless, subtle and turbulent, popular for their outward austerity and supposed sanctity, and therefore formidable to Herod and the Roman government, had resisted the decree for the enrolment. Six thousand of them had publicly refused to take the oaths, required on that occasion of the whole nation, to be faithful, both to Herod and to Cæsar. They were punished by a fine, which the wife of Pheroras, from her devotedness to the sect, and her hatred to Herod, who had urged his brother to divorce her, immediately paid.[42] The Pharisees, grateful to her, and supposed to be inspired with a knowledge of the future, foretold that, by God's decree, the government of Herod would soon cease. It would not, they said, descend to his posterity, but would be transferred to her and Pheroras, and their children. These predictions, the more plausible because founded on the universal expectation of the Messiah, were not hidden from Salome, and by her were disclosed to the king. He, therefore, slew the principal Pharisees accused of uttering this language, and all persons of his own family supposed to favour them. All intercourse with the family of Pheroras was forbidden, and Antipater, especially, was to hold no communication with them. But to this injunction he was not obedient. An opportunity was now offered to compass his father's death, and shield himself from all suspicion, by throwing the obloquy of the crime upon

[42] For the connection of these facts with the census, see Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, P. i. b. ii. ch. i. Works Ed. Kippis, vol. i. p. 279, &c.

Pheroras. Secret meetings took place between Antipater and his uncle. The women, — the wife of Pheroras, her mother and sister, and Doris, the mother of Antipater, — were let into the plot. All were to speak of each other openly, as if they were irreconcilable enemies, while they met continually in riotous merriment at the dead of night. It was agreed that a subtle and deadly poison should be prepared for the king, and administered as soon as possible. Antipater was to ask his father's permission to go to Rome, so as to be out of the way, while the foul deed was committed. This suited well the policy of both. Antipater, having the ear of Cæsar, thought he should have the succession confirmed to himself. Pheroras and his wife knew how the nation hated him, and considered his absence favourable to their securing the crown. The initiatory measure was readily obtained. Herod furnished his son with thirty talents' outfit, and fifty talents' annual income, with letters of commendation, and rich presents for the emperor. He sent also to Cæsar a copy of his will, naming Antipater as his immediate successor. In the event of his death during his absence, the crown was to devolve, not upon his son, but upon his half-brother, Herod Philip, the grandson of the high priest, Simeon. This voyage to Rome seems to have occurred between the birth of John the forerunner, and that of the Lord Jesus.

A. J. P. 4707.
B. V. Æ. 7.
Herod 32.

But though the kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, they are laughed to scorn by the Almighty. These plots could not entirely escape the wonderful penetration of Salome. She communicated her suspicions to Herod, who ordered his brother, Pheroras, to retire, with his wife, into his own tetrarchy. He did not, indeed, retain this anger long; for he was really fond of his brother, and soon invited him to return. But all entreaties to that effect were coldly and haughtily declined. In the following year, Pheroras was attacked by a dangerous illness. This revived all Herod's affection. He went to see him, attended

him during his last moments, had his body conveyed to Jerusalem for interment, and appointed a general and solemn mourning.[43]

A death so sudden and unexpected led to the full disclosure of Antipater's wickedness. Two freedmen of the deceased, who were much in his confidence, insinuated the improbable suspicion that his wife had poisoned him. The women slaves were put to the torture, but confessed nothing. At length, one of them prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, for she it was who had occasioned all these miseries. The king instantly ordered greater tortures to be applied, and then all was discovered: the secret assemblies, the merry meetings, the disclosures of Herod's secrets made by Antipater to Pheroras, his hatred of his father, his complaints to his mother, his design in going to Rome. All accorded with the previous representations of Salome. Doris was immediately disgraced, stripped of her rich attire, and ejected from the palace. A Samaritan, who managed the affairs of Antipater, and who bore the same name, was put to the torture, and made full confession. Among other things, he said that Antipater had sent to Pheroras, by Theudion, the brother of Doris, a deadly poison, brought from Egypt, to be administered to his father, while he was too far distant to incur suspicion; and that, upon receiving it, Pheroras had given it to his wife for safe-keeping. This, upon examination, she confessed; and when ordered to bring it, threw herself from the top of the house. By a wonderful escape, she fell without material injury. Being recovered from the swoon which her fall occasioned, and brought again into the king's presence, she said: "Now that Pheroras is dead, why should I keep these secrets to spare Antipater, who has been the ruin of us all? When thou, O king, wast sitting, bathed in tears, by the side of the dying Pheroras, he called me to him and said, 'I have greatly erred

[43] Jos. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. ii. iii. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. xxviii. xxix.

in hating a brother who hath such affection for me. Bring hither the poison left us by Antipater, and burn it in my presence.' I brought it as he ordered, and in his sight emptied the greater part into the fire. What I reserved was for myself, because I feared thee." So saying, she produced the box, in which a small quantity of the poison still remained. No doubt existed of Antipater's guilt; and measures were taken for his immediate recall from Rome. It was now also found, or suspected, that Mariamne, the mother of Herod Philip, was conscious of the plot. She also was divorced, and the name of her son, as an heir of the throne, was stricken from the will. Simon, her father, was removed from the high-priesthood; and Matthias, the son of Theophilus, appointed in his stead.[44]

XI.

About this time, whether before or after the return of Antipater is uncertain, must be placed the visit of the Magi, or Eastern sages, at Jerusalem. The most probable opinion is, that these were Persian priests, of the religion of Zoroaster, who combined with their worship the knowledge of medical botany and astronomy.[45] On the night of the Saviour's nativity, they were watching the heavens, and saw the bright effulgence which accompanied the angelic host. They took it for a star, and connected with its appearance the birth of the long-expected King of the Jews. Why *they* were chosen, among all the Gentiles, to have the first knowledge of the new-born Messiah, and *how* they came to connect his birth with that extraordinary appearance in the heavens, are questions which cannot be fully solved. The

A. J. P. 4709. B. V. Æ. 5. Herod 33.

[44] Jos. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. iv. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. xxx.

[45] Hyde, and after him many others, quote the following distich:

Ille penes Persas Magus est, qui Sydera novit,
Qui sciat Herbarum vires, cultumque Deorum.

On this curious subject of the Magi, consult his learned work, Historia Religionis, vet. Persarum, c. xxxi., and compare it with Bryant's Analysis of Anc. Mythol. vol. ii. p. 388, art. Zoroaster, and Faber's Origin of Pagan Idolatry, vol. ii. p. 96.

prophecy of Balaam, "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel," may have been widely known in the East, and from age to age perpetuated. It bears an obvious relation to the prophecy ascribed to Zoroaster, by the Persians, concerning *Oshanderbeghâ*, or the MAN OF THE WORLD, who should be born of a virgin, should cause the law of his Father to be received, and should confirm it by his miracles and the eloquence of his preaching.[46] Another, but a Christian historian of the East, the celebrated Abulpharagi, relates that Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, taught the Persians concerning the manifestation of Christ, and ordered them to bring gifts to him in token of their reverence and submission. He declared that, in the latter days, a pure virgin would conceive; and that, as soon as the child was born, a star would appear above the splendour of day. "*You, my sons, will perceive its rising before all other nations.* When, therefore, you shall see the star, go whithersoever it shall direct you. Adore that child, offering him your gifts. He is the Word which created the heavens."[47] Whatever may be thought of these prophecies, which possibly come down to us through a distorting medium, it is certain, from the representations of Suetonius[48] and Tacitus,[49] and the fourth eclogue of Virgil, that a very surprising and general expectation prevailed among the heathen, of a great benefactor of the human race, who was then to be made manifest.[50] As a national religion, the Persian was the least corrupted of the heathen world. Their morals were purer, their kings more religious, more benevolent towards the chosen people, and more reverential than any other towards the true worship of God. The proph-

[46] Shahristani, a Mohammedan author quoted by Hyde, ub. sup.

[47] Hyde, ubi supra. The passage is translated in Faber's learned work on Pagan Idolatry, vol. ii. p. 97. Mr. Faber thinks that the Persian *Oschen* or *Oshander-begha* was originally the antediluvian and postdiluvian Noah, "without any necessary reference to the expected Messiah of Jews and Christians;" but that "the character of the Messiah was in him *at some time or other*, superadded to that of the great Father."

[48] Vesp. 4.

[49] Annal. lib. xiv.

[50] Bp. Horsley's Dissertation on the Prophecies of the Messiah dispersed among the Heathen.

ets of the Most High, especially Daniel, may have communicated to them many revelations respecting the Messiah. All these may have been reasons why the Magi were selected to visit the infant Saviour; and as they were divinely warned not to return to Herod, they may have been equally warned, in their own country, to direct their footsteps to Jerusalem.

From the preceding narrative, we may well imagine how great was the excitement which their arrival occasioned: an excitement of consternation or joy, according to the tempers on which it operated. The remarkable prediction of the Pharisees, that the sovereignty was about to be transferred from Herod's family; the murder of his sons now traced home to Antipater; and the proofs of conspiracy against his own life, just at this time so clearly brought to light, — all increased the agitation which the question of the Persians produced in his gloomy soul. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, their hopes being revived and strengthened by an event so singular, could scarcely restrain their exultation within the bounds of personal safety. Herod felt himself obliged to assemble the great Sanhedrim, and propose to them the question where Christ should be born. The answer, "In Bethlehem of Judæa," suggested the cruel thought of secretly seizing and destroying the child, while he affected in public a readiness to worship him. He inquired of the Magi, in a private interview, how long it was since the star appeared to them; and being told that it was under two years, he directed them, when they had found the child, to return and inform him. While they proceeded on their way from Jerusalem, the same divine light appeared again in the heavens, conducting them by its guidance to the house which Joseph and Mary then occupied, as the pillar of fire had guided the children of Israel in the wilderness. They came into the presence of the holy child, and prostrated themselves on their faces, in the manner of their country, offering precious

gifts of gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. The two latter were easily portable, and in great demand; and the former especially needful for the speedy flight into Egypt. By divine direction, the Magi took the shortest way back to Arabia and Persia, while Joseph and Mary lost no time in removing the child beyond Herod's jurisdiction. Enraged at the deception practised upon him, as he supposed, by the strangers, and determined to make sure of his victim, he ordered all the children within the borders of Bethlehem to be slain, "of two years old and under, *according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the Magi.*" This event, therefore, took place in the second year after our Lord's nativity. A heathen writer relates, in a collection of the witty sayings of Augustus, that he remarked, when he heard of the boys within two years old whom Herod had ordered to be slain, and that his own son was among them, "Better is it to be Herod's hog than his son." There was no truth in the latter part of the story, for Herod had no son so young; but the bitter jest shows what was the general character of Herod, and, by its incidental testimony, confirms a fact related only by St. Matthew.[51]

XII.

To return to Antipater. Strange as it may seem, he was kept for seven months in profound ignorance of all that was passing in Judæa. He knew nothing of his mother's disgrace, of the death of Pheroras, or the detection of his own crimes. This was owing to the vigilance of Herod in guarding all the passes, and the general hatred of the nation. No one would hazard his own safety to do him a benefit. In the mean time, he and his friends at Rome were writing letters laudatory of himself, and calumnious of his brothers, Archelaus and Philip. He even sent, by his freedman, Bathyllus, a sec-

[51] St. Matt. ii. 1—18. "Cum audisset, inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes Rex Judæorum intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait: Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium." A Macrobii Saturnal. lib. ii. c. iv.

ond potion to his mother, composed of the poison of asps, to be administered to his father by her or Pheroras, if the first had failed. On his arrival, Bathyllus was seized and put to the torture; and so the whole design was disclosed. Herod wrote him an artful letter, touching lightly upon his mother's disgrace, expressing great affection for him, and urging him to return without delay. He had already left Rome, of his own accord, from the restless anxieties of a wicked heart, and was proceeding through Calabria, when he heard at Tarentum that Pheroras was dead. A presentiment of impending evil now oppressed him. Still, he hurried on, as if driven by his destiny. In Cilicia he met the messenger with his father's letter; but the gleams of comfort which that might have given him were overclouded when he arrived at Celenderis, the modern Kelnar, where some of his friends advised him to wait for further information. Others, relying upon his matchless powers of dissimulation, and anxious themselves to return home, prevailed upon him to reject this prudent advice, and sail for Cæsarea. At his landing, no man did him reverence. When he left the same port for Rome, crowds had attended him to the ship, with loud and joyous acclamations. Now, there was a profound silence, and men hurried by, with looks of terror and aversion. His heart sunk within him; but, with a desperate effort, he concealed his feelings, and assumed an air of confidence and boldness.

Quintilius Varus, who had lately succeeded Saturninus in the government of Syria, was sitting with his father when Antipater arrived at Jerusalem. All the city was filled with rumours, of which he alone was ignorant. No friendly voice of warning was raised; and, if it had been, there was now no chance for retreat. He arrayed himself in royal robes, and went, with his attendants, to the palace. The porters had been ordered to receive him, but to exclude all others. As he advanced to embrace his father, Herod, with a look and gesture of abhorrence, repelled him, calling him

his brothers' murderer, and in will, at least, a parricide. He was informed that Varus would sit as his judge, the day following; and his mother and his wife were then, by a refinement of cruelty, permitted, for the first time, to make a full disclosure of the events which had occurred in his absence.

On the following day the trial commenced. His friends were permitted to be present, and so were all the relations of the family. The witnesses of his guilt were all in attendance. An intercepted letter from his mother was produced, in which she had informed him that all was discovered, and that he must apply for aid to Cæsar. By order of Varus, the poison preserved by the wife of Pheroras was administered to a condemned criminal, who died instantly.

So complete was the testimony, that when the wretched man was called upon for his defence, he could do nothing but lay prostrate, with professions of innocence, by which no one was deceived. The court was dissolved; and, after a private conference with Herod, the president of Syria returned to Antioch. What passed in that conference was never known; but men judged, from Herod's subsequent proceedings, that the counsel of Varus was therein strictly followed. Antipater was put in chains and closely confined; and ambassadors were sent to Rome with accounts of all these proceedings to the emperor. Further disclosures were subsequently made, of intrigues to destroy Salome by forged letters. Herod became convinced that similar practices had occasioned the death of his son Alexander; and the remorse and mental anguish which he now suffered aggravated the bodily diseases with which he was speedily visited.[52] A slow internal fever, accompanied by a voracious appetite, — his lungs affected by asthma so that he could not lie down, — his feet and legs and abdomen swollen by dropsy, — his skin tormented by perpetual itching, — internal ulcerations, — excruciating pains, — and other loathsome complaints, too nauseous

A. J. P. 4710. B. V. Æ. 4. Herod 31.

[52] Jos. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. v. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. xxx. xxxi. xxxii.

to be mentioned, came upon him soon after the massacre of the babes of Bethlehem. Any one of these disorders was sufficient to destroy even the strongest constitution; but he was now in the seventieth year of his age, and knew that he could not long bear up under such dreadful tortures. He now changed his will; but, being still suspicious of Archelaus and Philip, left his kingdom to his youngest son, Antipas. This disposition, however, was subsequently changed in favour of Archelaus as king of Judæa; while Herod Antipas was named as tetrarch of Galilee, and Herod Philip as tetrarch of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas.[53]

XIII.

A popular outbreak happened at this time, which certainly hastened the king's death. Two of the most celebrated and eloquent interpreters of the law asserted, in their public lectures, that all Herod's afflictions, and especially this uncommon bodily disorder, were judgments upon him for setting up images in the city, contrary to the second commandment. They even exhorted their pupils, now that he was smitten with an incurable disease, to begin the work of demolition, by pulling down the golden eagle which, in compliment to the Roman arms, he had erected over the great gate of the temple. Thus excited, a large body of them, on the false report of the king's death, assembled in open day, tore down the eagle, and hewed it in pieces. An officer, with a body of soldiers, unexpectedly attacked the multitude, apprehended forty young men who were too bold to flee, and with them their two preceptors, who were standing by and encouraging the rioters. Being brought before the king, he ordered them to be bound and taken to Jericho, whither he himself was to be carried, and where he had already convened the principal men of the nation. On his arrival, he ordered all to assemble in the theatre. Being unable to stand, he reclined upon a couch, and with great

[53] Comp. Jos. Ant. lib. xvii. c. vi. with c. viii.

exertion addressed them, enumerating the benefits he had conferred during his reign, and complaining of this new outrage as a proof of national ingratitude. Some of the distinguished persons present answered this address, in the name of the people, by denying that they had any share in the transaction, and abandoning the persons implicated to their fate. Herod, however, determined to deprive Matthias of the high-priesthood, as having secretly favoured, or at least not restrained, the rioters, and to appoint Joazar, the brother of his wife, in his stead. The two teachers of the law, with their companions, he condemned to be burned alive. The sentence was executed at Jericho, a short time before Herod's death; and "that very night," says Josephus, "there was an eclipse of the moon." This is the only eclipse mentioned by the historian; and it is one of great importance, because it enables us to fix with precision the year of Herod's death. The eclipse occurred in the night between the 12th and 13th of March, in the year of the Julian period 4710. This was four years earlier than the date commonly assigned for our Lord's nativity, and consequently proves, beyond all contradiction, that the present year is erroneous.[54]

After the effort thus made in the theatre at Jericho, by which his bodily complaints were greatly aggravated, his physicians prescribed the warm baths and waters of Callirhoe, a limpid fountain flowing from the Arabian side into the Asphaltic or Dead Sea. Tenacious of life, he went thither, but received no benefit. As a last resort, they ordered a bath of oil. He fainted in it, and was supposed to be dying. Roused by the shrieks of his attendants, and having no further hopes of recovery, he returned to Jericho. He now ordered the principal men of the nation to be shut up in the Hippodrome, and gave secret orders to Salome and her husband, Alexas, to have them slain by the soldiery immediately after his death. In this way, he said, he should prevent the nation from rejoic-

[54] Chronol. Introd. to this History, part ii. chap. i. pp. 356—362.

ing at an event now inevitable, and cause, on the contrary, a universal mourning.

While he was giving these orders, letters were delivered to him from his ambassadors at Rome, that Cæsar left the punishment of Antipater to his discretion as a father and a king. The joy which this intelligence occasioned produced a slight revival. But his pains soon returned, and with them a fainting for food. He called for an apple and a knife ; for he was accustomed thus cautiously to pare and cut them for himself. Looking around to see that he was not observed, he attempted to stab himself. His cousin, Achiabus, was near enough to arrest the blow ; but the outcries and lamentations in the palace caused it to be noised abroad that the king was dead. The rumour soon reached the ears of Antipater. He sought to bribe his keeper, but only hastened thereby his own destruction. When Herod heard of it, raising himself on the elbow of one arm, and beating his head with the other, he sent immediately for some of his guards, and ordered them to kill his son without delay. Five days after, he was himself a corpse. Thus perished this blood-thirsty tyrant, one of the greatest monsters that the world ever saw. As soon as the breath was out of his body, and before his death was known, Salome and Alexas, pretending to act by the king's orders, liberated the intended victims of his cruelty from their confinement in the Hippodrome. The date of Herod's death can be gathered only by induction from the scanty notes of time which are given by Josephus. He was dead, and buried, and Archelaus proclaimed king, before the Passover, the first day of which fell that year on the *twelfth* of April. The two rabbins were burned on the *twelfth* of March. Within that month occurred the death of Antipater, the death of Herod, the funeral, the mourning, and the rejoicings for the accession of Archelaus. All the modern departures from this testimony have had their origin in the various attempts to reconcile the facts recorded by Josephus with favourite theories concerning our Lord's

nativity. They are merely conjectural, and cannot bear the test of close and accurate examination.[55]

[55] Jos. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. vi.—ix. De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. xxxiii. lib. ii. c. i. Even Abp. Usher (clarum et venerabile nomen!) was led, by a false conjecture, into an arrangement of events which carries its own confutation with it. No one, who will take the trouble to compare his method of computation with mine, can fail of perceiving that they are the same; and yet he places the death of Herod on the seventh of Casleu, which he rightly computes to have been the twenty-fifth of November, while I place it on the twenty-first of March, in the same year. The question arises, why do we differ so much? I answer, Simply because he placed the birth of Christ too late by two years. He saw clearly that Herod died four years before the common Christian Æra. He therefore placed the birth of Christ on the 25th of December, A. J. P. 4709, and then allowed eleven months, placing the death of Herod on the 25th of November, A. J. P. 4710. The eclipse, he knew, was early on the 13th of March, and the following Passover on the 12th of April. These facts being so, let us see how he endeavoured to arrange the history of our Lord. His circumcision he placed on the first of January, A. J. P. 4710, the visit of the Magi on the sixth of January, and the purification of the Blessed Virgin, when she presented the child Jesus in the temple, on the second of the following February. And now comes the incongruity. The Magi saw the star in the east, prepared for their journey, arrived in Jerusalem, alarmed Herod, and caused him to convene the Sanhedrim, had a private interview with him, left Jerusalem for Bethlehem, and were guided by the star to the feet of the infant Jesus, when he was but twelve days old! By their failing to return to Jerusalem, the wrath and suspicions of Herod were excited; and yet, three weeks later, when it would of course be most dangerous, the holy child is taken to the temple, and there proclaimed by Simeon to be the Lord's Christ. By this arrangement the archbishop was obliged to place the flight into Egypt in the month of February, when the child was not more than a month and a half old, and more than a month after the return of the Magi, and the exasperation of Herod. He places in the same February the massacre at Bethlehem, the return of Antipater from Rome, his trial, and the commencement of Herod's last sickness. The riot and the burning of the rabbins preceded the eclipse in March. Herod was then in a dying state; yet the increase of his complaints, his visit to Callirhoë, his return to Jericho, and the subsequent events, are made to occupy a space of more than eight months! What is still more extraordinary, the return of Joseph and Mary and the child Jesus from Egypt is placed early in 4711, when our Lord was little more than a year old, and the funeral of Herod still later! All this was to accommodate his plan to the plain evidence of Josephus, that the funeral, &c., was a short time before the Passover. The body of Herod must have been kept unburied between three and four months, when, even before his death, he was a mass of the most loathsome corruption. After pointing out this series of errors, all proceeding from a single mistake, I shall merely observe that the subsequent labours of the most eminent chronologers have all been approximations to the arrangement now presented to the Christian reader.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD TO THE END OF THE SEVENTY PROPHETIC WEEKS;

OR MARCH 21, A. J. P. 4710, TO THE END OF SEPTEMBER, A. J. P. 4744 — 34 YEARS, 6 MONTHS, 10 DAYS.

I. Our Lord probably in Egypt till he was four years old. — Joseph goes to Nazareth. — Archelaus after Herod's death. — He, Salome, and Herod Antipas, sail for Rome. — Augustus confirms Herod's last will, but makes Archelaus ethnarch, and not king. — Imprudent conduct of Varus occasions a revolt in Jerusalem. — Archelaus deposes Joazar, but fails to conciliate the people. II. At this time the holy family return to Nazareth. — The childhood of our Lord. — The fears of Joseph removed by the banishment of Archelaus in our Lord's twelfth year. — Temple of Janus reöpened. III. Judæa being a province of the empire, our Lord, at the age of twelve, could go in safety to Jerusalem. — He tarries behind in the temple. — Little recorded of the Jewish people. — Joazar reïnstated. — Coponius procurator. — Judas the Gaulonite. — Fourth Jewish sect. — State of the sects at this time. — The Essenes — Sadducees — Pharisees. — The fourth sect called Galileans. — Differed little from the Pharisees, but more turbulent. — All calamitous to the Church. IV. Temple profaned by the Samaritans. — Ananus high priest. — Marcus Ambivius procurator. — Death of Salome. — Annius Rufus procurator. — Tiberius sole emperor. — Valerius Gratus procurator. — Ishmael high priest — then Eleazar — then Simon — then Caïaphas — all appointed by the Roman governor. — Pontius Pilate procurator. — His violent conduct. — Galileans slain. V. Events in the Roman empire remotely affecting the Jews. — Shameful intrigue at Rome, which occasioned the banishment of the Jews. — Pilate, a creature of Sejanus. — The banished Roman Jews hear John the Baptist, our Lord and his Apostles. VI. Beginning of St. John's ministry. — Our Lord's baptism. — Commencement of the struggle between the second Adam and the great Deceiver. VII. Our Lord's ministry confined to the Jewish nation. — Began at the Passover. — The buyers and sellers driven from the Court of the Gentiles. — Just forty-six years from the 18th year of Herod. VIII. The three years of our Lord's ministry divided — first in Judæa — second in Galilee — third beyond Jordan. — The first examined. — The acceptable year of the Lord. — Cause of St. John's imprisonment. IX. Our Lord's ministry in Galilee. — The woman of Samaria. — Cana. — Nazareth. — First act of violence in his own city. X. He removes to Capernaum with his mother and brethren. — Joseph probably now dead. — Completes his thirty-second year. — In his thirty-third selects his apostles. — Communicates to them his power. XI. Alarm and jealousy of the several sects. — Their open opposition began at his second Passover. — Cure at the pool of Bethesda. — Our Lord's cautious conversations accounted for, as well as his mysterious actions. — Murder of St. John the Baptist. — His character. — God's vengeance upon his mur-

derers. — Striking remark of Josephus. XII. Our Lord retires from Herod's dominions. — His ministry beyond Jordan. — Miracle of the five loaves, and attempt to proclaim him king. — Great defection of his disciples. — Third Passover. — Attempts upon his life. XIII. Memorable confession at Cæsarea Philippi. — Transfiguration. — The Ascension, its anniversary. — Appointment of the seventy. — Our Lord's last visitation in Galilee. XIV. Feast of Tabernacles. — He appears suddenly in the temple. — Woman taken in adultery. — Man born blind. — The ten lepers. XV. Feast of the Dedication. — Anniversary of his baptism passed at Bethabara. — Resurrection of Lazarus. — It occasions the decree of the Sanhedrim to put our Lord to death. — He retires to Ephraim. — Passion week. — Thursday the anniversary of his Incarnation. — Institutes the Lord's Supper, and as Priest offers himself. — The sacrifice of animals forever abolished. XVI. Jesus the victim. — His agony and crucifixion. XVII. His burial and resurrection. — The middle of the last week of Daniel. — The kingdom of heaven began. — Forty days spent with his Church. — Ascension. — Pentecost. — Descent of the Holy Ghost. — Preaching of Peter. — Jewish sects combine to persecute the Church. — Deacons appointed. — Feast of Tabernacles. — Martyrdom of Stephen. — Persecution severe. — All scattered but the apostles. XVIII. History of St. Paul. — His estimation among the Jews for learning. — His zeal. — Wonderful conversion. — Baptism. — Instructed by our Lord in person for three years. — As the great apostle to the Gentiles, he goes to Jerusalem three years and a half after the crucifixion. — Acknowledged as such by the apostles before him. — End of the seventy weeks of mercy. XIX. Computation of that period. — Designs of Almighty wisdom concerning Israel and Judah again considered. — Subdivision of the seventy weeks by the prophet into seven, sixty-two, and one. — The first, from the decree of Artaxerxes Longimanus given to Ezra, to the end of Nehemiah's history, or the troublous times. — The second, to the beginning of St. John the Baptist's ministry. — The one week divided equally. — The first half, to the crucifixion. — The last half, preparations for rejecting the Jews, and calling the Gentiles.

I.

HOW long our Lord remained in Egypt, it is impossible to determine. Athanasius, commenting on the words, "They are dead who sought the young child's life," explains them of Herod and his son Antipater; and names the 25th of December, in the consulship of Silvanus, as the time when Joseph was commanded by the angel to "go with the young child and his mother into the land of Israel."[1] The consulship of Silvanus was in the year after Herod's

A. J. P. 4711. B. V. Æ. 3. Archelaus 2.

[1] St. Matt. ii. 19—21. Montfaucon Collectio. Nova, tom. ii. S. Athanasii Archiepisc. Alexand. ex. serm. sive com. in Matth. p. 27. The editor has no doubt that this fragment is authentic; yet the author speaks of the consulship of Silvanus as the *forty-fifth* year of the reign of Augustus, which is an enormous error.

death; and on the 25th of December, in that year, our Lord had completed his fourth, and was entering on the fifth year of his age. It is the assertion of an Egyptian bishop of the fourth century. The tradition is one likely to be preserved; and the date is not of itself improbable.[2] Joseph was ignorant that Archelaus was reigning in Judæa, till he had come into his territories. In the fear which that news occasioned, and impelled by another warning from above, he retired to his old residence at Nazareth, where he resumed the occupation by which he had formerly been supported. To see the reason of that fear and of that warning, we must resume the history where we left it at the end of the last chapter.

Archelaus, immediately after his father's death, affected a great deal of mildness, and kindness for the people. He spoke of Herod's tyranny, and the injuries they had suffered from it, with regret; promised that he himself would pursue an opposite course; and encouraged them freely to lay their grievances and their wants before him. He had refused the diadem, which the army would have placed upon his head at Jericho, because his father's will had not yet been confirmed by Augustus; but he had accepted the government, that he might be useful to the people, and requite their kindness towards himself. So saying, he was received with universal acclamation. But this state of joy and tranquillity was of short continuance. The Passover, on the 12th of April, when the moon was at her full, brought to remembrance the portentous eclipse, and its mournful associations. The people rose tumultuously, and demanded the death of all who had been concerned in the execution of the rabbins and their disciples. Before all things, they demanded the deposition of the high priest, Joazar, whom Herod had appointed in the room of Matthias, and whom they accused of not being zealous for the law, and of wanting personal piety and purity. The latter

[2] Chron. Introd. pp. 566, 609. Syncellus places it in the fifth year of our Lord's age, in the fourth after Herod's death, which is evidently too late. Sync. Chronogr. p. 317.

demand, though offensive, was granted by Archelaus; the former denied, because their friends had been put to death justly, and according to law. The irritated multitude, augmented greatly by the numbers who had come to the feast, were still more violent and clamorous. After vain attempts to quell the insurrection peaceably, recourse was had to arms, and three thousand men were slaughtered by the soldiery, while the rest fled to the mountains. The observance of the feast was interrupted, and all the inhabitants of the country ordered to return to their homes. Archelaus sailed for Rome, with his mother and friends, leaving all things under the care of his brother, Philip. With him went his aunt, Salome, with her children and near kindred, under pretence of assisting, but, in reality, to oppose, his application. Herod Antipas also went to Rome, at the persuasion of Salome, to lay before Cæsar his claims to the throne, because Herod, before he was enfeebled by disease, had selected him as the worthiest of his sons. Augustus heard them all, but would not break Herod's last will. He placed Archelaus, however, on his good behaviour, by giving him, at present, only the title of ethnarch. All other arrangements of the late king were confirmed.[3]

Before these arrangements were completed at Rome, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, died; and, about the same time, letters were received from Varus, the governor of Syria, that the Jews were in open revolt. Sabinus, who had the charge of the emperor's revenue in Syria, was on his way to seal all Herod's effects, when he met with Archelaus, at Cæsarea, to take passage for Rome. By the intercession of Varus, he desisted from this design till the pleasure of Augustus should be known. He proceeded, notwithstanding, to Jerusalem; seized the king's palace, and publicly declared that he should require a strict account of all Herod's treasures. He then warmly espoused the cause of Antipas, and wrote

[3] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. viii. ix. De Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. i. ii.

letters to the emperor, accusing Archelaus. His imprudent conduct brought on a bloody feud between the Jews and the Romans, at the feast of Pentecost, in which many lives were lost on both sides, a large part of the temple cloisters burned, and the sacred treasury plundered. Sabinus was closely besieged in the king's palace, the walls of which were undermined by the Jews; and, to prevent its destruction, he was obliged to send for succours to Varus. Such was the occasion of the letters from Varus to the emperor. Having despatched them, he marched into Judæa, and, with great difficulty, raised the siege, and repressed the commotion. Sabinus, ashamed to appear before him, stole out of the city, and retired to the sea-side.[4] On the return of Archelaus, he fulfilled his promise to the people, by deposing the high priest, Joazar, and appointing his brother, Eleazar, in his place; but he did it on the pretext that Joazar was concerned in the late riots. This half-concession weakened the effect of the promise; and the slaughter of the three thousand could never be forgotten or forgiven.

II.

Such was the state of feeling, throughout Judæa, with regard to Archelaus, when the holy family returned from Egypt, and retired to Nazareth. The profound obscurity in which the Son of God passed his childhood, has, for us, a most instructive meaning. All that is said of him, for the next seven years of his human life, is exactly what is also said of his great forerunner. The child grew, and was strengthened in mind.[5] In his human nature, his powers, both of body and soul, were, like those of all other children, increased by exercise and culture. But of John it is added,

[4] Joseph. Antiq. ut sup. c. x. De Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. ii. p. 4. At the consultation held by Augustus concerning these events, Caius, his eldest grandson, assisted. This circumstance, incidentally remarked by Josephus, is important; because, early in A. J. P. 4713, Caius went to the east, and was there treacherously murdered. Chron. Introd. P. i. c. ix. p. 220.

[5] Comp. St. Luke i. 80, with ii. 40.

that he was in the solitary places, the retirements of the sacerdotal dwelling, in Hebron, until he was old enough to exercise the priest's office, — that is, full thirty years of age. Whereas, of Jesus, it is further said, that he was "filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him." The divine nature, now inseparably united with the human, gave to that lower nature a power and degree of wisdom beyond that of any other human being. The ordinary means of education were employed. The ordinary care of a pious mother was exercised. Nothing was extraordinary, but the perpetual indwelling and substantial union of the Divinity. This is all we know, or can know, from the Scriptures. At an early period of the Christian Church, attempts were made to satiate the craving curiosity of man, by such writings as "the Gospel of the Infancy." They were never received by the Church; and if those which now exist are the same which were noticed by Irenæus and Tertullian, the very perusal of them is sufficient to satisfy us of their folly.[6] One of the most pernicious errors that ever crept into the Church is associated with the infancy of the blessed Jesus, and the power of a mother over her son; and this may be the reason why the Holy Ghost left that whole period a blank in the sacred history.

Much as Joseph feared Archelaus, it was only on account of his precious charge. Like every other righteous Israelite, it was his duty to go up yearly to Jerusalem at the three great festivals; and at every Passover he was accompanied by the Blessed Virgin.[7] From this obligation all boys under twelve years of age, and all men who were hindered by age, sickness, or other infirmities, were exempted.[8] Six months before our Saviour had completed his twelfth year, a change occurred in the condition of Judæa, which at once rendered it safe for him to go up to Jerusalem.

A. J. P. 4719.
A. V. Æ. 6.
True date 12.
Archelaus 10.

[6] A collection of them was made by Fabricius under the title of "Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti," Hamburgi, 1719—1722. 3 tom. 2 vols. 8vo. For a good as well as a brief account of them all, see Horne's Introd. vol. i. ed. 7, p. 461.

[7] St. Luke ii. 41.

[8] Univ. Hist. vol. iii. p. 18, note A.

He who became obedient to the law for man could there only take upon himself the obligations of the covenant of circumcision. For the safe fulfilment of this duty, the providence of God now provides. Even at the time when Archelaus received the title of ethnarch, an embassy was sent to Rome from the Jewish nation, under the protection of Varus, the president of Syria, to express their fears of the tyranny of Herod's son, and their desire to be delivered from his government, and annexed to the Syrian province. Thus, from the beginning, a gloomy and sullen discontent on their part, — a badly concealed animosity on his, — a stern supervision on that of the Roman government, — continued, unremittingly, during the whole period of his ethnarchy. But in the month of June of his tenth year, upon fresh complaints from his two brothers and the principal inhabitants of Judæa and Samaria, the emperor ordered him to Rome, and, finding those complaints well founded, banished him to Vienna, a small city of Gaul, upon the Rhone. His personal property was all confiscated; and the same Cyrenius, or Quirinius, as he is called by Tacitus, who was appointed in the days of Herod to take the enrolment, was now commissioned to carry its provisions into effect. Thus, *by request of the Jews themselves*, Judæa was annexed to Syria, and became a province of the Roman empire, between the months of June and September, and four months, at least, before our Lord completed his twelfth year. This great event occurred in the thirty-seventh year after the victory at Actium, in the 759th year of Rome; in the first half of the second year of the hundred and ninety-sixth Olympiad, when A. Licinius Nerva Silianus and Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus were consuls.[9] Viewed in connection with the train of events which went before and followed after it, this annexation of Judæa to Syria, as a province of the Roman

[9] Jos. Ant. lib. xvii. c. xi.—xiii. lib. xviii. c. i., comp. with c. ii. § 1. De Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. vi.—viii. Chron. Introd. p. 11, chap. ii. p. 364, chap xi. p. 566. Syn. Table, p. 611.

empire, cannot but strike the devout and contemplative Christian with wonder and with awe. To go no further back than the reign of Herod, the national spirit of the Jews, great and peculiar as it was, became so crushed by his tyranny, and their fears of a like tyranny under his successor, that they voluntarily asked as a boon what they afterwards execrated as a calamity. Out of regard to the will of Herod, this boon was at first denied. The dreadful, and terrible, and strong monarchy, which devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped under its feet, the most powerful nations of the world, now affected moderation with regard to Judæa, and denied the petition of its inhabitants! It took away, however, the title of king, which of right belonged only to the Messiah; and then, after a delay of nearly ten years, vouchsafed to listen to their renewed complaints. In the mean time, the temple of Janus, which had been closed by Augustus for twelve years, in token of universal peace, was reöpened upon the sudden revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, which brought on a fearful war. It was closed in the very month when Jesus became incarnate. It was reöpened in the year which preceded the deposition of Archelaus. While this prepared the way for that act of incipient manhood by which our Lord took upon himself obedience to the law, — an obedience necessary to his character as the great Mediator, — it also began that train of events which ended in his crucifixion, in the destruction of the temple, and the dispersion of God's ancient covenant people. All this is acknowledged by the Jewish historian himself, and will amply appear in the remaining pages of this history. It subjected them to the rapacity of governors, who were, of all men, proverbially the most rapacious. It laid upon them an odious system of taxation, not onerous in itself, but galling to their pride. It irritated them perpetually, by the wanton contempt of their law, and the violation of their established customs. Above all, it increased the number of their sects; sharpened their respective animosities; led to

wars, seditions, murders and robberies; and, in a word, all the miseries brought upon them by their sins, and attendant on their vain attempts to recover their lost liberties.

III.

The year following this annexation, our Lord accompanied Joseph and his virgin mother in their annual attendance at the Passover. As there were thirteen lunations in that year, it fell as late as Monday the 18th, and continued until Monday the 25th, of April. On that day, when Jesus was exactly twelve years and four months old, they departed, with their numerous companions, for Nazareth, while he remained at Jerusalem. This incident is a striking illustration of his social habits, of his loveliness of deportment, and of the confidence placed in his discretion. If he had not been accustomed to go, fearlessly and frankly, among their kindred and acquaintance, — if he had not been received with fondness, and detained with affectionate hospitality, — his mother and her husband would not have gone a day's journey without him, or supposed that he was among their friends. But, when they found him not, an indefinable apprehension of some evil, arising from his exalted dignity, and perhaps the predictions of the aged Simeon, when he had first been presented in the temple, induced them instantly to retrace their steps. They had not the least idea of the real cause of his delay, and therefore did not go to the temple till the Wednesday following. He was found among the doctors of the law, the most distinguished men of his nation, not merely questioned by them, but questioning in his turn, with a wisdom, and knowledge, and purity, combining the maturity of manhood with the artless simplicity of youth. In the midst of her admiration, a word of reproach burst from the lips of his astonished mother: "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing." His answer was that of a superior being, reproving

A. J. P. 1720.
A. V. Æ. 7.
A. J. C. 13.

the expression "THY father," and asking where she could now expect to find him, save in the temple. "How is it that ye sought me? Did ye not know that I must be in MY FATHER'S HOUSE?"[10] Though Joseph and Mary did not fully understand him, yet his mother treasured up this with his other sayings in her heart. From this time forth, he accompanied Joseph whenever he went to Jerusalem; and though the Scriptures say nothing of our Lord for the next eighteen years, excepting that he lived with them in Nazareth, entirely submissive to their orders, all that is needful for us to know is contained in the expression, that he "advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man."[11]

During the same period, little is recorded by Josephus concerning the Jewish people. He speaks only of their agitated state, of the changes which took place in their high priests, and of the names of the civil administrators subordinate to the Syrian province. The attempt of Cyrenius to levy a direct tax was very offensive to the nation. It would seem that Joazar, who had been deposed from the high-priesthood by Archelaus, at the request of the multitude, had afterwards been reinstated, and had recovered their favour;[12] for he persuaded them to submit quietly to the proceedings of the imperial commissioner. But when Cyrenius returned to Antioch, Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was left by him as procurator of Judæa. In his inert and feeble hands, the reins of government were relaxed, and the turbulent Jews, headed by Judas the Gaulonite, broke out into fierce revolt. "It is impossible to tell," says Josephus, "the amount of evil, all proceeding from these men, which then smote the nation."

[10] St. Luke ii. 41—49. The expression ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με is elliptical, and may mean either "in my Father's house," or "engaged in my Father's business." The Vulgate has endeavoured to preserve the ambiguity of the Greek original, "Nesciebatis quia *in his, quæ patris mei sunt*, oportet me esse?" The Syriac translates, "in the house of my Father;" and this seems to have been our Lord's meaning, Why seek me anywhere else than in the house of Him who is truly my Father?

[11] St. Luke ii. 50—52.

[12] Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. c. ii. 1.

Judas, with a Pharisee named Sadducus, or Zadok, established a fourth philosophic sect, which had many followers; not only disturbing the present prosperity, but planting and nourishing future evils, hitherto unknown. Mention has already been made of the three philosophic sects which had long existed among the Jews — the Essenes, the Sadducees, and the Pharisees. The Essenes seem to have been a mystic sect, the anchorites of the Jewish Church, who lived altogether in the country, devoted themselves to agriculture, and held their property in common. The greater part of them had no wives. In most other respects they seem to have led blameless lives. They believed in God's providence, and the immortality of the soul. They sent their gifts to the temple; "but," says Josephus, "never offered sacrifice." If this be true, it was inconsistent with their professed veneration for the law. Their retired life, and the smallness of their number, (for they are said, both by Philo and Josephus, to have been only four thousand,) accounts for the silence of the evangelists concerning them, and shows that they could have had little or no influence in the affairs of the nation. But it was far otherwise with the Sadducees. They were a rationalistic sect; and, setting out with the denial of all that was unwritten, they had, by imperceptible degrees, fallen into a spirit of unbelief. They denied the resurrection and a future state of rewards and punishments. They were confined principally to the wealthy and voluptuous, and were especially conspicuous for their contempt of all traditions, and their hatred of the Pharisees. The latter came not behind them in hatred, but, being more zealous and austere, had much more power among the people. They also had, by this time, degenerated into a worldly-minded and political, rather than religious sect. More attentive to outward forms than to inward holiness, their philosophic opinions, as to fate and necessity, rendered them careless as to morals, and unscrupulous as to the means of accomplishing their purposes. There was little difference

between them and the followers of Judas, who seem to have been called, from him, Galileans, excepting that they attempted, by intrigue and policy, to do that which Judas and his followers wished to do by open violence. This may have been because the latter were principally young men, headstrong, and governed by impulse; while the former were cool, calculating, and crafty. Whatever were the characteristics of these sects, their divisions were sources of unmixed and unmitigated evils. They weakened the Church when it ought to have been the most firmly united. They increased the energy of the Roman vulture, which had struck its talons into their body politic, and was already preparing to devour its vitals.

IV.

An event took place, either at the Passover when our Lord was first present, or at that of the following year, which seemed to be a significant warning of their polluted condition and impending rejection. Cyrenius had deposed Joazar, and elevated Ananus, the son of Seth, to the high-priesthood. While the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, some Samaritans stole within the precincts of the temple, and scattered dead men's bones in its cloisters. As, in connection with this profanation, Josephus mentions the recall of Coponius, it is very possible that he was censured for negligence. Marcus Ambivius was sent in his room; but nothing is said of his administration; and no event in it is mentioned but the death of Salome. Instead of making her nephews, Antipas and Philip, her heirs, she bequeathed to the wife of Augustus all the wealth with which Herod had enriched her. Thus, the cities of Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasaëlis, which had constituted her toparchy, were again united to the province of Judæa. Marcus was, in his turn, superseded (for what reason we know not) by Annius Rufus. During his administration Augustus died; and this brings down the history to the 19th of August, in the first year of the hundred and

A. J. P. 4721. A. V. Æ. 8. A. J. C. 14.

ninety-eighth Olympiad, which is reckoned as the thirteenth year of the Christian Æra, but was in reality the nineteenth of our Lord's life.[13]

Upon the accession of Tiberius to undivided sovereignty, he seemed to delight in reversing the appointments of the late emperor. Among the rest, Annius Rufus was recalled, and Valerius Gratus sent, as procurator of Judæa. He deposed Ananus, who, by the evangelists, is called Annas, and appointed Ishmael, the son of Phabi, to be high priest. In a little while, Eleazar, the son of Ananus, was substituted for Ishmael; and, when he had continued in office for a year, Simon, the son of Camithus, was appointed. At the expiration of another year, Simon was deposed, and Joseph Caïaphas, the son-in-law of Ananus, or Annas, whose name is so familiar to the readers of the New Testament, was substituted. Thus was the sacerdotal dignity rendered vile and cheap by the Roman government. Four high priests in God's Church appointed by the caprice of the same heathen procurator in the course of as many years! Gratus returned to Rome, after he had remained in Judæa eleven years, and Pontius Pilate came as his successor.[14]

A. J. P. 4726. A. V. Æ. 13. A. J. C. 19.

One of the first acts of Pilate's administration was a wanton outrage upon the feelings of the nation. He sent, by night, into the city of Jerusalem, a body of soldiers who were to winter there, and who, as if purposely to abrogate the Jewish law, bore upon their ensigns the bust of the Roman emperor. The previous procurators had carefully abstained from entering the city with such decorations. Pilate, either ignorant of the people's character, or careless of offending them, was the first to commit such an outrage. No sooner was it known, than a great multitude hastened to Cæsarea, surrounded the governor's palace, and incessantly, for five days, supplicated the removal of the images. Wearied

[13] Jos. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. ii. § 2.

[14] Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. c. ii. § 2. De Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. ix.

by their importunity, and regarding it as an insult to the emperor, Pilate, on the sixth day, ordered his troops to assemble secretly, ascended the tribunal in the Stadium, and, at a given signal, surrounded the multitude with three ranks of Roman soldiers, with drawn swords. The Jews fell upon their faces, and bared their necks. They had rather die, they said, than see their law violated. Pilate, astonished at their courage and inflexibility, ordered the images to be brought back again to Cæsarea.

Another instance of his contempt and violence is recorded by Josephus, which it may be well to mention here, though it must have occurred between two and three years later. He wished to build an aqueduct, to supply the city with water, from a source which the historian variously represents as twenty-five or fifty miles distant.[15] For this purpose, he seized and exhausted the Corban or sacred treasury of the temple. The multitude, filled with indignation, surrounded his tribunal with loud cries. It was at one of the three festivals, and probably at Pentecost. On these occasions, the Roman governor was always present, with an armed force, to prevent insurrections. "Many myriads," says the historian, assembled, demanding that he should desist from his purpose, and accompanying that demand with threats and revilings. The exasperated Pilate now ordered his army to put on Jewish garments over their armour, and, with concealed weapons, to mingle in the crowd. At a given signal, they were to beat the people unmercifully, if they did not disperse. The soldiers exceeded their orders, *and slew* many, not only of the seditious, but also of those who were quiet. The victims of this massacre were probably the followers of Judas; and to these our Lord alluded when "some told him of the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices."[16] Such

[15] Ant. lib. xviii. c. iii., two hundred stadia. De Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. ix. § 4, four hundred stadia.

[16] St. Luke xiii. 1—2. Jos. Ant. ut sup. c. iii. De Bel. Jud. ut sup. c. ix.

was the Roman governor whom the providence of God had raised up to take his share in the most momentous events of the world's history.

V.

During that period of the reign of Tiberius in which Gratus was procurator of Judæa, some events occurred in the Roman empire which had a remote influence upon the affairs of the Jewish people, and must therefore be noticed here. In the twenty-second year of our Lord's age, all the provinces beyond the Mediterranean Sea, including, of course, Syria and Judæa, were placed, by the Senate, under the supreme command of Germanicus. At the same time, Cneius Piso was appointed, by Tiberius, governor of Syria. It was a deep-laid plot to destroy Germanicus; for he was the idol of the army, and, if the soldiers could have had their will, would have been the successor of Augustus. Two years after, Germanicus suddenly died, not without great suspicions of having been poisoned by Piso, under secret instructions from the emperor. This event made room for the advancement of Lucius Ælius Sejanus, the commander of the prætorian guards, and the prime minister and favourite of Tiberius.

A. J. P. 4729. A. V. Æ. 16. A. J. C. 22.

In the twenty-sixth year of our Lord's age, the emperor associated his son, Drusus, with himself in the consulship. All who had previously held that honour had died violent deaths. Hence, men inferred that Drusus would be the next victim; and, in fact, he was poisoned by Sejanus three years later. Tiberius was thus rendered childless; and Sejanus began secretly to meditate other crimes, for his own elevation to the imperial throne. In the mean time, an event occurred, which Josephus, loosely, as far as dates are concerned, has placed among the acts of Pilate's administration; but which, as we know from other testimony, occurred in reality while Valerius Gratus was governor of Judæa, and may possibly have been connected with his recall, and the

A. J. P. 4733. A. V. Æ. 20. A. J. C. 26.

appointment of his successor. A shameful intrigue was carried on at Rome, in which the priests of the Egyptian goddess Isis were concerned, and which brought upon the Roman Jews an unexpected and undeserved calamity. A young man had fallen violently in love with Paulina, the wife of Saturninus. Both were patricians, and, what was then rare at Rome, were persons of virtuous character. But Paulina was a devotee to the worship of Isis. She was induced, by one of the priests, to sleep in the temple; and the young man was brought to her bed as the deity Anubis. His vanity betrayed the secret; and, upon complaint to the emperor, the temple was demolished, the statue of Isis thrown into the Tiber, her priests crucified, and the Egyptian rites strictly forbidden. A wicked Jew was then living at Rome, who had been banished from his own country for a violation of the law of Moses, and yet professed, at Rome, to teach it. He, and three others of like character, had induced Fulvia, a Roman lady of great dignity, and who had embraced the Jewish religion, to place in their hands, as costly presents for the temple, treasures which they had afterwards converted to their own use. Of this, Tiberius had been informed by the husband of Fulvia, who was also named Saturninus; and, the two accusations happening at the same time, the Jews were involved in the same catastrophe with the Egyptians. Thus, says Josephus, for the wickedness of four men, the Jews were driven from the city.[17]

The same story, as regards the Jews, is related, with more or less minuteness, by the Roman historians. Suetonius says, that Tiberius "repressed foreign rites, both of the Egyptians and the Jews, forcing all who adhered to their superstition to burn the vestments and instruments of their religion. The Jewish youth he distributed in the most unhealthy provinces, under the military oath; and the rest of the nation he removed from the city, under pain, if disobedient, of perpetual

[17] Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. c. iii. § 4, 5.

slavery." Tacitus places this event in the consulship of M. Silanus, and L. Norbanus, the twenty-fourth year of our Lord, and that in which Germanicus went to the East and died.[18] Philo says, that "the greater part were Roman citizens, brought as captives into Italy, and liberated by those who bought them. They were not forced to abandon their country rites, but had their proseuchæ beyond the Tiber," in which they assembled to worship, chiefly in the holy weeks. They made collections of their first-fruits, which they sent to Jerusalem by those who carried the sacrifices. But now, "by a decree of the Senate," says Tacitus, "four thousand of the libertine race, infected with that superstition, and of age to carry arms, were transported to the island of Sardinia, to restrain the robbers there. If they perished in that unwholesome climate, the loss was trifling. The rest were banished from Italy, unless, by a certain day, they renounced their impious worship." We may form some estimate of their numbers from the four thousand sent to Sardinia. These were, doubtless, selected as their best men. Their old men, women and children, could not have been less than twenty thousand. All were now torn from their homes, their property being destroyed or confiscated, and themselves obliged, in this destitute condition, to return to Judæa. Philo says, that, after the death of Sejanus, the slanders, for which they were thus driven from Rome, were found to be entirely of his invention.[19] This total banishment of the Jews from Rome took place in the fifth or sixth year of Valerius Gratus, and continued till after the death of Sejanus, their bitter enemy. In the seventh year of their exile, Gratus was recalled, and Pontius Pilate sent in his stead. It was more than two years after the death of Drusus when Sejanus enjoyed the highest favour; and proscriptions, accusations, public executions, or self-murder to avoid such ignominy, filled the whole measure

[18] Suet. Tib. § 36. Tac. Ann. lib. ii. 85, comp. with 59.

[19] Philonis Jud. Opera. Ed. princ. pp. 696—698. Legat. ad Caium.

of that atrocious year. There is every reason, therefore, to believe that Pilate was a creature of Sejanus, subservient to his orders, and the willing instrument of wreaking his animosities upon the Jews. Sejanus was not put to death till more than two years and six months after our Lord's crucifixion. The exiled Roman Jews, who, in the New Testament, are called "strangers of Rome," or "Roman sojourners,"[20] had their calamity turned, by divine goodness, into a blessing; for thus they were brought to their own country at the very visitation of "the Day-spring from on high." Doubtless many of them were present when the great forerunner began the baptism of repentance; many were present when Jesus proclaimed that "the kingdom of heaven was at hand;" many may have been, afterwards, taught by the holy apostles themselves; and many, when a tardy justice had restored them to their lost estates, may have been the first workers, or the first "lively and spiritual stones" in the foundation of the Roman Church.

VI.

John, the son of Zechariah and Elizabeth, had completed his thirtieth year a month or two before the entrance of Pilate into his province. In common with other Jewish youth, he had, after his twelfth year, been present at all the great festivals. His parents, who were "well stricken in years" when he was born, may now have been gathered to their fathers; but John, like Zechariah, was a priest "of the course of Abia," and had now arrived at that age in which he was required by law to "execute the priest's office before God in the order of his course." It was his peculiar duty, also, to "show himself to Israel," as the harbinger of the Messiah. On the great day of atonement, the tenth of Tisri, or the 29th of September, at the very time, proba- A. J. P. 4737. A. V. Æ. 24. A. J. C. 30.

[20] Acts ii. 10. Οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι. Advenæ Romani. Vulg.

bly, when the Roman army had marched into the city with their idols, and all the men of the nation were lying in sackcloth, bewailing their sins, how startling must have been the voice of the young priest, proclaiming that "the kingdom of heaven was at hand!" His youth, his austere life, his call to repentance, his baptism for the remission of sins, produced, at this moment of national mourning and remorse, an indescribable sensation. Such crowds flocked to his baptism, that they are described as being "Jerusalem, and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan." Pharisees, and Sadducees, publicans and soldiers, men of all ranks and conditions in society, eagerly demanded of him, What they should do? The stern answer was, that they were a brood of vipers, and not children of God; that they must abandon all claims to a covenant which they had broken; that, in their respective occupations, they must show forth the virtues of a good life. The remembrance of events and feelings thirty years before, — the extraordinary birth, the name of John, the restoration of speech to his father, the prophecy, the fear and wonder, — all revived. Men mused again in their hearts; and the deep and wide-spread emotion caused a special convocation of the great council, or Sanhedrim. Messengers were sent, in the name of the nation, to demand if he were indeed the Christ. His lowly answer showed his sense of the immeasurable distance between him and the Messiah. Compared with that being, he was not worthy, he said, to hold the place of the meanest slave in a great man's household. But there was one among them, whom they knew not, whose baptism would not be like his, — merely of water, on the confession of sins, — but would be accompanied with the Holy Ghost. "If thou art not the Christ," they replied, "what art thou? — the great prophet Elijah returned from the unseen world? — or the prophet whom Moses predicted as like unto himself?" To all this he returned a simple negative, denying not that he had come in the spirit and power of

Elijah, but only that he was not Elijah in person. In answer to the question, What art thou? he replied, in the language of Isaiah, that he was the courier voice, proclaiming, "In the wilderness prepare ye the way of JEHOVAH! Make straight in the desert a highway for our God!"[21]

On the 24th of December following these events, our Lord completed his thirtieth year. It was the sacerdotal age required by the law, and the age at which his father, David, had ascended the throne of Israel. It was, therefore, the proper age to begin his own ministry to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Yet he glorified not himself to be made an high priest, or king, but went among, and as one of, the people, to receive that baptism, from his great forerunner, which had been appointed as the external sign of his manifestation to his people. The holy John was his near relative, familiar with him, so far as two such beings could be familiar, from their very childhood. From the time when both were twelve years old, they had doubtless met four times every year at Jerusalem. Abashed, therefore, when the spotless Jesus applied for baptism, he exclaimed, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" A few words convinced him that such was the will of God. He had been forewarned, that on whomsoever he should see the Holy Ghost descending like a dove, and remaining on him, at the moment of baptism, should have power to baptize with the Holy Ghost. That sign was now to be given. The Holy Ghost descended in a visible form. A voice from the Father, whom no man hath seen or can see, proclaimed, in the hearing of all who were present, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." It was the attestation of the Holy Trinity to the mission of the God-man, Christ Jesus, as prophet, priest, and king.[22]

A. J. P. 4738. A. V. Æ. 25. A. J. C. 31.

Immediately after his baptism, our Lord retired to a soli-

[21] Isai. xl. 3, Bp. Lowth's Translation.

[22] Chron. Introd. Part ii. c. viii. pp. 464—467; c. xi. p. 567.

tary place, to prepare for his ministry, by fasting, meditation, and prayer. With strength which the divinity within him could alone supply, he continued that fast for forty days and forty nights, as Moses had done twice at the giving of the law, and Elijah once during the degenerate days of its violation. In fasting so long, he manifested his divine power; in fasting no longer, the truth of his manhood.[23] Now commenced his struggle, as the second Adam, with the great deceiver, which ended only with his crucifixion, death, and resurrection. It was an example set to every member of his body to renounce the world, the flesh and the devil, and to overcome, by the power which he gives to his Church, the allurements of their spiritual enemies.

VII.

The ministry of our blessed Saviour as a prophet belongs to the period of which we are now speaking. It was confined entirely to the Jewish nation. It began immediately after his return from the wilderness to Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was still baptizing; but it was occupied chiefly with preparations, until the next Passover. Two of John's disciples had heard his testimony, as our Lord was passing, that he was "the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world;" and, though they understood not the whole import of the saying, they knew that it meant the Messiah. One of them was Andrew, the brother of Simon, afterwards called Cephas, or Peter. These two brothers, with Philip and Nathanael, who is supposed to have been afterwards called Bartholomew, were the first to become his followers. The question has been asked, whether he baptized them; but it never would have been asked, if it had been remembered that baptism was not yet the sign of admission into the gospel covenant. John himself had not been baptized; nor was his baptism Christian baptism. Circumcision was still the sign

[23] Bp. Hall's Contemplations, Works, Pratt's ed. vol. ii. p. 234.

and the seal of the gospel covenant, and continued so till all bloody rites were abolished by the one great Sacrifice on the Cross. At this period of time, therefore, baptism was only the solemn rite of confession, on the part of the Jewish people, that, by their sins, the covenant was broken; that their circumcision had become uncircumcision; that they were polluted like the Gentiles; and that a new dispensation of grace, yet future, was necessary.

At the Passover, which began on Wednesday evening, the 28th of March, in the thirty-first year of our Lord's age, he commenced his ministry by a most significant action. With a whip of small cords, — probably three, that he might not exceed the legal punishment of forty stripes, — he entered the area of the temple, called the court of the Gentiles. It was a spacious square, surrounding the court of the Jews; the latter being elevated fourteen steps above, and divided from it by a high partition wall. Into this inner court none but Jews and circumcised proselytes were ever permitted to enter. All this had a mysterious, but divine and moral meaning. Christ Jesus had now come to break down the partition wall, to remove the enmity of separation, and thus to make, of Jews and Gentiles, one holy and undivided temple. The Jews had shown their contempt for the Gentiles by making their court a place of merchandise. There sat the sellers of oxen, sheep and goats, and turtle-doves, to supply the means of sacrifice for the privileged worshippers of the inner court. There sat the money-changers, to facilitate bargains. There sat the retailers of oblations, wheat flour, and bread, and wine, and oil, and incense. There were to be seen porters with burdens, hurrying to and fro, with irreverent demeanour and indecent haste. The court of the Gentiles was turned into a market-place; and the devout worshipper who came from among the heathen to lift up his soul to Jehovah was disturbed, even though he prostrated himself in humble abstraction, by the lowing, and bleating,

A. J. P. 4738. A. V. Æ. 25. A. J. C. 31.

and cries, of the various animals, — the busy hum of men, — the filth, and dust, and, more than all, perhaps, the supercilious contempt with which even his lowliest acts of reverence were viewed by the worldly-minded and self-righteous Jew. The Messiah began his ministry by the forcible ejection of these profanations; and whoever examines the fifty-sixth chapter of Isaiah, which he quoted on the occasion, will see that it was a judicial act, expressive of the great purposes for which he came: "My house shall be called the house of prayer for ALL the nations." Israel is scourged for turning it into a den of thieves.[24]

Astonished at this act of authority by one whom they considered as an obscure and despised Galilean, the enraged Jews gathered around him, and asked by what sign he could prove his commission. He condescended not to work a miracle, — for no such sign could be given to such obdurate wretches, — but he told them of the great event which was to happen exactly three years from that time. "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." At that very moment, the reparations were still going on of the cloisters burned by the Romans under Sabinus.[25] The exhaustion of the sacred treasury then and afterwards, by Pilate, for the construction of his aqueduct, had doubtless delayed their completion. The Jews, therefore, with truth replied: "Forty and six years hath this temple been in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?"[26] But there was a mysterious signification of his words, which they did not comprehend. The ONE house of prayer for ALL nations, denoted the ONE great Intercessor for all nations. The temple of which he spake was his body. The words thus uttered at the commencement of his ministry were treasured up in hearts full of hate, as an accusation

[24] Isai. lvi. 7. The whole section from ch. liv. has reference to the adoption of the Gentiles, and their admission into the Church. Even from ch. xlix., he is introduced in person, declaring the full extent of his commission. See Bp. Lowth's translation, and notes on these five chapters. See, also, Joseph Mede's Works, Disc. xi. Book i. pp. 44—46.

[25] See p. 429.

[26] See p. 391.

against him in the hours of his passion.[27] In faithful hearts, they were remembered, after his resurrection, as sacred proofs of his foreknowledge.[28] They were uttered on the 28th, or, at the latest, on the 29th of March; and he rose from the dead, three years later, on the 28th of the same month.

VIII.

If we examine these three years carefully, we shall find that they are divided into three periods: the first extending to the imprisonment of St. John the Baptist; the second, to his death; the third, to our Lord's own death and resurrection. The first period was spent principally in Judæa; the second, in Galilee; the third, in the region beyond Jordan. Of the first period we have little account. It was not the design of the evangelical historians to record *all* that our Lord did or said, but only to exhibit the dignity of his person, the divinity of his mission, the purity of his life and doctrine, the sectarian animosities which led the nation to reject him, his sufferings and his death, his resurrection and ascension. It is certain that, with the exception of the buyers and sellers, the beginning of his ministry was without opposition. It was decidedly popular. Notwithstanding the supposed meanness of his birth, his coming from despised Galilee, and his being called a Nazarene, his disciples baptized in his name more than even John himself.[29] The miracles which he wrought during the first Passover, from Friday, the 30th of March, to Thursday, the 5th of April, caused "many to believe in his name."[30] They even convinced the great doctors of the law that he was "a teacher come from God."[31] It was, in the language of the prophet, "the acceptable year of the Lord."[32] To conceive, even faintly, the sensation which his appearance now produced, it must be

[27] St. Matt. xxvi. 60, 61. St. Mark xiv. 57, 58.
[28] St. John ii. 18—22.
[29] St. John iv. 1, 2.
[30] St. John ii. 23.
[31] St. John iii. 1, 2.
[32] Isai. lxi. 2.

recollected that no oracular voice from the sanctuary, no prophet from Malachi to John, no miracle from a period still more remote, was known to the Jewish nation. Religion had become a lifeless form. The works of the flesh, not the fruits of the Spirit, were everywhere manifest. During the whole ministration of the forerunner, and that part of our Lord's ministry which coincided with it, the influences of divine grace wrought with little or no impediment. It was the period of stillness between the ebb and flow of the tempter's rage. It was the "season" of intermission, from his defeat in the wilderness, to the rallying of his forces for the final and desperate struggle with the seed of the woman.

John was now baptizing at Ænon; a place, as its name imports, where there was at least one, if there were not more, copious fountains. According to Eusebius, it was eight miles south from Scythopolis, between Salim and the river Jordan.[33] Why he removed from Bethabara, we are not informed. The providence of God may have so permitted, that he might end his testimony by boldly reproving vice in high places, and suffering for the truth's sake. Our Lord seems to have been, at the same time, at or near Bethabara, where, by his command, his disciples also were baptizing. This gave rise to discussion, between the Jews and the disciples of John, as to the comparative efficacy of the two purifications. They referred the question to their master; and this gave occasion to that last and illustrious testimony, before his imprisonment, by which he reproved the jealousy, and envy, and party spirit, of his followers.[34]

To account for St. John's imprisonment, we must revert to the history of Herod, in the course of the last chapter. After the murder of his two sons by Mariamne, the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, Herod conceived the absurd project of betroth-

[33] Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 550.

[34] St. John iii. 25—36. See Bishop Horne's admirable "Considerations on the Life and Death of St. John the Baptist," sect. vii. Oxford. 2 Ed. 1777. 18mo. pp. 172—183.

ing their infant children, as is there stated.[35] Herodias, the eldest daughter of Aristobulus, was to marry her uncle Philip; and Mariamne, the youngest, was to marry the son of Antipater. Absurd as the project was, the former of these affiances was actually consummated. Herodias became the wife of Philip, and lived with him many years. She must have been at least thirty-three years old when St. John commenced his ministry; and she had a daughter, whom Josephus calls Salome, and who must have been well grown when he was beheaded. Under the influences of her wicked mother and grandmother, the daughter of Aristobulus and Bernice, from an innocent child, had become a depraved and vicious woman. Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee, while on a visit to his brother Philip, previous to his sailing for Rome, abused his hospitality by seducing his wife. It was secretly agreed between him and Herodias, that, after his return, he should divorce his own wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, and should then receive her and her daughter. This plot was detected by the jealousy of the daughter of Aretas; and, to avoid the disgrace of being sent away, she anticipated the design, by retiring, as if on a visit, to her father's court. How St. John first became acquainted with the guilty project, does not appear. Herod is said to have feared John, knowing that he was a just and holy man. He seems to have sent for and conversed with him, to have heard his precepts with great veneration, and possibly may have professed himself his disciple.[36] But he could not resolve to live according to his teaching; and, after the publication of his marriage with Herodias, the bold prohibition and rebuke of the holy Baptist filled him with fury. A vicious woman is always more vindictive than guilty man. Herodias would have put him to death; but Herod only imprisoned him. This event appears to have taken place about the end of November, in the first

[35] See p. 411. [36] St. Mark vi. 17—20.

year of our Lord's ministry. It was the termination of St. John's public teaching, and is assigned by two of the evangelists as a reason why our Lord removed from Judæa to Galilee.[37] Another reason is mentioned in the supplementary narrative of St. John the Evangelist.[38] He, who was the Searcher of all hearts, and always returned answer, not to the words, but to the consciences of men; — He, who was kind and gentle to the meek and lowly, but always resisted the proud; — He, who confided in the sincere and honest, but never trusted the cunning and the profligate; — He saw the storm which was now rising against him among the sects, by whom the popular mind was agitated, and retired, in season, to a region which they despised, which was governed by a sovereign at variance with them and with Pilate, and which, on all these accounts, was safer from their influence. A third reason was, the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah, uttered between the first and second deportation of the ten tribes, that "as the first time had debased the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, so the latter time should render glorious the way of the sea, by Jordan, Galilee of the nations."[39]

IX.

This ministry in Galilee occupied about fifteen months. After attending, with his disciples, at the feast of the dedication, our Saviour left Jerusalem, passed through Samaria, the most direct road, and arrived in Galilee about the middle of December. The remarkable conversation with the Samaritan woman took place at this time. Wearied with his journey, our Lord was reclining at a fountain, near the city of Sychar, the ancient Sychem. He was alone; for his disciples were gone into the city to buy food. At this moment a woman approached to draw water. She knew, by his appearance,

[37] St. Matt. iv. 12. St. Mark i. 14. See this subject treated more at length in the Chronol. Introd. pp. 490, 491.
[38] St. John iv. 1—3.
[39] Isai. ix. 1. St. Matt. iv. 12—16.

that he was a Jew; and was therefore surprised that he asked her for water. It was an instance of extraordinary condescension towards an abhorred and excommunicated race, which arrested her attention, and was the first approach, for her conversion, of him who knew the inmost secrets of her soul. Convinced, by his language, that he was a prophet, she endeavoured to escape from the conviction of her own sins by turning to the controversy, so long agitated, between the Jews and the Samaritans. Our Lord vindicated the majesty of God, and the efficacy of divine institutions, by assuring her that the Samaritan worship was vain, and that salvation could proceed only from the Jews. At the same time, he told her that in the new dispensation the Jewish peculiarity would be ended, the Jewish temple destroyed, as that of Gerizim had been, and all, in every nation, who worshipped God in spirit and in truth, would be accepted by him. The woman understood him rightly as speaking of Christ, and confessed her faith in him as the new lawgiver. "I who now speak to you am Christ," was the immediate answer. Contrasted with the cautious reserve of all his answers to the Jews, it shows that the Samaritans, empty as their worship was, were devoid of those prejudices which, among the chosen people, hindered the reception of Jesus as the Messiah. It will hereafter be seen that they were among the earliest who were converted to the Christian faith.[40]

The fame of our Saviour's miracles in Judæa had been brought to Galilee by the eye-witnesses who had gone to Jerusalem to worship at his first Passover and the several succeeding festivals. To believe, without miracles, was the faith of the Samaritans; to believe, on the testimony of miracles, as reported by eye-witnesses, was the faith of the Galileans. Both were more blessed than they of Judæa, who hardened their hearts against sight and hearing, and honoured not the "teacher come from God." On his arrival at Cana, where he

[40] St. John iv. 4—42.

had wrought his first miracle, a person of great dignity, who was either of the blood-royal or high in office at Herod's court, applied to Jesus to heal his son, who was at the point of death. The child was at Capernaum; and the father urged his request, as if it were necessary that Jesus should go to him, with a tone of authority which it was needful to rebuke. Our Lord was no respecter of persons; and, instead of complying with his request, instantly proved his faith by the commanding assurance, "Go thy way: thy son liveth." Awed and humbled by this answer, the father obeyed. The next day, as he approached Capernaum, his servants came to meet him, with the joyful intelligence that his son was well. The fever had left him at the very moment in which Jesus pronounced the words, "Thy son liveth." We find, afterwards, that Joanna, the wife of Chouza, Herod's steward, was one of the pious women who ministered to our Lord's necessities, and finally went to his tomb to perform the last obsequies.[41] May not this have been the mother of the child whose cure was the second miracle wrought in Galilee?[42]

From Cana, Jesus proceeded to Nazareth. Here he had been known from his childhood; and now he appeared among them as the great prophet whose mighty deeds filled the mouths of all men. It was the Sabbath; and, according to his usual custom, he entered the synagogue. The eyes of all were fastened upon him, as the minister put into his hands the roll of the prophet Isaiah. Whether the sixty-first chapter was the lesson for the day, or whether our Lord himself selected it, he read that sublime description of the Messiah's office, and of the blessings which were to flow from it, as extending to the Gentiles. He rose, out of reverence, to read the Scriptures; and he sat, like the scribes, as having authority to teach. His exposition is not recorded; but, from the nature of the subject, he must have led them to infer that he claimed to be the Messiah. "This day," said he,

[41] St. Luke viii. 3; xxiii. 55; xxiv. 10. [42] St. John iv. 43—54.

"this Scripture is fulfilled." Notwithstanding their admiration of his eloquence, they said, doubtingly, "Is not this Joseph's son?" He may be a descendant of David, but what sign does he give us that he is the anointed one of whom the prophet speaks? He has raised a child in Capernaum from the bed of death; why does he not the same in his own country, that we may see and believe? To such thoughts, our Lord replied, "No prophet is received with favour in his own country. Elijah the Tishbite was sent to a Gentile widow, to be sustained by her, and raised her son to life, though there were many widows in Israel of like condition. Elisha cured of his leprosy a Syrian of high distinction, and not the many lepers of his own nation." Enraged at this answer, the men of Nazareth forgot the sanctity of the Sabbath, forgot the sinless example of thirty years, and hurried the innocent offender from the synagogue to the brow of a frightful precipice, with intent to cast him down headlong.[43] By his divine power, our Lord restrained their madness, and escaped from their hands; but it is observable, that the first personal outrage committed against the Son of God was in his own city, by men who had known him since he was four years old.

X.

The people of Nazareth having thus proved themselves unworthy of his presence, our Lord removed, with his mother and his brethren, to Capernaum. As no

A. J. P. 4739. A. V. Æ. 26. A. J. C. 32.

[43] Cornelius Le Brun, who gives a drawing of this precipice to the south of Nazareth overlooking the plain of Esdraelon, says of it, "C'est un précipice affreux." Voyage au Levant, p. 316. Paris. 1714, fol. Dr. Jowett, as quoted in Robinson's Calmet, says, "The rock here is perpendicular for about fifty feet, down which space it would be easy to hurl a person who should be unawares brought to the summit; and his perishing would be a very certain consequence." The whole of his remarks as to the identity of the place now shown as "the brow of the hill on which the city was built," are very judicious and satisfactory. He shows that Gebel-Nazra, the hill of Nazareth, implies a range of mountains; so that any person coming from Jerusalem and entering on the plain of Esdraelon, if he asked the name of that bold line of mountains which bounds the north side of the plain, would, in the idiom of the country, be informed that it was "the hill of Nazareth." Rob. Cal. Art. Nazareth, p. 606.

mention is made of Joseph, the presumption is, that he was not then living. His sons, by his first marriage, continued with the Blessed Virgin, and doubtless contributed, by their labours, to earn an humble livelihood. They may have been assisted by the powerful nobleman whose son had been miraculously healed; and his influence at the court of Herod was sufficient to secure their tranquillity while they continued within the tetrarchy. The two Galilees, which at that time constituted the dominions of Herod Antipas, were exceedingly fertile and populous, cultivated everywhere like a garden, and thick with cities, towns and villages. "The least of these," says Josephus, "had 15,000 inhabitants."[44] In another place he mentions that, "in Galilee there are 204 cities and villages."[45] Such was the field of labour which occupied our Lord's attention in the thirty-second year of his mortal life. His disciples, on their arrival in Galilee, seem to have returned to their own homes, and to have resumed their occupation as fishermen on the lake of Tiberias. Peter and Andrew, James and John, were inhabitants of Capernaum. The two former had removed from their native city, Bethsaida, which was on the opposite side of the lake, in the dominions of Herod Philip. The other two disciples, Philip and Nathanael, probably remained at Bethsaida and Cana. These six had accompanied him from the commencement of his ministry until his return from Judæa, and were now to be recalled to a like office and ministry, as eye-witnesses of his mighty deeds, while they received that instruction which would fit them for a higher and more enlarged employment after his departure. Our Saviour had now many great objects to fulfil. He had to accomplish all that was predicted of him by the prophets; to perform a sinless obedience to the law for man;

[44] De Bel. Jud. lib. iii. c. iii. § 2.

[45] In Vita. § 45. Reland, p. 183, says 404; but this must be a typographical error. I have consulted the editions of Hudson, Havercamp, and Oberthur, all of which read 204. Whiston's translation has 240. Josephus must mean cities when he speaks of the least as having 15,000 inhabitants. The cities were surrounded by walls.

to correct the abuses which had been introduced by a corrupt tradition; to reform the morals of his countrymen; to bring them back to right views of the Messiah and his kingdom; to reconcile them to the abandonment of exclusive claims to God's favour; to abolish all sects and parties in religion; and thus to promote peace on earth and good will towards all mankind. For these purposes, he was punctual and exact in his journeys to Jerusalem, at the four great festivals; and the rest of his time was occupied in teaching from city to city, and village to village, till he had brought the glad tidings of salvation to every ear, and extended his acts of healing mercy to the most secluded abodes of affliction in Israel. Faith in him, as the only law-giver prophet foretold by Moses, the only prophet who would in all things be like unto himself,[46] was the sole prerequisite for the reception of his gifts; and the gradual conviction that, humble and lowly as he was, he was the Christ, the Son of the living God, was now to be produced in the short period of less than twenty-seven months. The evangelists have recorded only such portions of his ministry as each thought necessary to illustrate his conduct and his character. To their simple narratives, and to the harmony of chronological arrangement already given, we must refer for details.[47] To the attentive observer our Lord's general arrangement will be easily perceptible. In the interval between the imprisonment and death of St. John the Baptist, he made *three visitations* throughout Galilee, in every city and village, completing them in about fourteen months. The *first* was made before he went to Jerusalem at the second Passover, and was continued, after it, until the subsequent feast of Pentecost. It occupied nearly five months. The *second* extended from June to September; but no particulars of it are recorded. After the great day of atonement, and the feast of Tabernacles, in the month of October, he

[46] Deut. xviii. 15.

[47] See Chronol. Introd. Part ii. chaps. viii. and xi.

returned to Capernaum. Here he continued, sometimes in the city, sometimes along the shores or upon the waters of the lake, sometimes in the neighbouring towns and villages, incessant in his instructions, and his acts of mercy, until it was time to go to Jerusalem at the feast of the Dedication, which continued from the 20th to the 27th of December. Having now completed his thirty-second year, he returned to Galilee, and began the *third* visitation, through all its towns and villages, "teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and disease among the people."[48] This occupied between two and three months. During the first of these visitations, Matthew, or Levi, the publican, was called from his despised, though gainful, occupation, and added to the six fishermen already named. Of the rest, the time of accession is not mentioned; but as all, except Judas Iscariot, were Galileans, and our Lord's fame attracted early crowds of followers, both men and women, he must have entered Jerusalem at the Passover with a large retinue. It was not, however, till the month of May, before Pentecost, that he selected the twelve, whom he called Apostles, and who were thenceforth to be his constant companions. After having spent the whole night in solitary prayer, he named Peter and Andrew, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew,[49] Thomas, or Didymus,[50] and Matthew the publican; James, the son of Alphæus, and his brother Jude, who was also called Lebbæus, and Thaddæus;[51] Simon, who had be-

A. J. P. 4710. A. V. Æ. 27. A. J. C. 33.

[48] St. Matt. ix. 35. St. Mark vi. 6.

[49] This last name is a patronymic, and signifies, merely, the son of Tholomæus, or Tholmai, or Ptolemy. It is, therefore, with great probability, supposed that the son of Tholmai was *Nathanael*. Philip and Nathanael are constantly associated by St. John; Philip and Bartholomew, by the other evangelists. See his life in Cave's Lives of the Apostles, vol. i. p. 171, fol. 5th edit. Lond. 1684.

[50] The one his Hebrew, the other his Greek name; as was customary among the Jews, after they became subject to the Grecian monarchy.

[51] It is supposed that Alphæus was another name for Joseph, the husband of the Blessed Virgin, and that James and Jude were his children by a former marriage. St. Epiphanii adv. Hær. lib. iii. tom. ii. Hær. lxxviii. § 7, &c. S. Hieronym. Comm. in Matth. tom. iv. p. 35. Cave, nt sup.

longed to the sect of Cananites, or Zealots,[52] and Judas, the Iscariot, an appellative which means the man of Kerioth, a city of Judah.[53] It is impossible not to see, that our Lord, who knew all hearts, and, consequently, the various tempers and dispositions of the twelve whom he now selected, was not governed by any maxims of worldly wisdom, or any consideration of popular opinion. Fishermen, and publicans, and zealots, and thieves and misers, (for Judas Iscariot was both,) could not, *as such*, be likely to operate with success for the conversion of mankind. It was the triumph of divine grace, which sets at nought human probabilities. The number *twelve* was doubtless chosen with reference to the twelve tribes of Israel. They were sent into Judæa in pairs, while our Lord was upon his third circuit, probably in the order of their first appointment, with miraculous powers, similar, in extent and variety, to those of their Divine Master.

Never was such power, so communicated, seen among men. Moses himself was only a servant, and not the son.[54] His powers were communicated to him by the Divine WORD, the Angel-Jehovah; but he did not, and could not, communicate them to the twelve heads, who governed the twelve tribes, under him. Now that the same WORD had himself taken flesh, he gave the same powers which he himself exercised to the twelve apostles. Within the limitations which he prescribed, they went two and two to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, proclaiming the approach of his kingdom, healing the sick, cleansing the lepers, raising the dead, casting out

[52] Here, also, are two words, the one Hebrew, the other Greek, of precisely the same import. The Zealots were a private association, whose zeal for the law, the defence of which they took into their own hands, was so furious, that they committed many murders, and other acts of violence, and were therefore greatly feared and detested. They were classed with the Sicarii or assassins. Jos. De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. vi. 3, c. vii. 1, 2, lib. vii. c. viii. 1. Simon had been one of these fanatics, before he attached himself to our Saviour. Cave, ut sup. p. 202.

[53] See Reland. Palæst. p. 700.

[54] Heb. iii. 1—6.

devils.[55] Judas Iscariot received the same commission as Peter. Mysterious that such power should be given to a wretch whom our Lord knew to be "a devil!" How unfathomable the depth of human depravity, that, after receiving such power, he could betray the holy being who gave it!

XI.

The alarm and jealousy of the several sects, and especially the Pharisees, which, at first, was a mere prejudice, because our Saviour did not conform to their wishes, nor answer their expectations of the Messiah, began to assume a definite shape at the second Passover. On the 20th of April, which was the great paschal Sabbath of his thirty-second year, our Lord was at the pool of Bethesda. Under its porches, among a crowd of blind, and crippled, and withered persons, who were waiting for the supernatural movement of its waters, was one poor sufferer, neglected for many years, but patient under every disappointment. He, who could not move, was commanded by the Searcher of all hearts to rise, take up his bed, and walk. His faith was strong enough to obey, and he was instantly enabled, with manly vigour, to do as he was bidden. He was instantly arraigned as a violator of the law, because he had performed, on the Sabbath, an act of servile labour. His defence was simple and conclusive. "He who hath power to cure me commanded me to do what I have done on the Sabbath." The storm of indignation then burst upon Jesus; and the Jews sought even to put him to death, because he had worked on the Sabbath. In his defence, he argued that, notwithstanding the institution of the Sabbath after the creation, his Father was still working, as He also worked. The Jews understood his meaning, and "sought

A. J. P. 1739. A. V. Æ. 26. A. J. C. 32.

[55] St. Matt. x. 5—8. For reasons which I have given, Chronol. Intr. p. 502, I conceive that the apostles were now sent into Judæa, where it was unsafe for our Lord to go in person, while he went on his third visitation in Galilee. It was during the months of January, February, and a part of March, at the beginning of his thirty-third year.

the more to kill him, because he not only had violated the Sabbath, but had called God his own father, making himself equal with God."[56] These were the only two charges permanently and perseveringly brought against him. All others were collateral and incidental. From this time forth, the persecution of the Jewish sects was incessant. Our Lord's words and actions were watched with eagle eye and fiendish hate. To treasure up testimony against him, was their steady and constant aim; and this it is necessary to observe at every stage of his history, in order to account for his cautious language. Every incident was a part of the struggle between his infinite knowledge and the subtle machinations of the spiritual and carnal agents of evil. If he had had to do only with candid and honest minds, his answers would confessedly have been evasive. But even amongst his disciples there was at least one fiend, to serve the purposes of Omnipotence; and when we view the evangelical narratives in this aspect, the consummate wisdom of our blessed Saviour's conversations will fill our minds with awe and admiration. These were often startling, that he might excite reflection and exercise their faith. His actions were often mysterious, and his bearing towards his disciples reserved and dignified, that he might produce in them a proper reverence. Many, at times, withdrew, and, from various motives, deserted him. To them only who persevered did he give power to become the sons of God.

Early in March, while the apostles were still proceeding, two and two, upon their mission, and our Lord was absent from Capernaum on his third visitation, Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, and Herodias, his abandoned wife, were guilty of the murder of St. John the Baptist. Josephus relates, that this crime was perpetrated at Machærus, a strong fortress on the Arabian frontier. According to the same historian, it belonged to Aretas, the king of Arabia, at the time when

[56] St. John v. 2—18.

Herod divorced his daughter, that he might marry Herodias.[57] In the war which ensued on that account, it must have fallen into Herod's possession; and he probably had removed John thither to secure him more effectually from the implacable revenge of Herodias. But now, on the occasion of his birth-day, Herod had made a magnificent banquet. Salome, the daughter of Herodias by her first husband, danced publicly before the king and his court; and, during the joyous carousal, and the acclamations of the assembly, as they admired her grace and beauty, the oath escaped from him, that he would give her anything she asked, even to the half of his kingdom. Her mother seized this opportunity to satisfy her hate; and the reluctant Herod sent an executioner to behead the holy forerunner. If we examine the character of St. John, we shall find no infirmity in the witness he was sent to bear, unless the deputation of his disciples to our Lord, near the city of Nain, on the first of June in the preceding year, was the effect of impatience and distrust. As this explanation of it was adopted in the introductory volume, it seems proper to add here, that a very different motive has been, and may be, assigned: that he was intent, not upon his own sufferings, but upon the interests of his great Master; and that he sent his two disciples in order to strengthen, not his own, but their faith, in the person and mission of the Son of God.[58]

[57] Jos. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. v. § 1, 2.

[58] In the Chron. Introd. p. 496, the comment of Dr. Macknight was embraced, which supposes that the words Matt. xi. 6, Luke vii. 22, "Blessed is he who shall not be offended in me," were a gentle reproof of St. John for his want of faith; whereas it may have been intended for John's disciples themselves. See Bp. Horne's Considerations on the Life and Death of St. John the Baptist, § vii. Bell, in his close and cogent argument on the Divine Missions of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, Lond. 8vo. 1761, from whom Dr. Macknight seems to have taken his opinion, (for his Harmony was first published in 1763,) admits that the *motive of sending this remarkable message does not appear.* "They," he observes, "who were accomplishing the eternal counsels of God, by fulfilling a variety of explicit prophecies, in such a manner as to afford mankind the most ample proof of their divine missions, and yet so as to leave them to their own voluntary and free conviction, it is to be expected must have conducted themselves, on several occasions, in a manner not easily to be accounted for by beings like ourselves, utterly unable to comprehend the whole nature of such amazing dispensations." Part iii. § 8, p. 399.

This explanation is much more analogous than the former to the general character of the holy Baptist. His whole life was devoted to the purpose of his peculiar mission. His imprisonment was at first light. His disciples were allowed to come to him without restraint; and though, after his being thus a prisoner, he could not so conveniently baptize, he could still point to the Messiah, and preach that the kingdom of heaven was at hand. The period of his imprisonment was about fifteen months; and he was put to death in the thirty-third year of his age. The vengeance of God, sooner or later, overtakes the guilty. Herod was unfortunate in his war with Aretas, the father of his divorced wife; and some of the Jews, says Josephus, "considered the destruction of his army as a judgment upon him for having put to death so good a man as John the Baptist." This remark, and the subsequent statements of the same historian, enable us to see that, from the beginning of Herod's adulterous connection with Herodias, his power declined. Disaster followed disaster, during the whole time of John's imprisonment, and after his death. The intervention of Tiberius, whose aid Herod solicited against the victorious arms of Aretas, was the only barrier which prevented the subversion of his government. On the death of Tiberius, and the accession of Caligula, Agrippa, the brother of Herodias, but the enemy of Herod, being the friend of the new emperor, received the tetrarchies which had belonged to Philip and Lysanias, with the title of king. Herodias, moved with envy and hatred for her brother, instigated her husband to go to Rome and ask for a similar favour; but, instead of granting it, the emperor confiscated all his treasures, bestowed his dominions upon Agrippa, and sent both him and Herodias first to Lugdunum, in Gaul, now known as the city of Lyons, and afterwards to Spain, where they died miserably in disgrace and exile. This event took place in the second year of Caligula, and the forty-first of Herod's reign, twelve years after their criminal marriage, ten years after they had

murdered St. John the Baptist, and nine years after our Lord's crucifixion.[59] It may be well to insert here the pertinent and striking reflection of Josephus, concerning the whole family of Herod the Idumæan, falsely called the Great. "I wish," he says, "to speak somewhat at length as to what befell Herod and his race, both because my discourse concerning them is suitable to my history, and because it *presents a proof of divine government, that a numerous offspring, or any other attainment of human enterprise, is of no avail without piety towards God.* Within the events of a century, the progeny of Herod, numerous as it was, became, with few exceptions, extinct. To derive instruction from their misfortunes, might add something to the sober-mindedness of mankind."[60]

XII.

The martyrdom of the great forerunner, occurring as it did when our Lord was on his third circuit, and the apostles on their wonderful progress, forms an epoch on which it is useful for our minds to dwell. For some cause which is not stated, the attention of Herod was *now first* turned to the miracles of our Saviour. He may have had his mind so engrossed by his own affairs, while St. John was living, as to have been careless and disdainful concerning the prophet who was filling all Galilee with the fame of his doctrine and his marvellous powers. But no sooner had his prisoner been put to death, than remorse and superstitious fear harassed his guilty soul. He imagined that John had risen from the dead, armed with divine power; and he sought to see Jesus, not only to ascertain the fact, but also to secure his person again, or, at least, to avert his wrath, and propitiate his clemency. All these were sufficient motives for our Lord to retire from his dominions; and, accordingly, we find that he immediately crossed the lake of Tiberias, which divided the tetrarchy of Herod

[59] Comp. Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. ix. with Antiq. lib. xviii. c. v. vi. vii.

[60] Jos. Antiq. ut sup. c. v. § 3.

Antipas from that of his injured brother, Philip. With the exception of his *fourth* circuit in the following months of August and September, and occasionally touching on its shores, or passing rapidly through its borders, he never, after John's death, abode in Galilee.[61] Events now thickened, and advanced, with hasty strides, towards the great consummation. Our Lord, in consequence of the popular excitement which everywhere existed, withdrew privately into a solitary place, not far from Bethsaida. It lay near the entrance of the Jordan into the lake, between that and the lofty range of hills by which the eastern shore of the lake is bordered. But it was impossible to escape from men who felt as they did towards him. They soon learned whither he had gone; and, as there were not boats enough to convey so vast a multitude, they skirted the head of the lake on foot, as pilgrims now go to a healing fountain, or to a shrine supposed to be miraculous. Moved with compassion for sheep who were thus wandering without a shepherd, our Lord healed their infirmities and diseases, and taught them the true nature of his kingdom. Yet, upon his working the miracle of feeding five thousand men, besides women and children, with five barley loaves and two small fishes, the multitudes, wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, endeavoured to take him by force, and proclaim him as the long-expected king. Escaping from them, he retired alone into the mountain solitudes, and spent the night in prayer. Early on the following morning, he walked upon the waves of the lake to his disciples. The wind was contrary, and the waves boisterous. In the mist and obscurity of the morning, and the fears and perils of their conflict with the storm, the disciples thought they saw a spectre, and cried out with terror. "It is I: be not afraid," were the few and placid words by which Jesus calmed them. The ardent and impetuous Peter replied, "Lord, if it be thou, command me

[61] Matt. xiv. Mark vi. Luke ix. John § 4, p. 504, and chap. xi. pp. 572—5. vi. Chron. Introd. Part ii. chap. viii.

to come to thee upon the waters." Jesus knew both his strength and his weakness, and bade him "come." He cast himself out, and began to walk; but his faith failed him as he felt the wind and saw the raging billows, and he began to sink and cry for help. "O thou of little faith, why dost thou hesitate?" was the gentle rebuke, as his Master stretched forth his hand and saved him. When he entered the ship, the disciples prostrated themselves at his feet, exclaiming, "Of a truth thou art the Son of God."

Our Lord always tested declarations of faith by disclosures of a mysterious nature concerning what was then future. Such was the conversation on the following Sabbath, the twenty-ninth of March. The multitudes who, in their frantic zeal, would have frustrated the designs of Omnipotence, had now returned to Capernaum. Our Lord rebuked their selfish and narrow conceptions of his character, by the mysterious language, that he was the divine manna which came down from heaven, and that they must eat his body and drink his blood, if they wished for salvation through him. Astonished at such language, many, who had professed to be his disciples, forsook him. Others, who did not at once forsake, became doubtful. That there must have been a great defection, is evident from our Saviour's pathetic inquiry of the chosen twelve, "Will ye also go away?" With courageous constancy, Simon Peter answered, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."

Having thus tried the firmness of his followers, our Lord, as the Passover was nigh at hand, proceeded to Jerusalem; and, that he might not travel on the Sabbath, he probably arrived there on Friday, the 4th of April. The Passover began on Sunday, the 6th, and continued till Sunday, the 13th of that month.[62] During the feast, an attack was made upon his life. The fact is incidentally mentioned by St. John, but no particulars of it are recorded. The very zealots who wished

[62] See Table iii. in the Chronol. Introd. chap. viii. Part ii. p. 475.

to make him by force their king may now have attempted to murder him.[63] Be that as it may, all the Jewish sects were, at this time, bitterly plotting his destruction; because his character and conduct were utterly at variance with their conceptions of the promised Messiah; because he had boldly reproved their doctrines, and exposed their corruptions; because his influence over the people must, of necessity, be destructive of their own. All these motives conspired to work up their minds to a degree of madness hardly conceivable, if we had not daily before our eyes the excitements of ungoverned passion in political strife, when craft and falsehood are brought to bear upon the brute force of popular sympathies. Our Lord's life was now hunted like a stricken deer; and while he went about doing good, he was followed by the bloodhounds of party with unerring aim. His movements into the region of Tyre and Sidon among the Gentiles; his progress across the country, near the sources of the Jordan; his avoidance of crowds, when he again wrought the signal miracle of feeding the four thousand; his coasting along the shores of Magdala and Dalmanutha; his sudden return to Bethsaida, and along the eastern bank of the Jordan, to the region of Cæsarea Philippi; all indicate the perils and prudence of the Son of God. His hour was not yet come. He had not yet fulfilled his ministry to the lost sheep of Israel.

XIII.

In this gloomy period of relentless persecution, our Lord was pleased again to examine the faith of the apostles. They were not yet exempt from the fond idea that the Messiah was then to reign as a temporal prince, when, at Cæsarea Philippi, they were asked, "Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am?" They replied, "Some say, John the Baptist; others, Elijah; others, Jeremiah, or one of the old prophets, risen

[63] St. John vii. 1. See Chronol. Introd. pp. 506—509, where the reasons for adopting Dr. Macknight's views on this subject are fully stated.

from the dead." Owing to the influence of the sects, all idea of his being the Christ had very generally been given up by the nation. "But whom," rejoined our Saviour, "do ye say that I am?" Peter instantly replied, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." He had already, in the name of the twelve, uttered the same confession, at Capernaum; but it was before the Passover, — before the attempt to murder him, — before the perils and dangers which now surrounded him. A declaration of unshaken faith, at such a moment, received a more ample blessing, and the promise of more extended privileges; but they were strictly charged not to disclose their confession, because it would now be unavailing. The rejection of him had become general; and henceforth his object was to prepare the minds of his disciples for the ignominious and cruel death which he was soon to suffer.[64]

The feast of Pentecost, which fell that year on or about the 1st of June,[65] was now at hand; and it was the duty of our Lord and his disciples to go up to Jerusalem. But how different were the circumstances under which they would now go from those of the preceding year! Jesus was then honoured, as a prophet, by crowds of admiring followers; invited to the tables of the rich; his feet anointed and kissed in their presence; and no one openly daring to oppose, though the Pharisees and Herodians were, even then, secretly plotting to destroy him. To strengthen the souls of his apostles against this

[64] I have given this transaction as related by the three evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, without noticing the famous passage, peculiar to St. Matthew, c. xvi. 17—19, on which the great fabric of St. Peter's supremacy has been built, because it will come under review more properly when we consider the history of the sixth or last period of the Church.

[65] My calculation is that it fell actually on Sunday, the first of June; but as that depends upon a question which I have discussed fully in the Chronological Introduction, P. ii. chap. viii. pp. 478—481, I use here the qualifying expression "about." If the modern Jewish method of computation be followed, Pentecost was always on the sixth of Sivan, which fell that year on Tuesday, the 27th of May. The great paschal Sabbath did not fall that year till the 12th of April. If the feast of Weeks, as I think, was counted from the morrow after that Sabbath, or April 13th, the seventh Sabbath was on Saturday, the 31st of May, and consequently Sunday, the first of June, was the day of Pentecost.

new trial, our Lord was pleased to give a foretaste of the joys which await every righteous soul at the general resurrection. Just ten days before Pentecost, and, therefore, on the same day of the ecclesiastical year in which he afterwards ascended, with his own glorified body, to the right hand of the Majesty on high, he went up to the Mount of Transfiguration. There the eyes of the faithful three, who were chosen as witnesses, Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, were blessed with a sight which exalted them above all the trials and sufferings of this world. They beheld their divine Master changed, as all his disciples would behold him one year from that time, and as the whole of created beings will behold him when he shall come again, in his glorious majesty, to be our judge. At his side were Moses and Elijah, audibly conversing with him concerning the exit of his mortal life, which, as predicted by the prophets, would soon be accomplished at Jerusalem. They, also, were with him in glory, attesting that, from the beginning, and through all the changes of the world, the same divine plan had ever existed of reconciling man to God. But, as if all testimony, even of glorified men, were insufficient, the heavens were again opened, and the voice heard at his baptism again proclaimed, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Hear ye him."[66] The three disciples were strictly commanded not to tell of this vision till the Son of man should be risen from the dead; a command which they did not then understand. It is a striking evidence to us of the power of prejudice. The testimony was abundant and explicit; but there was, on their part, an unwillingness to believe what was so inconsistent with the illusions of hope and the dreams of earthly glory. It was not long afterwards when they disputed among themselves which should be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. To convince them that, while they held their Jewish opinions, they were not fit even

[65] St. Matt. xvii. 1—8. St. Mark ix. 2—8. St. Luke ix. 28—36. Chronol. Introd. ut sup. pp. 512, 574.

to enter that kingdom, our Lord placed a child before them, and said, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."[67]

Having passed rapidly and privately through Galilee, that he might not be known, our Lord remained only long enough to fulfil his duties in Jerusalem; and, on Monday, the 2d of June, set out on his return through Galilee to the dominions of Philip. On his arrival there, he appointed, from among the faithful men who still adhered to him under every trial, seventy, or, rather, seventy-two, disciples, with powers similar to those of the apostles. The number seems to have been regulated by the divine appointment of six seniors, or, as they are called in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, six presbyters, from each tribe, to strengthen the hands of Moses.[68] These were now sent forth, "two and two," as the twelve had been sent, five months earlier, with power to heal diseases, and to proclaim the near approach of the kingdom of heaven. It was on this occasion that our Lord said, "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few. Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that he may send forth labourers into his harvest." The remaining time of his personal ministry was short, and the number of those who believed in him as the Messiah greatly diminished. He seems, therefore, to have had respect to the future harvest, which would follow his death and resurrection. The grain of wheat remained alone till it fell into the ground and died; but after it had died, it bore much fruit.[69]

Allowing two months for the mission of the seventy into every city and place whither our Saviour was about to come, he must have begun his fourth and last visitation into Galilee in the month of August. During their absence, little is said of his own movements, and nothing by which we can ascer-

[67] St. Matt. xviii. 1—4. St. Mark ix. 33—37. St. Luke ix. 46—48.

[68] Numb. xi. 16. See what has been already said under the fourth period, pp. 79, 80.

[69] St. John xii. 24.

tain the place of his labours, unless it be his visit to Martha and Mary. If they were then living in Bethany, which was two miles east of Jerusalem, he may have made a circuit, at that time, in the country beyond Jordan, towards the Dead Sea, and thence have crossed, privately, to pay a hasty visit to Lazarus and his sisters. During his circuit in August, the Pharisees endeavoured, by stratagem, to draw him from the dominions of Herod. The plan was now fully arranged to arrest him, privately, as soon as he should come to Jerusalem; and it was desirable to do this before the concourse of people, at the approaching feast of Tabernacles, should render so bold a measure difficult and hazardous. The people still believed Jesus to be a prophet, though they had very generally ceased to regard him as the expected Christ. To accomplish this object, the attempt was made to hasten his departure by exciting his fears: "Depart hence; for Herod wishes to kill thee." The answer of our Lord was short and searching: "Go tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils and perfect cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall have finished: but I must go on for the three days; for no prophet can possibly perish out of Jerusalem." And then, with a burst of grief, he added, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! that killest the prophets, and stonest those who are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her brood under her wings, and ye would not!" It has already been remarked that our Lord's ministry was exactly three years. To this he had lately alluded, in the parable of the barren fig-tree, spared by its owner for three years. Now, in prophetic language, a day was put for a year; and the answer taught the Pharisees that their machinations would be ineffectual till his mission was completed, and the hour destined by Omnipotence was come.[70]

[70] St. Luke xiii. 31—35.

XIV.

The feast of Tabernacles began on Wednesday, the 1st of October; but it was necessary for our Lord to use great circumspection, as his movements were continually watched. He, therefore, concealed his intentions from his disciples, and commanded them to go to Jerusalem, as if it were his own purpose to remain still in Galilee. His brethren, who seem to have lost their faith in him as the Messiah, lost, also, their accustomed reverence, and ventured to use language of reproof and advice: "Depart hence, and go into Judæa. No man who wishes to be known must hide himself. If you do these mighty deeds, do them in the sight of your disciples and the world." It was a part of the sorrows of the only perfect man, that he was deserted, in his hours of trial, by the weak creatures whom he came to save. However grieved within, our Lord replied, with a calm dignity which turned their censure of him upon their own consciences, "*My* time is not yet come. *Your* time is always ready."[71]

The knowledge, or at least the common report, that Jesus was to be arrested and tried by the Sanhedrim, occasioned much murmuring, when his disciples appeared at the feast without him. "Some said that he was a good man; others, that he deceived the people;" yet, so great was the fear of the Jewish authorities, that the people uttered their thoughts only in whispers. Suddenly, to the amazement of all, on the 4th of October, the great Sabbath of the festival, Jesus appeared, and taught as usual in the temple. Spies and informers were now busily at work, and the officers were on the alert to seize him. Nothing of this was hidden from our Lord's penetration. He demanded, fearlessly and openly, "Why seek ye to kill me?" The multitudes from the country were ignorant; but they of Jerusalem knew that he understood

[71] St. John vii. 1—9.

their designs, and were the more cautious. The time passed on to the 8th of October, the great day of the feast, when palm-branches were carried, with hosannas, seven times around the altar, and the waters of Siloam were solemnly poured forth, as an emblem of the spiritual blessings of the Messiah's kingdom. At this moment, the startling voice of Jesus cried aloud, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." He spake, says the evangelist, of the Holy Spirit, which, when he should be glorified, would dwell in the Church. The souls athirst for God, like the hart for the water-springs, would have a perpetual fountain of refreshment and renovation. The effect of this exclamation, on some minds, was far different from its effect on others; and there was a division among the multitude. Some wished to seize him, but were hindered. "Why have ye not brought him?" said the disappointed high priests and Pharisees. "Because," replied their officers, "no man ever spake like this man." The secretly faithful Nicodemus wished for further inquiry; but was answered scoffingly, "Art thou also of Galilee?" The council separated for that night; and our Lord retired, in safety, to the Mount of Olives. On the morrow, Thursday, the 9th of October, an attempt was made to obtain further pretences for his condemnation. The Pharisees, who were themselves secretly guilty of the same crime, brought an adulteress before him. "The fact," said they, "is certain; and Moses, in the law, commanded such to be stoned; but what sayest thou?" If he had approved the sentence, and condemned her to death, he would have been accused to Pilate of violating the Roman law; if he made void the Mosaic law, it would have been an universally acknowledged cause for seizure and condemnation. Our Lord paused, — stooped down and wrote, with his finger, in the dust, as if unprepared to answer. They triumphantly pressed the question, until he arose and said, "Let him among you who is not an adulterer cast the first stone." So saying, he stooped to

write again. Conscience did its duty. Each man silently departed, and Jesus commanded the trembling culprit to go and sin no more. He had come to save, and not to judge. The hour would come, and is still to come, when she will again appear, as a pardoned penitent, or a hardened sinner, before the Son of man.[72]

The extreme irritation occasioned by the conversations in the treasury, the cure of the man who had been blind from his birth, and the bold and unsparing exposure of the corruption of his enemies,[73] made it so unsafe to remain in Jerusalem, that our Lord finally retired with his disciples, passed hastily, and by the most private roads, through Samaria and Galilee, and then crossed the Jordan. As he approached a small village in Samaria, he met the ten lepers who cried to him for mercy. As a test of their faith, he ordered them to do what no leprous being was allowed to do till the stain was gone. The leprosy was an emblem of sin. The unhappy sufferer was driven from the society of men, required to proclaim his own uncleanness, and must show himself to the priest, as the only authoritative judge of his recovery, or he could not be restored to the privileges of social life and intercommunion. To go to Jerusalem at the very time when Jesus was driven from it; to go thither, cured by that marvellous power of Jesus, which, "as they went," wrought an instantaneous change; to make the priests themselves the witnesses of the cure, and to force from them a reluctant acknowledgment that he whom they persecuted had such power; — all these results emanated from that one act of wis-

[72] St. John viii. 3—11. The first eleven verses of this chapter, together with chap. vii. ver. 53, are wanting, as is well known, in a great many of the best MSS. and versions; and if they are spurious, the whole conversation, in the remaining part of the eighth chapter, must have taken place in the temple on the octave of the feast of Tabernacles. If they are genuine, it must have occurred the next day, October 9th. This is no place to examine the question. I must, therefore, refer the reader to the critics of the sacred text, and the commentators. The Rev. T. H. Horne, Introd. to the Scriptures, ed. 7, vol. iv. pp. 308–9, gives the references. Bishop Middleton's acute remark upon the article, THE stone, is to me a very convincing proof that the passage is genuine.

[73] St. John viii. 12; ix. 41.

dom, might and mercy. The one Samaritan, who had no title to plead, returned to thank his benefactor, and give glory to God; the nine Jews valued themselves for their privileges, forgot the hand that blessed them, and went on their way, intent only on their own health and prosperity.[74]

XV.

Our Lord now passed about a month and a half probably in the lower part of the country beyond Jordan, until it was time to go again to Jerusalem at the feast of the Dedication, which began that year on Tuesday, the 9th of December. Few events or conversations are recorded; but there was one great aim, in all that our Saviour said and did,—to give his disciples right views of his kingdom, and prepare them for his approaching passion. Such were the discourse with the Pharisees concerning the time and manner in which his kingdom should come; his parables about prayer; and other instructions, arising from incidental circumstances. These had, at the time, but little effect on their prejudiced minds, but were afterwards brought to remembrance.[75] The violence offered, during the feast of the Dedication, became so great, that he finally fled beyond Jordan to Bethabara, where he had been baptized by St. John, and there received those who were attracted by his miracles. But while there, in the month of January, he received a message from the sisters of Lazarus, that their brother was dangerously ill. A. J. P. 4741. A. V. Æ. 28. A. J. C. 31. Our Lord waited till he knew that his friend was dead, and then informed his disciples of his determination to go to Bethany. They endeavoured to dissuade him from so dangerous an act; but, finding him inflexible, even the most cautious among them determined, and exhorted the rest, to accompany him. "Let us go with him," said Thomas, "that we may

[74] St. Luke xvii. 11—19. See the remarks in the Chronolog. Introduction, pp. 516—519.

[75] See Chronol. Introd. pp. 519—521, and the texts there cited; also the Harmony, pp. 577–8.

die with him." This affectionate and earnest exclamation deserves to be remarked, first, as a proof of the loveliness of our Lord's character, which could so operate upon a cold and cautious heart; and, secondly, of the extreme peril to which every movement of the holy Jesus was now exposed. The resurrection of Lazarus was designed to show beforehand the certainty of our Lord's predicted resurrection, and the promises of the resurrection at the last day; as the beatific vision of the transfiguration was designed to show his ascension, and the change by which the bodies of the righteous will be clothed upon when mortality shall be swallowed up of life.[76]

This stupendous resurrection of one who had been carried off, in a very short time, by the ravages of acute and inflammatory disease, — of one whose body had been four days buried, in a state of active and rapid putrefaction, — spread through the country the most intense astonishment, and lashed into fury the malice of the Jewish rulers. The high priests and the Pharisees hastily convened the Sanhedrim. "What shall we do?" said they; "for this man doeth many miracles. If we let him alone, all will believe on him, and the Romans will take advantage of it to destroy Jerusalem and the nation." Caïaphas, the high priest, exclaimed, with scorn, "Ye know nothing at all, nor reason properly. It is for our advantage that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." "He said not this of himself," says the evangelist; "but by virtue of his office, he prophesied that Jesus was about to die for the nation." Nor, he adds, "for the nation only." It was that he might gather into one body all the children of God, wheresoever dispersed. The decree was now passed that the immaculate victim for the sins of the whole human race should be put to death.[77] Our Lord, knowing that they had thus condemned him, left Bethany, and retired to a small village named Ephraim, in

[76] St. John x. 40; xi. 45. [77] St. John xi. 46—53.

the solitary and mountainous region between Jericho and Bethel.[78] The divinely appointed time for his passion was the ensuing Passover; and, until his hour came, he remained with his disciples, in entire seclusion. More than a month and a half was spent at Ephraim, of which no particulars are related. We may well imagine how the holy Jesus would spend this interval between condemnation and death. He, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth, felt no other anguish of soul than for the miseries which awaited him and the hardness of men's hearts. He wept and fasted and prayed, as a vicarious sufferer, for the creatures whom he came to save.

The Passover, in the thirty-fourth year of our Lord's life, began on Thursday, the 25th of March, the very day of his incarnation. This wonderful coincidence, remarked by such early writers of the Christian religion as were most intimate and conversant with the sources of historical truth, cannot but strike the pious reader as one of the internal evidences of divine arrangement. There are others, equally remarkable, which it is proper here to mention. The testimony of St. John renders it certain, that, by some of the nation, the paschal lamb was slain and eaten on Thursday, and by others on Friday.[79] How is this to be explained? Various, but very unsatisfactory, conjectures have been offered. Some have supposed that our Saviour anticipated the true time of celebration; but this would have been a violation of the law by him who did no sin, and was, in the nature of things, impracticable. The paschal lambs were slain at the temple, by those whose duty it was to see that the law was properly observed. The names of the persons who were to make their count for each lamb were given at the time in which it was slain. The priests would have refused to anticipate the time; and the very proposition, on the part of Jesus and his disciples, would

[78] St. John xi. 54. Reland Palæstina lib. i. c. lvi. tom. i. pp. 374—9. Tom. ii. p. 765. It appears to have been the same region through which the prophet Elisha passed from Jericho to Mount Carmel, 2 Kings ii. 23.

[79] St. John xviii. 28.

have been matter of new accusation. On the other hand, it is plain, that our Lord's enemies, the high priests, the scribes, and Pharisees, scrupulous to a proverb for the exact fulfilment of the law, ate the Passover on Friday evening. All this difficulty is easily accounted for, if the fact be observed, that the crucifixion of the Redeemer was so ordered as to fall upon a year when there was a variation of eleven hours between the mean and the actual opposition of the sun and moon. It must be inferred, that when such was the case, a latitude was permitted in the observance of the feast. According to the ordinary computation, generally followed by the nation, our Lord was enabled to eat the Passover with his disciples, and thus fulfil the law in its strict letter; while it suited the convenience of his enemies to eat it after the true paschal lamb had suffered on the cross. Jesus expired at the moment when his enemies brought their lambs to the temple to be sacrificed.[80]

But not to anticipate: Our Lord left Ephraim, with his disciples, and arrived at the house of his friends, Lazarus, Martha and Mary, on Friday, the 19th of March. He spent the Sabbath with them, and, early on Sunday morning, the 21st, made his entry into Jerusalem. He went in the meek and lowly manner of ancient prophets, priests and rulers, "sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass." His hour was near at hand, and he no longer shunned,

[80] For the fuller examination of this wonderful arrangement of Divine Providence, the author must refer to the chapter entitled "The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ," in the Chronol. Introduction, Part ii. chap. vii., and the Church Review for April, 1848, especially from p. 93 to p. 98 of vol. i., published at New Haven, Connecticut. I must here take the opportunity of stating, that in the note, p. 433 of the Chronol. Introd., in translating from Bianchini, I inadvertently copied his typographical error in the paragraph beginning "According to the mean motions," &c. In the fifth line of that paragraph, it should have been the 13th of March, instead of "14th of March." The reader can easily correct this with his pen. I introduced the note merely for the consideration of scientific astronomers. The historic argument is the only one for which I am responsible; and that depends on ancient testimony, not on modern calculations, which may or may not be erroneous. If, as I believe, the *mean* full moon was on Thursday afternoon, and the *true* full moon on Friday morning, every difficulty which has so long embarrassed commentators on St. John xviii. 28 vanishes.

but courted, notoriety. The prediction, 544 years before its accomplishment, called upon Zion to rejoice greatly when her king should so come to her.[81] But there was another peculiarity which marked this entrance. It was the tenth day of the month Nisan, in which, by the law, the paschal lambs were selected to be slain;[82] and it was usual to convey the victims, in procession, with scattered flowers, and shouts of joy. At the turn of the road, as they descended the Mount of Olives, the city burst suddenly upon their view; and the whole multitude, as at the feast of Tabernacles, waved their palms, and strewed branches and garments, and sang hosannas, — peace in heaven, and glory in the highest. Far from being elated, he, who knew all things that were to come, wept over the devoted city, now so excited, but soon to be so guilty and so miserable. As soon as he arrived at the temple, the blind and the lame gathered around him, and were healed. The acclamations increased; the shrill voices of the children were heard above the roar of the multitude; the frowning and threatening authorities, utterly disregarded, were obliged to entreat the object of their hate to check the general enthusiasm. O how fleeting is the breath of popular applause! Hosannas to-day; and before the week is ended, a robber and murderer preferred to the Prince of life! On this occasion, our Lord again exerted the same authority as at the commencement of his ministry, removing the profanations of the sanctuary, performing his wonderful acts of mercy, instructing the people, reproving all abuses, and silencing every adversary. For the first three days, nothing could resist his power. But on Tuesday, the 22d of March, after a long day of incessant labours, he departed from the temple, *never more to return.* His disciples, as they left its portals, struck with a sudden sense of its grandeur, exclaimed: "Master, see what stones and what buildings are

[81] Zech. ix. 9.

[82] Exod. xii. 3. See the Table, Chronol. Introd. p. 431.

here!" — "See ye all these great buildings?" he answered. "The day shall come, in which not one stone shall be left upon another." The glory of that temple was now departing. The Jews had rejected the Messiah; and that building, which represented the Incarnate Word, was soon to be destroyed. He sat down in silence, on the slope of the Mount of Olives, and gazed upon the city, spread at his feet, as the last rays of the setting sun gilded its domes. Peter and Andrew, James and John, his earliest disciples, struck with consternation at a prediction so hostile to their hopes, ventured now to ask him what sign should be given as a premonition of such calamities. His answer blended the fall of Jerusalem with the final destruction of the world, because the one would terminate the fifth period of the mediatorial kingdom, and the other the sixth and last period, which will end at the general judgment.

The intervening hours till Thursday, the 25th of March, were spent in retirement. It was the anniversary of his incarnation; and, at the close of it, his human life was to be sacrificed, as the great sin-offering for the pardon of the human race. Between the hours of three and five that afternoon, the paschal lambs were slain at the temple, for such companies, or households, as would keep the feast on the ordinary day of observation. At the going down of the sun, as early as the law would permit, the beginning of the fifteenth day of Nisan, our Lord entered "the upper-room" selected for the solemnity. The twelve, whose names had been given with his to the priests, were all present. Even the wretched Judas, who, on Wednesday, had covenanted with the high priests and council to betray him that very night, was obliged to be present. They reclined, according to the change of ceremonial introduced under Joshua, and ate the Passover, with the usual observances prescribed by the Jewish ritual.[83] Dur-

[83] See Lightfoot's Temple Service as it stood in the days of our Saviour. Works, vol. i. Lond. 1684. fol. The manner of celebrating the Passover is described from p. 951 to p. 969.

ing the feast, between the eating of the lamb and the third cup of wine, which was called the cup of blessing, our Lord made that great change, so long predicted of the Messiah, "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me."[84] The sacrifices of "goats and calves" were forever abolished, and his own body substituted in their stead. Hitherto, he had acted as a prophet, sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; now, he acted as a priest, devoting himself as a victim for the whole world, that by one offering he might perfect forever them that were and should be sanctified. Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take; eat. This is my body, which is given for you and for many. Likewise, after supper, he took the cup, saying: Drink ye all of this; for this is the new testament or covenant in my blood.

XVI.

Henceforth, the office of priest was suspended for a time, that he might appear only as a passive victim. Of the horrors of that night when, with strong crying and tears, he offered up prayers and supplications unto him that was able to save him from death,[85] we can form no conception. That fearful and unknown agony forced the blood through the pores of his skin, and it fell in large drops upon the ground. He, who was born of woman, and yet was the Son of God; He, who was tempted like as we are, yet without sin; He, who knew all things, and therefore knew what was to come upon him;

[84] Heb. x. 5. The Septuagint translation of Psalm xl. 7. The Hebrew is literally "My ears hast thou opened," or "bored," alluding to the act by which a man became willingly a slave for life, or until the next Jubilee. Exod. xxi. 6. Levit. xxv. 40. Our Lord took upon him the form of a servant, when he was made in the likeness of men. Phil. ii. 7. He entered on his servitude at the incarnation; and now, on the anniversary of that event, thirty-four years later, his body was to be pierced. But the Jubilee of the Resurrection was at hand, and God would highly exalt him; so that "at the name of Jesus every knee should bow." In like manner, his faithful followers, enslaved in the body of this death, will, at the Jubilee morning of the Resurrection, have the bodies of their humiliation changed by his Almighty power, so as to be "fashioned like unto his own glorious body." Phil. ii. 9, 10; iii. 21.

[85] Heb. v. 7.

He, who, by that one oblation, was to finish all offering for sin; may well be supposed to have suffered beyond the conception of finite minds. It passed; and his mind was calm again, just as the traitor and his armed bands, with lanterns and torches, entered the gloomy solitudes of Gethsemane. "Whom seek ye?" he said, advancing towards them. They replied, "Jesus of Nazareth." "I AM HE!" was the undaunted and calm reply; and, as he uttered these few words, the armed bands, and the officers, and the traitor himself, recoiled and fell. It was to show that he was a voluntary victim. Having thus exerted his power, our Lord calmly inquired the second time, "Whom seek ye?" and, upon their answering as before, "Jesus of Nazareth," he said, "I have told you that I am he. If, therefore, ye seek me, let these go their way." The untimely zeal of Peter exposed all the apostles to instant death. He drew his sword, and cut off the ear of Malchus, a servant of the high priest. Our Lord, addressing the armed force, commanded their forbearance, while, with a touch, he healed the wound. He then asked, with dignity, of the priests and captains of the temple, and elders who were present, "Do ye come against me as against a thief? — But this is *your* hour, and the *power of darkness*." It was the hour when the tempter who, just after his baptism, had been foiled for a season, returned in scorn and triumph.[86] A diabolical possession only can account for the fury with which the Son of God was now persecuted. For at least eleven hours, from ten at night to nine the next morning, he endured, with a meekness and patience which some holy men have imitated, but none have ever equalled, the reviling, the jests, the bitter mockery, the blows, the tortures, inflicted by beings whom he loved and came to bless. During this long and sleepless night, the ordinary powers even of vigorous human nature were exhausted. He fainted under his cross. They compelled Simon, a man of Cyrene, whom they met at the city gate, to

[86] Comp. the remarkable language of St. Luke iv. 13, and xxii. 53.

aid the sufferer; and this man, the father of Alexander and Rufus,[87] became afterwards a convert to the faith. By this timely aid, Jesus recovered strength, and proceeded up the hill without the gate, because the sin-offering for the congregation of Israel was burned without the camp.[88] As crucifixion was a Roman, and not a Jewish punishment, it was conducted according to Roman law.[89] The clemency of Rome gave what our Lord's murderers would have denied, and thus unwittingly fulfilled a prophecy. In that servile punishment, it was part of the ceremony to present a bitter cup, to stupefy the brain of the wretched slave, and thus deaden his sensibility to pain. "They gave me," said the Psalmist, in the person of the suffering Messiah, "gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink."[90] Jesus tasted the cup, but refused to drink. He, who bore the sins of the world, would receive no such alleviation. He was now stripped of his garments by the rude soldiery, and commanded to lie down upon the cross; his body naked, his arms stretched out, and his feet united. Into these tender parts huge nails were driven. The cross was reared, and fixed in its socket. He hung, a spectacle of ignominy, between heaven and earth; the weight of his body constantly tearing open his wounds; his nerves cracking, his mouth parched, his blood trickling to the ground. His mother, her sister Mary, the wife of Cleophas, and the devoted Magdalene, feeling the protection of their sex, ventured to stand near the cross. John, the beloved disciple, who was known to the high priest, and seems, from the first, to have moved with safety among his Master's enemies, was also standing by. All the

[87] St. Mark xv. 21.

[88] Exod. xxix. 14. Levit. iv. 21. Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

[89] Servorum vero supplicium ordinarium erat *crux*, (Plaut. Mil. ii. iv. 19. Juven. vi. 219,) sive *furca* quam ipsi *ferre* debebant, unde *furcifer* commune servorum opprobrium. (Donat. et Eugraph. ad Ter. Andr. iii. v. 12. Plut. quæst. Rom. p. 280. Similes tituli sunt *Mastigia*, *Verbero*, Cruciarius.") Nievpoort Rituum qui olim apud Romanos obtinuerunt succincta explicatio. Argent. 1738. 8vo. p. 235.

[90] Ps. lxix. 21. Bp. Horsley's Translation, vol. ii. p. 34.

other disciples fled at his arrest, and the courageous Peter had thrice denied him. High priests and scribes and elders, the passing spectators, even the malefactors, or at least one of them, glared upon him with hate and ribaldry, while he prayed for them: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." In the midst of all these tortures of soul and body, his tenderness for his mother prompted that touching transfer, which devolved his own filial duty upon the disciple who most resembled him: "Behold thy son" — "Behold thy mother."

He had been nailed to the cross when the blood of the daily morning victim was appointed to be shed at the temple; and he expired at the same hour in which the daily evening victim was to be burned upon the altar. As the Passover lambs of his enemies were to be slain immediately after, the hour of the last sacrifice was hastened, as was usual in such cases, by their traditionary rules; so that the blood of their victims was actually shed as he was expiring.[91] At the sixth hour, or the meridian, there was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour. In the ninth hour, a horror of great darkness fell upon his soul, and he cried, with a loud voice, in the language of the twenty-second psalm, "*Elohi*, *Elohi*, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Whether he repeated the whole psalm is uncertain; but it may well be

[91] After they had burned the incense of the evening sacrifice, and after they had dressed the lamps, then they began to kill the Passover, and so continued to the end of the day. The times they divided thus: they slew the daily sacrifice at the eighth hour and a half, (2½ P. M.,) and they offered it at the ninth hour and a half, (3½ P. M.:) but *on the eve of the Passover*, they slew it at the seventh hour and a half, (1½ P. M.,) and offered it up at the eighth hour and a half, (2½ P. M.,) whether the day was a common day or the Sabbath; and *if the eve of the Passover fell on the eve of the Sabbath*, the daily sacrifice was killed at the sixth hour and half an hour past, (12½ P. M.,) and offered up at the seventh hour and half an hour past, (1½ P. M.,) and the Passover after it." Lightfoot's Temple Service, as it stood in the days of our Saviour, ut sup. chap. xii. § 3, p. 955. To our Lord's enemies the eve of the Passover fell on the preparation day, or eve of the Sabbath. Consequently, the daily evening sacrifice was killed and offered from 12½ to 1½ P. M.; and the Passover lambs for them began to be killed about 2 P. M., and so continued till about five o'clock.

believed, for it is the prayer of the suffering Messiah.[92] Some of the bystanders, who were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, thought he was calling for Elias; and as he said in that prayer, or immediately after it, "I thirst," one of them raised a sponge full of vinegar to his lips. But he uttered the complaint for a very different purpose. It was the last act in the series of prophecy which it was appointed for him to fulfil; and to show that the powers of nature were not yet exhausted, and that he yielded up his life freely, he cried, with a loud voice, "It is finished;" and then, in the language of the thirty-first psalm, he added, "Father, into thy hand I give in charge my spirit."[93] As he spake these words, he bowed his head and expired. Instantly the earth quaked; the rocks rent; the sun burst forth from his sable covering; the veil of the temple, which concealed the Holy of Holies, was torn asunder from top to bottom. Heaven was revealed, the earth redeemed, the curse nailed to the cross. Pilate was astonished that he was already dead. The thieves, who suffered with him, were not so. Their legs were broken to hasten their death, that the bodies might not remain on the cross at sunset. But there was an express prohibition in the law to break a bone of the paschal lamb; and to prove the certainty of his death, a Roman soldier pierced his side, ignorantly fulfilling the prophecy, "They shall look upon me whom they have pierced."[94]

XVII.

O! what a night was that! Jesus, who suffered with malefactors, made his grave with the rich, in a costly new tomb, hewn out of the solid rock, chamber within chamber, where no other body had ever been placed, wound in grave-

[92] "N. B.," says Bp. Horsley, "This psalm is referred to the Messiah in the Mischna Tehillim, and the Talmud of the Sanhedrim. See Huet. Dem. Evangel. Prop. vii." Horsley's translation, vol. i. p. 40, note.

[93] Ps. xxxi. 5. Bp. Horsley's translation.

[94] Zech. xii. 10.

clothes and aromatic spices, and a huge stone, secured with all the ingenious art of man, sealed with a signet which it was death to violate, and surrounded with guards who would forfeit life if they slept. With what triumphant hearts did the murderers of the true Lamb of God eat, that night, their empty Passover! How, on that paschal Sabbath, did the curling smoke of the morning and evening victims, and the clouds of incense from the golden altar, ascend with mock pageantry to heaven! On the other hand, with what disconsolate hearts was that Sabbath kept by the little band of mourners whose hopes were all blighted by the death of Jesus! The love of woman survives even her hopes; and the two faithful Marys, and Salome, rose from their restless couches early on the morrow after the Sabbath, thinking to complete the embalming of their dear Master's body. It was the day on which the first-fruits of the earliest harvest were to be waved in the temple. Little did they think that Christ, the first-fruits of an immortal spring, was risen from the dead. Their faith and love were rewarded by being made the first heralds of the resurrection. Notwithstanding the plain declarations from our Lord's transfiguration till his death; — notwithstanding the testimony of the women, the empty tomb, the vision of angels, the actual appearance of the risen Saviour; — the apostles were utterly incredulous, till proof was accumulated upon proof, so as to convince even the most doubting. This slowness of heart to believe was most salutary, inasmuch as it established, beyond doubt, the most important event of the world's history.[95]

The resurrection of our Saviour took place on Sunday, the 28th day of March, exactly three years from the commencement of his ministry, and three years and a half from that of St. John the Baptist. It was, therefore, exactly the middle of that last week of years, predicted by the

[95] It is earnestly recommended to the reader to study with care the authors cited in the Chronological Introduction, p. 522, to which I will here add Bp. Sherlock's admirable and spirited little work called the Trial of the Witnesses.

prophet Daniel, in which Christ should "cause sacrifice and offering to cease, and make strong or confirm the covenant to the many."[96] In the first half of the week was the mission of mercy sent, declaring the kingdom of heaven at hand, and calling the nation to repentance. Instead of obeying the call, they had crucified the Lord of glory, and bound upon themselves and their posterity the dreadful curse, "His blood be on us and on our children." With the resurrection, the kingdom of heaven began. Jesus, as newly begotten from the dead, was declared to be the Son of God with power.[97] Forty days after his resurrection, on Thursday, the 6th of May, he ascended into heaven, and "sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high."[98] In his person the human nature was exalted "far above all principality and power;"[99] and there He ever liveth, as the High Priest of our profession, interceding for us, and offering perpetually the merits of his passion.[100] But before he ascended, he was continually occupied in giving instructions to his apostles, how they were to proceed after his departure.[101] In this manner the forty days were spent; and on the fiftieth day the Holy Ghost descended to bring all things to their remembrance which Jesus had, at any time, spoken to them. This great event took place on Sunday, the 16th of May.

Peter, who had received the honour of opening the door of the kingdom, converted that day to the faith three thousand repentant Jews. It was obviously the purpose to save as many of them as would accept the offers of mercy during the remainder of the prophetic week. The miracles wrought, chiefly by Peter, and especially the cure of the lame man at the Beautiful gate of the temple, produced such an effect upon the multitude, that the Jewish sects forgot their hatred of one another, and united to stem the returning and overwhelming

[96] Dan. ix. 27. See the translation and notes on pp. 217—251.
[97] Rom. i. 4.
[98] Heb. i. 3.
[99] Eph. i. 21.
[100] Epistle to the Hebrews, passim.
[101] Acts i. 3.

torrent. Sadducees and Pharisees, the high priests, the Jewish police, the zealots of the law, began to persecute what they could not deny. But all was in vain. The people, returning from the feast of Pentecost, spread all these tidings throughout the country. The number of converts increased daily. It is probable that among the arts used to check the progress of the Gospel, was that of denying all aid to the poor if they confessed Christ. Other motives may have operated on the minds of indigent and conscientious believers. The offering of the body of Jesus, once for all, had abolished all other sin-offerings. Yet, by the law, it was necessary, even for the most venial offence, to offer a bloody sin or trespass sacrifice; and, until such sacrifice were offered, it was impossible to eat of the peace-offerings. This, to the poor Jew who believed in Christ, was a most severe privation; and, to remedy the evil, the wealthier converts sold their possessions, and offered them for general distribution to the needy. The case of Ananias and Sapphira awed, yet strengthened, the rising Church. The signs and wonders increased. The sick were brought forth into the streets, and laid on beds or couches, that the shadow of Peter, passing by, might overshadow some of them. Multitudes were brought from the neighbouring cities to Jerusalem, and all the powers originally granted to the apostles, of healing the sick, and casting out devils, were now seen to be continued. Vain was the indignation of the high priest and the Sadducees. The apostles were imprisoned; but the prison doors were opened, in the night, by the angel of the Lord, and they returned to the temple, by his command, teaching there as if nothing had happened. Arrested once more, and beaten, they rejoiced in the shame and suffering. No threatenings of death could terrify them; and the prudent counsels of Gamaliel produced at length a cessation, or at least a relaxation, in the furious opposition of the Sanhedrim.[102]

[102] Acts ii.—v.

The number of disciples being greatly multiplied, the number of the suffering poor also was much increased. Among the foreign Jews, especially, who were living in Jerusalem, but whose native tongue was Greek, murmurs arose concerning the distribution of the daily offertory. This led the apostles to appoint the seven deacons. Men were now astonished to see this new order possessed of the same miraculous powers. The word of God increased; the number of disciples multiplied more and more; and even a great company of the priests became obedient to the faith. Thus things continued till the nation again assembled, in the following September, at the feast of Tabernacles. On these public occasions there was always the greatest danger of tumults, which were generally excited by the Zealots. It is probable, therefore, that the stoning of the first martyr, St. Stephen, took place at that festival; and from this period must be dated the severe "persecution against the Church of Jerusalem, by which all were scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria, except the apostles." These, with the most courageous fortitude, remained in the city.

XVIII.

Among the most active and violent of the Zealots, was a young man of the name of Saul. He was of the tribe of Benjamin; and, though born at Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia, and the son of a Roman citizen, was a Hebrew of the Hebrews. His father and himself were Pharisees; and he had been carefully educated in the polite literature of Greece, as well as in the schools of his Jewish sect. Tarsus vied with Athens and Corinth, as a seat of heathen learning; and Saul, having completed these studies, was sent to Jerusalem, to be instructed in his religion at the feet of Gamaliel, the most celebrated of the Pharisaic doctors. He was there during our Saviour's ministry, and must have seen and known his person. The exalted estimate of this young man by all the Jewish au-

thorities, and the hopes entertained of him by the Pharisees and Zealots, are apparent from his whole history. He wanted nothing but a majestic exterior, and a graceful and pleasing elocution. The scoffing Lucian calls him "the bald-browed and long-nosed Galilæan, who went through the air to the third heaven;"[103] and he speaks of himself as "rude in speech," and of his enemies at Corinth as saying that his "bodily presence" was "weak, and his speech contemptible."[104] These are qualities which the world greatly admires; and perhaps for that very reason they were denied him, as incompatible with the designs of divine wisdom.[105] But, in the estimation of his countrymen, these were small considerations, far outbalanced by his consummate learning, his strict adherence to the traditions of the elders, his indomitable energy of soul, and, above all, his hatred of the rising religion. Sincere, ardent, dauntless and violent, but of spotless morals and unimpeachable integrity, he was the very instrument to whom the Jewish rulers could safely commit the power of persecuting to the death the followers of Jesus. He it was whose iron flail scattered them like chaff; and, not content with driving them from Jerusalem, he determined to pursue them from city to city, until they should be exterminated. But as he was approaching Damascus, suddenly, at mid-day, the glory of the divine presence, outshining the brightness of the sun, struck him and his whole company to the earth. He looked up, and saw the same Jesus, whose person he had, very probably, seen and reviled as it hung upon the cross, now looking down in majesty indescribable. He heard that same voice which, filled with hate, he had heard in the temple, now warning him that all opposition to God's decrees was vain. Blinded by excess of light, and convinced, in his inmost soul, that Jesus was the long-ex-

[103] Luc. Samosat. Philopatris, 12. Ed. Hemsterhusii, tom. iii. p. 597. 4to. 1743. 2 Cor. xii. 2—5.

[104] 2 Cor. ix. 10; xi. 6.

[105] 1 Cor. i. 17. "Not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect."

pected Messiah, he humbly asked, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" The same voice commanded him to arise, and enter the city, where he should receive further instructions. He, who had approached in all the pride of power, the terror of the Christian name, was now led by the hand, blind and helpless, but believing, into Damascus. It is very observable how carefully and how gradually the evidence was arranged, not only for the satisfaction of his own mind, and the judgment of the infant Church, but also for the confirmation of the faith of all future generations. Before this wonderful conversion, Saul believed in the Messiah, and had all the instruction on that subject which the synagogue could give. The prophecies were to him as familiar as household words. He partook of the faith, as well as the errors and prejudices, of his countrymen. All that he needed was to be convinced that the despised and crucified Jesus had risen from the dead, and was the king and high priest of the mediatorial kingdom, — that the nature of that kingdom was spiritual, not temporal, — that it was designed, from the beginning, to subvert the kingdom of sin, Satan, and death, — and, for this purpose, was to embrace finally the universe of holy and happy creatures. The light of this glorious scheme of redemption was not poured upon his mind at once; or that mind, strong as it was, might have sunk under so bright an effulgence, as his body had sunk under the blaze of the Shechinah. "Go into Damascus, and it shall be told thee what thou must do." During the three days in which he remained without sight, in continual fasting and prayer, there appeared to his mind's eye the form of a man, named Ananias, coming in, and putting his hand on him, that he might recover his sight. While this vision appeared to Saul, the Lord himself appeared to Ananias. He, it is thought, was one of the seventy; and having seen Christ with his own eyes, now knew his voice and his person. "Ananias," said the glorified Saviour, "go into the street called Straight, and inquire, in the house of Judas,

for one whose name is Saul of Tarsus; for he hath seen thee in a vision, and is praying." It was the dread name of the great persecutor; and the startled Ananias exclaimed, in amazement, "Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he has done in Jerusalem, and has now come hither to do." The design of God, to make this persecutor the herald of the Gospel to the Gentiles, was now revealed to the Church. The vision of Saul was fulfilled. He heard the voice of Ananias calling him brother, and felt his hand, and was told what he thought he himself only knew, that the Lord who appeared to him from heaven had sent one, by the putting on of whose hand he might receive sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. Immediately the film fell like scales from his eyes. He looked up, and beheld the very form he had seen in his vision. He arose, and was baptized, and washed away his sins in the symbolic blood of the Redeemer. The presence of the Holy Ghost was shed abroad in his heart, and straightway he began to proclaim the crucified Jesus as the Messiah, the Son of God.[106]

We may well imagine with what astonishment the Zealots stood aghast, when they heard their chief confess the faith he had persecuted. To astonishment succeeded the most ungovernable fury. For the safety of his person, it was necessary that he should be concealed; and he fled into Arabia. There he remained, in the utmost seclusion, for three years; cut off from human society, but enjoying constant communications with his glorified Lord. The same time was devoted to his instruction which had been given to the twelve. With what fruit, may be judged from his subsequent ministry, which we shall, with more propriety, consider, when we come to the next period. Suffice it to say, that from Arabia he returned to Damascus, and thence proceeded to Jerusalem, at the close of three years and a half from our Lord's resurrection. A. J. P. 4744. A. V. Æ. 31. A. J. C. 37. His object was to see Peter; not to receive anything

[106] Acts ix. 1—20; xxii. 1—16; xxvi. 9—20.

from him, or from any who were apostles before his own conversion; for he was, equally with them, "an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ."[107] SUCH WAS THE PREPARATION MADE, BY DIVINE WISDOM, FOR THE CALLING OF THE GENTILES. Some years after his own conversion, Saul, in honour of an illustrious Roman convert, took the name of Paul;[108] and, under that name, he has been celebrated, and ever will be celebrated, as THE GREAT APOSTLE OF THE GENTILES, until he shall stand in his lot, at the day of judgment, and receive that "crown of righteousness which is laid up for him, and which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give him at that day."[109]

XIX.

The solemn rejection of the Jews as the covenant people of God, and the preparation for the calling of the Gentiles, is an epoch in the sacred history of the most important character. Terminating, as it clearly does, the last week of mercy, we may now, with some hope of success, attempt to solve a question which has, for many ages, stimulated the curiosity, and baffled the conjectures, of the learned. To enumerate these, would far exceed our limits. Their diversity, and their want of adaptation to the terms of the prophecy, seem to have proceeded from not settling, in the first place, the precise date of our Lord's crucifixion and resurrection. Those events clearly constitute the central point of the last week; and now that they have, as we humbly trust, been clearly shown, we proceed to compare the prophecy with the established dates of history. It was uttered by the angel at least *five hundred and sixty-eight years* before that which we have now fixed upon as its last term. All are agreed that the seventy weeks are weeks of years. The whole period, taken in inverse order, is divided into one week, sixty-two weeks, and seven weeks. Of the ONE week enough has been said. It began on

[107] Gal. i. 1—24.
[108] Acts xiii. 7—9.
[109] 2 Tim. iv. 8.

the 29th of September, exactly three and a half years before our Lord's resurrection. The first question, then, is of the SIXTY-TWO weeks, or four hundred and thirty-four years. These bring us back to September 29, A. J. P. 4303, B. V. Æ. 411. A further deduction of SEVEN weeks, or forty-nine years, leads us to September 29, A. J. P. 4254, B. V. Æ. 460.

Let us now turn to the history; the dates of which have been established by totally independent testimony, without any relation to the prophecy. We find that Ezra left the court of Persia on the first of Nisan, or the 16th of March, A. J. P. 4255, B. V. Æ. 459. He had, previously, by divine direction, presented a petition to the king, and obtained a decree containing the most plenary powers. It was dated; though, in transcribing it, as he has done at full length in his history,[110] he did not choose to give the Persian dates, which differed[111] from the Jewish, and, therefore, inserted only "*at such a time.*" But the very importance of the document shows that it was the result of much deliberation and care; and the preparations of Ezra for the departure of his colony must have required several months after it was signed by the king. We cannot, therefore, place the decree later than the end of September, in the preceding year. From "the going forth," therefore, "of the divine WORD," and the consequent royal decree "*for the returning, and for building Jerusalem,*" was exactly "*seven weeks and weeks sixty and two.*" And then, as for the seven weeks, they extend to the close of Nehemiah's history, in the month of September, A. J. P. 4303, B. V. Æ. 411,[112] from the seventh year of Artaxerxes to the fourteenth of Darius Nothus, inclusive. This king is the last mentioned by Nehemiah, under the name of "Darius the Persian."[113] The period is precisely that "*distress of times,*" predicted by the prophet, in which "*the broad place and ruins*"

[110] Ezra vii. 11—26.

[111] See note 88, chap. i. Per. v. pp. 272, 273; also pp. 278, 279, and note 98.

[112] See note 128, Per. v. chap. i. pp. 291, 292.

[113] Nehem. xii. 22.

of Jerusalem were rebuilt; the troubles recorded by Ezra and Nehemiah.

The accurate fulfilment of prophecy is a most sure and certain mark of Omniscience.[114] Two things are necessary, in every case, for satisfactory solution. The words of the prophecy must be well understood, and the dates of history accurately adjusted. The conquest of Babylon, by Darius the Mede, induced the prophet Daniel to search the prophetic pages of Jeremiah. He found, in the twelfth verse of the twenty-fifth chapter, as the Bible is now arranged, that *seventy years were to be accomplished.* It was then the sixty-eighth year of his captivity; and, two years later, Cyrus the Persian founded the second great monarchy on the ruins of the first. The Jews were then partially restored, and the worship of the true God was revived. But there was a double fulfilment of that prophecy. Eighteen years later than the captivity of Daniel, the city of Jerusalem was taken, the temple burned, the king and his nobles carried captive to Babylon. After various interruptions, which are detailed by Ezra, the second sanctuary and Holy of Holies was completed, in the sixth year, according to the Hebrew computation, of Darius the son of Hystaspes; and, in that year, were accomplished *seventy years* from the destruction of the first temple.[115] Who can fail to see, in the arrangement of these events, the finger of God? In this second temple there was no ark, — no glory of Jehovah resting upon it, — no Urim and Thummim. The original copy of the law was gone, — the pot of manna, — the blossoms, buds, and almonds of the rod of Aaron. But the people were comforted by the promise that the glory of the latter house should be greater than that of the former, by the presence in it of the INCARNATE WORD.

Still, the walls of Jerusalem were not built; nor was the broad place within filled with houses. God was pleased to try the faith and patience of his Church fifty-five years, before the

[114] 2 Pet. i. 19—21. [115] See note 88, ut sup. p. 272.

WORD for the rebuilding of the city went forth. With that WORD, swaying the thoughts and purposes of men, went forth, also, *the decree of Artaxerxes*, from which the seventy weeks of years must be computed. They were "cut out," in the expressive language of the prophet, from the long and increasing severity of God's judgments upon his obdurate people; a green spot of mercy in the barren wastes of divine displeasure. From the death of Solomon, and the defection of the ten tribes under Jeroboam, "who made Israel to sin," *twenty-eight hundred and thirty-seven years* have now passed. From the extinction of the kingdom of Israel, and the utter disappearance of the ten tribes, nearly *twenty-five hundred and seventy years* have gone by, of apparent forgetfulness. From the destruction of the kingdom of Judah, the burning of the first temple, and the captivity of Babylon, *twenty-four centuries, and more than the third of another century*, have elapsed, and the Jews are still a distinct people, dispersed, but not destroyed; "a nation," in the sublime language of Isaiah, "dragged away and plucked; a people wonderful from their beginning hitherto; a nation expecting, expecting, and trampled under foot."[116] That they will be ultimately restored, when they

[116] Isai. xviii., Bp. Horsley's translation. His "Critical Disquisitions on the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah," first published in 1799, are a model of sober, learned, laborious and acute investigation. He thinks that "the time for the restoration of the Jews is no otherwise defined than as the season of our Lord's Second Advent." He pretends not "positively to say what nation God has chosen to be the conductors of the Israelites to their ancient seats;" he thinks that "beyond the rivers of Cush" may probably, though not certainly, include "any part of Europe without the straits," and even "the whole eastern coast of North and South America;" and that the "vessels of bulrush are only used as an apt image, on account of their levity, for quick-sailing vessels of any material." But Bishop Horsley lived before the successful application of steam in propelling vessels; and it is very possible that the prophet saw in his vision ships of light and rapid motion, the steamers of the latter day. "The land spreading wide the shadow of wings," the Bishop thinks, "may be intended to characterize some great people, who should be famous for the protection they should give to those whom they received into their alliance." "The people of the country," he further observes, "are marked, as will appear, by characters by which they will be distinguished from all other people of the earth, *when the time comes*." England and the United States of America may both be God's agents in bringing home his dispersed. The United States have *the eagle with outspread wings* as their national emblem. They were the first, and it is believed are the only people known by this emblem. They have

shall repent and turn to the obedience of Christ their king, is plainly revealed; and the reader's attention has often been called, in the course of these pages, to such gracious promises. But, compared with their long rejection, how short were the seventy weeks "cut out" from God's indignation! And even this transient period of mercy is divided into three sub-periods, distinguished by various characteristics, and the infliction of minor judgments.[117]

During the second sub-period of sixty-two weeks, or of 434 years, the Jews were left much to themselves. The Persians were very indulgent masters; and, as long as their monarchy continued, or eighty years of this period, they continued to protect the Jews from the implacable enemies by whom they were surrounded. Even when Alexander conquered the Persians, and established the Grecian monarchy, the Jews were treated with great respect and indulgence. No governors were sent to rule over them; but the high priests were permitted, by virtue of their office, to assume a civil supremacy. During the fierce contentions which followed the death of Alexander, they suffered, indeed, as all the neighbouring nations suffered; but, even when they were again made tributary, under the generally indulgent sway of the Ptolemies, the very silence of history proves their tranquillity. They were punished for their sins, as the nation had been punished in the days of the Judges. God sold them occasionally, in the expressive language of the Bible, into the hands of their oppressors. The most violent of these was the mad Antiochus; but his tyranny lasted only three years, and was followed by the splendid rule of the Maccabees. This continued till the dominion of the Roman, or fourth monarchy, began; and they were finally delivered into the hands of Herod, to prepare for the incarnation and birth of the Messiah. They

never persecuted the Jews; and have always admitted them to the free exercise of their religion, and the equal enjoyment with other foreigners of political rights and privileges.

[117] Dan. ix. 25. See translation and note, p. 249.

were left to themselves, that they might show how the corruption of man will ever degenerate, when it is not counteracted by the strivings of the Almighty Spirit. At the close of the sixty-two weeks, God was pleased to renew the exercise of his power, that he might at least save some of them. In the midst of this last week, the whole nation, a few alone excepted, solemnly denied their Saviour, although he had done no wrong, and subjected him to the vilest and most ignominious death. He rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven. For three years and a half more were the offers of mercy held out. "Save yourselves," said St. Peter, "from this untoward generation." — "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; for the *promise* is unto you and your children."[118] Many accepted the terms; but the high priest and his brethren, the Jewish sects and their adherents, the rich, the powerful, and the learned, rejected the counsel of God. At the ensuing feast of Tabernacles, the end of the fourth year of the seven, Stephen was stoned, and a relentless persecution began. The sands of mercy were running low. The doom of the nation was sealed. The chief persecutor, by an act of miraculous power, was converted to the faith. For three years he was instructed, after his baptism, by constant and personal communications with his glorified Redeemer. Thus prepared, he went up to Jerusalem at the end of the seventy weeks. In the mean time, Peter had been taught, by a vision, not to call the Gentiles common or unclean. Cornelius, a Roman centurion, who had become a proselyte of the gate, and, though uncircumcised, believed the Scriptures, and endeavoured to conform to God's laws in the practice of a holy life, was blessed, at the hour of prayer, by the presence of an angel. "Cornelius," said the heavenly messenger, "thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial

A. J. P. 4744. A. V. Æ. 31. A. J. C. 37.

[118] Acts ii. 38, 39.

before God. And now, send men to Joppa, and call for Simon whose surname is Peter. He shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do." As Saul was to be told by Ananias, so was Cornelius to be told by Peter. The same care is taken to convince the minds of Peter and Cornelius, as to convince the minds of Ananias and Saul, that there was no delusion. The three men arrived at the door of the house where Peter lodged, just after he had seen the vision, and was wondering at its meaning. "Three men seek thee," said the voice which he had heard in the vision. "Go with them, nothing doubting." The message of Cornelius was delivered. Every circumstance coincided with the vision, and explained its meaning. He went, and was honoured with the introduction of the first Gentiles, as he had been honoured by the introduction of the first Jews, into the kingdom of heaven. In the autumn of that year did Saul seek Peter, and confer with him, and James, the Lord's brother, on the great purpose of God in the calling of the Gentiles.[119] From the goodly olive-tree, of which Abraham is the root, the natural branches were now broken off, and the Gentiles, wild by nature, graffed in. Let not the Gentile boast against the Jew; for God, who cannot lie, hath broken them off only because of unbelief; and the Gentiles are graffed in, through faith. The Jews, if they abide not still in unbelief, will be graffed in again, and partake of the fatness of their own olive-tree. As the Gentiles have now obtained mercy through their unbelief, so the Jews, through the mercy of the Gentiles, will also obtain mercy. But all in God's good time; "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things; to whom be glory forever. Amen."[120]

[119] Gal. i. 18, 19.

[120] Rom. xi. 1—36.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BEGINNING OF JUDGMENT.

COMPREHENDING THIRTY-ONE YEARS, FROM A. J. P. 4745, A. V. Æ. 32, TO A. J. P. 4775, A. V. Æ. 62, INCLUSIVE.

I. Preparatory events in the empire. — Downfall of Sejanus. — Recall of Pilate. — His miserable end. — Deposition of Caïaphas. — Restoration of the banished Jews leads to Agrippa's visit to Tiberius. — Antonia, Caligula's grandmother, the intimate friend of Bernice, the mother of Agrippa. — Her friendship. II. Brief account of Agrippa. — Accession of Caligula makes him a king. — Affairs of the Jews in Egypt. III. Beginning of their punishment the very next year after the expiration of the LXX. weeks. — Appointment of Flaccus Avillius; a second Sejanus. — Governs Egypt with moderation as long as Tiberius lived. — His perfidious conduct towards the Jews, at the accession of Caligula. — Agrippa arrives at Alexandria. — Insulted, and the Jews persecuted. — He acquaints the emperor, and this leads to the punishment of Avillius. — The whole quarrel referred to the emperor. — Philo's embassy. IV. Vitellius recalled and Petronius sent as governor of Syria. — Ordered to invade Judæa, and place the statue of Caligula in the temple. — Conduct of Petronius and of the Jews. — Agrippa, in Rome, requests Caligula to suspend the order. — The emperor's letter to Petronius. V. Accession of Claudius. — Agrippa made king of all his grandfather Herod's dominions. — Goes to Jerusalem. — Changes in the high-priesthood. — Marsus sent to succeed Petronius. — Agrippa begins his wall. — The letters of Marsus alarm the emperor — The wall discontinued. — If finished, it would have rendered Jerusalem impregnable. — Further insults of Marsus. — After Agrippa's death, he is recalled, and Cassius Longinus sent to Syria. — Agrippa begins to persecute the Christians. — St. James beheaded. — St. Peter imprisoned. — The justice of God soon overtakes Agrippa. — His miserable death at Cæsarea. VI. On the death of Herod Agrippa, a serious revolt in Cæsarea and Sebaste. — Cuspius Fadus sent as procurator. — Tiberius Alexander, a Jew by birth, succeeds him. — The Jews quiet, but visited by severe famine. — Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son, Isates, relieve them. — The famine confined to Judæa. — Predicted by Agabus. VII. Death of Herod, king of Chalcis. — Changes made by him in the high-priesthood after Herod Agrippa's death. — His kingdom now given to the young Agrippa. — Cumanus, procurator of Judæa, instead of Tiberius Alexander, raised to the præfecture of Egypt. — Serious and general revolt of the Jews; its causes and consequences. — Beginning of the contest with the Romans. — Quadratus the successor of Cassius Longinus in Syria. — Tries the question at issue between the Jews and Samaritans, — Refers it to the emperor. — Good offices of the young Agrippa. — Felix procurator. VIII. Death of Claudius, and accession of Nero. — Miserable condition of the Jews. — The sicarii, or secret assassins. — Jonathan, the good high priest, their first victim. — Instigated by Felix. — Robbers and impostors. — The

Egyptian prophet. — Felix succeeded by Portius Festus. — Rescript of Nero, cancelling the liberties of the Jews in Cæsarea, brings on the war. IX. Festus dies in office. — Albinus appointed. — Contentions of the Jews with the young king Agrippa. — Frequent changes in the high-priesthood. — Ananus. — Between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albanus, he begins a persecution of the Christians. — St. James, our Lord's brother. — His trial and martyrdom. X. Albinus and Agrippa incur the hatred of the Jews. — The former succeeded by Gessius Florus. — The temple finished. — The levite singers petition king Agrippa for leave to wear linen stoles. — He removes Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, and appoints Matthias high priest. — Under his pontificate the war begins.

I.

IN the language of the martyred Stephen, the Jews had "received the law by the disposition of angels, and had not kept it."[1] They were now solemnly rejected, and the Gentiles called. Nothing remains to tell but their punishment; and this shall now be attempted in the two concluding chapters. The first will treat of its beginning; the second, of its completion.

The expiration of the seventy weeks of mercy was followed by an awful and portentous stillness. For a short season there was, in the phraseology of prophecy, "silence in heaven."[2] It was like that motionless, and stagnant, and suffocating atmosphere, which, in the natural world, precedes the thunder-storm, the earthquake, and the hurricane.

The high priests and the Sanhedrim could not be ignorant of the marvellous light which struck Saul and his attendants to the ground, or of his proclaiming, in the synagogues of Damascus, the faith which they had sent him thither to destroy. They were overawed and disheartened. They could not but fear that similar miracles might only increase the rapidity of the national conversion; and they therefore listened to the wise counsel of Gamaliel, and abstained from

[1] Acts vii. 53. On the meaning of the word translated *disposition*, after the Vulgate, "*in dispositione* angelorum," see the comprehensive note of Bloomfield in loc. In Gal. iii. 19, and Heb. ii. 1, the honour of the Saviour, as the *one mediator*, is shown to be consistent with the subordinate ministration of angels.

[2] Revel. viii. 1.

further persecution. Nevertheless, that hatred which always accompanies sectarian zeal was in no wise diminished. They looked bitterly upon the rising Church, though they refrained from laying hands on its ministers. But the sudden appearance of St. Paul at Jerusalem, which was probably at the feast of Tabernacles just three years after the stoning of the holy Stephen, revived the memory of that event. Some of the Zealots, who recollected the share Saul had taken in that transaction, now sought to kill him. It was thought prudent, therefore, when he had been only a fortnight in Jerusalem, to take him to Cæsarea, the seat of the Roman government, and thence to send him privately to Tarsus, his native city. "Then had the churches rest, throughout all Judæa, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified; and, walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied."[3] A. J. P. 4744. A. V. Æ. 31. A. J. C. 37.

Meanwhile, a similar relaxation and abandonment took place in the Roman empire. Tiberius, in his voluptuous abode at Capreæ, forgot, as much as he could, the cares of state.[4] His mother, Livia, died in the year of the crucifixion; and from that time Tacitus dates the unbridled fury and headlong career of Sejanus.[5] But while Rome was subject to perpetual cruelties and proscriptions, the provinces of the empire enjoyed the most profound tranquillity. It has been already intimated that Pontius Pilate was a creature of Sejanus; and, therefore, while the favourite was in power, he was secure. But at length the suspicious mind of Tiberius was alarmed by the very rapidity with which Sejanus was working the destruction of the family of Germanicus. His eyes once opened, no movement, however secret, escaped their piercing vigilance. His practice was to heap honours

[3] Acts ix. 26—31.

[4] Tac. Ann. lib. iv. 67. See Chronol. Introd. Par. i. c. xi. p. 263. The retirement to Capreæ occurred in the thirty-second year of our Lord's life, A. V. Æ. 26. Sejanus governed at Rome with unbounded influence, for the next three years. See Tables, p. 617.

[5] Ann. ut sup. lib. v. 3.

upon those whom he sought to ruin. The second year after that of the crucifixion, on the 1st of January, he assumed the consulship, with Sejanus for his colleague. The road to destruction was now short and precipitous. The venerable Antonia, the widow of the elder Drusus, and the mother of Germanicus, was still living. She had seen, with silent grief, the wicked acts of Sejanus for the destruction of Agrippina and her two sons, and could not but forebode a similar fate for her remaining grandson, the young Caius Caligula. At this juncture was confided to her, with a view of its reaching the ears of Tiberius, the proof of a conspiracy by Sejanus to seize the sovereignty. This proof she sent immediately to the emperor. Tiberius, with profound dissimulation, arranged a counter-plot; and at the moment when Sejanus, flushed with the expectation of new honours, appeared in the presence of the Senate, he was denounced as a traitor. The emperor's letter, drawn out with studied art, kept his victim and the conscript fathers in painful suspense and constantly increasing alarm, till, at length, the order fell like a thunderbolt. Two senators, who had joined the conspiracy, were instantly to be put to death; and Sejanus was to be imprisoned and await the pleasure of the emperor, who was about to return to Rome. Sejanus sat as if the head of Medusa had turned him into stone. He, who had been worshipped as a divinity, now sat alone. Men shrank from him, who, but a moment before, had been loudest in their professions of friendship. The prætors and tribunes of the people advanced towards him, as the substituted consul, Regulus, cried aloud, "Rise, Sejanus, and follow me!" The petrified man gazed, but understood not. The consul raised his arm, and, in a tone of menace, repeated his words three times, before Sejanus rose. The door of the senate-house was thrown open. The prætorian guards, who had attended Sejanus to the capitol, had been decoyed away by Macro, their new commander, in order to receive a largess from the emperor; and the city cohorts,

under Laco, now stood without. The Senate were mute; and Regulus contented himself with a single voice of condemnation. Laco entered and secured his prisoner. Sejanus was loaded with chains and dragged to prison, amid the shouts of the populace, who had worshipped him in his prosperity, but who now followed him with revilings and execrations. He was strangled privately, the same day, after an order of the Senate had been obtained; and his body was thrown into the Tiber on the 18th of October.[6]

Antonia, who had been so instrumental in effecting the downfall of Sejanus, was the daughter of the celebrated Marcus Antonius, and had inherited all her father's benevolence for the family of Herod. To this was added a warm personal friendship for Bernice, the daughter of Salome, who had married her first cousin, Aristobulus. This friendship was extended to their children, and, as we shall soon see, was eminently useful to Agrippa, the grandson, by father and mother, of Herod and Salome. Such were the predispositions of Antonia's mind, when it was discovered, by the papers of Sejanus, that the Jews had been wrongfully banished from Rome by Tiberius, twelve years before, at the instigation of his wicked minister. We may well believe, therefore, that the personal interest of Antonia led to the full disclosure of his enmity against the Jews, and his motives in recalling Valerius Gratus, and sending Pontius Pilate to be their procurator. Such a discovery led to the recall of the Roman Jews from banishment, just at the moment when the last of Daniel's prophetic years was expiring. The order for their return reached Jerusalem, in all probability, during the fortnight which St. Paul passed there. A part of these "strangers or sojourners of Rome" had been converted to the Christian faith on the day of Pentecost, and the three years which had subsequently elapsed; and they were now regularly formed into a Church, by the united authority of St. James, who presided

[6] Supplementum lib. v. Annal. Brotier. Taciti opera tom. i. 4to. 1771, pp. 313—333.

over the Church at Jerusalem; St. Peter, who opened the door of the kingdom both to Jews and Gentiles; and St. Paul, who had been separated by Christ himself to be the great apostle to the heathen world. But this subject properly belongs to the next period, and is now mentioned only because it illustrates the tender mercy of God towards his ancient people.

Tiberius was extremely averse to make any changes in the government of the provinces; but an event occurred which led Vitellius, the governor of Syria, to supersede Pontius Pilate, and order him to give an account of his conduct to the emperor. At the following Passover, Vitellius ejected from the high-priesthood the bloody Caïaphas, and appointed, in his stead, Jonathan, his brother-in-law, the son of Ananus, or Annas. This event occurred exactly eight years after our Lord's crucifixion. Thus did these wicked accomplices suffer the deprivation of office together.[7] Concerning Caïaphas, we have no further knowledge. As for Pilate, being no longer under the protection of Sejanus, fearing to be involved in his disgrace, and subjected to a similar fate, he lingered on his way to Rome, and did not arrive there until after the death of Tiberius. He was, thenceforth, suffered to drag out, in scorn and forgetfulness, about two or three years; and then, weary of life, and perhaps stung with remorse, he committed self-murder.

A. J. P. 4748. A. V. Æ. 35. A. J. C. 41.

II.

In the mean time, Agrippa, taking advantage of the reäction in favour of the Jews, determined to repair to Rome. He had married Cypros, who was, like himself, a grandchild of Herod and Salome; and by her he had two sons, Agrippa and Drusus, and three daughters, Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla.[8] His life was one of profusion and magnificence.

[7] Jos. Ant. lib. xviii. c. 4, § 2, 3. See the chapter on Pilate's administration, Chronol. Introd. pp. 366–9.

[8] Jos. Antiq. ut sup. lib. xviii. c. v. § 4.

While a youth, he had been sent to Rome for his education, and was the companion of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. So long as his mother lived, she kept him under restraint. After her death, he launched out into excesses which soon reduced him to poverty. In this condition, his wife, Cypros, wrote to his sister, Herodias, for relief; and she prevailed upon Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee, to let him live at Tiberias, with an allowance from his treasury sufficient for his maintenance. Herod was ungenerous enough, in a moment of riotous mirth, to taunt him with his poverty and dependence. This drove him to Syria, where, for a time, he was cordially received and supported by Flaccus, the governor. Here, through the ill offices of his own brother, Aristobulus, he was reduced to a similar difficulty. He, therefore, resolved to go to Rome; and, by borrowing money, in which his wife assisted him, he contrived to escape from his creditors. Having, on his arrival at Rome, renewed his intimacy with his mother's friend, Antonia, she paid his debts, and, for a time, relieved him from such embarrassments. He now attached himself to her grandson, Caius Caligula; but his own imprudence subjected him to the anger of Tiberius, by whom he was loaded with chains, and cast into prison. From this Antonia could not save him; but she contrived to mitigate his imprisonment. He was soon relieved from it by the death of the emperor. Caligula would have released him, even before the funeral obsequies were celebrated, but was diverted from doing so by the prudence and caution of Antonia. Many days, however, did not elapse, before the new emperor raised his friend from a prison to a throne. By the death of Herod Philip and Lysanias, their tetrarchies were vacant; and these were bestowed upon Agrippa, with the title of king. In the second year of Caligula, the new monarch sailed for Syria, to settle the affairs of his kingdom. This roused the jealousy, ambition and envy, of his sister, Herodias. But, instead of obtaining the title which she sought, she and her husband were banished, as we

have already related ;[9] and Galilee and Peræa were added to the dominions of the fortunate and exulting Agrippa.[10]

During the first two years of Caligula's reign, he governed, says Josephus, with great moderation and magnanimity ; and all that time Judæa remained peaceful and prosperous. The next year he seemed to be smitten with madness; and the punishment of the Jewish nation began. It was the tenth year after our Lord's crucifixion. A. J. P. 4751. A. V. Æ. 38. A. J. C. 44.

To understand our subject well, it is needful to trace the remote causes which led to the final destruction of the Jewish commonwealth. During the course of this history, and especially in the fourth period, notice has been taken of the frequent warnings, by the prophets, not to go down into Egypt, nor to place confidence in the protection of its princes.[11] Yet, under the Grecian monarchy, many, by the great privileges offered to them, were tempted to settle there. Even at the foundation of Alexandria, they were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and were, in all other matters, made equal to the Macedonians themselves. The Ptolemies increased these favours, and obtained larger migrations. No reverse happened till the transient persecution, under Ptolemy Philopater, related by the author of the third book of the Maccabees.[12] The Jews soon regained all their privileges ; nor does there appear to have been any further interruption of their prosperity until Egypt fell under the dominion of the Romans. About one hundred and fifty years before the common Christian Æra, Onias, the rightful high priest, of the house of Josedech, fled into Egypt, as we have before related,[13] and there obtained permission from Ptolemy Philometer to erect a temple at Heliopolis, after the model of that in Jerusalem, and to establish there a similar worship. It was

[9] See pp. 462, 463.

[10] Jos. Antiq. lib. xviii. cc. vi. vii. This Herod Agrippa is called, in Acts xii., "Herod the King."

[11] See, especially, pp. 229, 236, 238.

[12] For a full account of this persecution, see Prideaux, Part ii. Book ii. Anno. 216. Ptol. Philop. 6.

[13] See p. 345.

an act of sacrilege ; for it contravened the great principle, running through all the divine dispensations, of the one great Mediator, of which the one temple at Jerusalem was the type. To justify his proceeding, Onias produced a passage from Isaiah, the true reading of which is still doubtful, but which, as he pretended, spoke of a temple to be erected to Jehovah, in Heliopolis, the city of the sun.[14] As a measure of worldly policy, it produced the effect which Onias intended. All who were disaffected in Jerusalem fled to Egypt. Oratories, the largest of which were called synagogues, were erected in every city, inhabited by Jews ; and the books of the prophets, translated into Greek, were there read with the law. They had also a special governor of their own nation, whom Philo calls the *Genarch*, and Josephus, *Alabarch* or *Ethnarch*, terms of equal meaning. By a decree of Julius Cæsar, a pillar of brass was erected at Alexandria, with an inscription declaring the Jews to be its citizens.[15] Augustus allowed them the privilege of a Senate, by whom all their affairs were regulated.[16] At the time of which we are now writing, the number of the Jews in Egypt exceeded a million. Three of the five regions, into which Alexandria was divided, were filled with them, and some resided in the other two. Lysimachus, of the sacerdotal race, the brother of the learned historian from whom we derive all our information, was their ethnarch ;[17] and throughout the whole country, they were living in great opulence and power.

[14] The passage is Isai. xix. 18—25 ; and the various reading occurs in v. 18, where, by the substitution of ה for ח, or *vice-versâ*, it means "the city of the sun," or "the city of destruction." The former is Bishop Lowth's version ; the latter, that of the received translation. See his note on the passage, and the authors there cited, particularly Prideaux, Part ii. Book iv. Anno. 149.

[15] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. x.

[16] Philo. in Flac. Paris, 1552, p. 669.

[17] Josephus, in one place, (Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. viii.,) calls him Alexander, and in another, (lib. xix. c. v.,) Alexander Lysimachus ; and Bishop Pearson (Lec. in Acta. Apostol. lec. ii. p. 41) supposes that he was the same Alexander who is mentioned by St. Luke, Acts iv. 6, as being of the kindred of the high priest. I see not, however, upon what foundation ; for as this Alexander was Alabarch of the Jews at Alexandria, had been imprisoned by Caligula and released by Claudius, it is probable that he was in Egypt at the time of which St. Luke speaks. Such conjectures embarrass and obscure history, instead of extricating or rendering it clear.

III.

But in the midst of this serene sky, the thunderbolt of God's wrath suddenly fell. In the very next year, A. J. P. 4745. A. V. Æ. 32. A. J. C. 38. after the seventy weeks of Daniel had expired, and the term of sparing mercy was ended,[18] a change occurred in the government of Egypt, which began the calamities now to be inflicted on the Jewish race. Upon the death of Severus, a Roman knight, by whom the affairs of that province had been well administered, Tiberius conferred the government of it upon Flaccus Avillius, a person of the same order, who had been the companion of his infamous pleasures at Capreæ. "This man," says Philo, "was a second Sejanus; more capable of injuring the nation than Sejanus himself, because he had greater opportunities of doing so." Flaccus was generally suspected of having been concerned in the murder of the elder Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and the mother of Caius, surnamed Caligula.[19] That he had coöperated with Sejanus, is probable, though it is nowhere expressly said. That he was equally implacable in his enmity towards the Jews, must be inferred from the language of Philo. But after the death of Sejanus, and chiefly through the agency of Antonia, the grandmother of Caligula, Tiberius had been convinced, by inspection of the papers of Sejanus, that the Jews had suffered unjustly from the hatred of that wicked favourite.[20] This change in the emperor's feelings rendered it necessary for Flaccus to conceal his own animosity towards them; and, therefore, as long as Tiberius lived, he governed Egypt with great firmness, impartiality and moderation. This

[18] See the last chapter.

[19] See an account of her death in the Chronol. Introduction, P. i. chap. xi. p. 264. It happened on the 18th of October, A. J. P. 4745, A. V. Æ. 32, exactly two years after the death of Sejanus. This determines the *earliest* date of the commission given to Flaccus; and, as Philo says that he governed Egypt *the last five years* of the life of Tiberius, it could not have been much *later*. I fix the date of his appointment, therefore, after the death of Agrippina, and before the end of that year, probably in November. It may have been the reward of his services in that nefarious transaction.

[20] See pp. 441 and 503.

had caused much dissatisfaction among the Greek inhabitants of Alexandria, who were envious of the Jews on account of their opulence, and, as is usual in such cases, hated them intensely. The Jews, who were never patient under provocations, bore to them an equal animosity. Such was the state of things in Egypt when, on the 17th of March, nearly eight years after our Saviour's crucifixion, Caligula, like another Phaëton, grasped the reins of empire. To the reader of Dion Cassius and Suetonius, the language of Josephus may seem strange, when he attributes for two years great moderation and magnanimity to this youthful despot. But Suetonius, though he has not marked the time, has made much the same discrimination; and, in speaking of an absolute and military monarch, such terms convey a different meaning from that which they would express, where the governor, equally with the governed, is under the dominion of law.[21] Caius, the youngest son of Germanicus, the idol of the Roman army, was, from his infancy, the petted child of a rude soldiery. They gave him the nick-name of Caligula, or "the little boot," and indulged him in all his most wayward fancies. Children thus educated are prepared for the cells of the madhouse; and, to a just observer of human nature, it can

[21] Sueton. Caligula, 22. "Hactenus quasi de principe; reliqua ut de monstro narranda sunt." Philo and Josephus differ as to the duration of Caligula's clemency. All historians agree that he began his reign with moderation. Philo attempts to account for the change by a severe illness in the eighth month of his reign, (that is, about the end of October, A. V. Æ. 36,) which affected his reason. Josephus does not mention this as the cause, and all the other historians are equally silent. Josephus may have had his information from Herod Agrippa himself, whose intimacy with the emperor made his testimony the most accurate. It is certain that he did not arrive in Alexandria till August, A. V. Æ. 37. He was, therefore, with Caligula at the time of his illness, and continued so the whole of the first, and at least four months of the second year of his reign. I am inclined to think, therefore, that Josephus is most correct. With Philo it was mere conjecture that the illness of Caligula was the turning point between *sanity* and *insanity*. His nature was always the same; his clemency, the playfulness of a young tiger who had not yet had the scent or taste of blood. The affectionate behaviour of the people during his illness only increased his sense of security in the commission of crime. That his unbridled temper ended in madness, there can be no doubt. The man who could make his horse his pontiff, and think seriously of appointing him consul, must have been mad. Tillemont has discussed this subject. Hist. des Empereurs, tom. i. l'Empereur Caius, Art. v. p. 140.

occasion no great wonder that his brain was finally turned, as he sat on the apex of the world, and looked down from his giddy elevation. On his accession to empire, the Jewish Senate of Alexandria decreed him all the honours which their law would allow them to pay to the most exalted of mortals. A copy of the edict was engrossed, and delivered to the governor of Egypt, that it might be transmitted to the emperor. But Flaccus was now alarmed by the fear that his conduct towards Agrippina might have incurred the resentment of her son. He, therefore, endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people of Alexandria; and was easily persuaded, by three artful Egyptians, that in oppressing the Jews he would most readily gain his purposes. He suppressed the edict; and the emperor was left to believe, for two years, that they alone, of the whole Roman world, had neglected to honour him. The unsuspecting Jews were kept in profound ignorance of this perfidious conduct until the month of August, in the second year of Caligula, when Herod Agrippa arrived at Alexandria, on his way from Rome to Syria. As he well knew the temper of the Greeks towards his countrymen, to avoid all ostentation, he landed in the night, and went to a common inn; but Flaccus had so relaxed the just rigour of his administration, that the arrival of a king of the Jews became the signal of riot for the Greek inhabitants of Alexandria. The person of the Jewish monarch was insulted by the populace; Flaccus paid him no honour; and he was forced to hasten his departure. He had, however, obtained a copy of the suppressed edict, which he afterwards transmitted to the emperor; and this, in the righteous retribution of God, became the remote cause of the governor's downfall. The rabble, thus encouraged by the connivance of the Roman administration, broke out into greater excesses. On the 31st of August, the emperor's birth-day, they insisted upon placing his statue in the Jewish oratories, and there worshipping it as a God. When this was resisted, they cut down

the sacred groves which surrounded the oratories, set fire to some of them, and levelled others with the ground. Several noble monuments, erected by the emperors in honour of the Jews, and among these, probably, the brazen pillar mentioned by Josephus, by which Julius Cæsar had declared them to be citizens, were destroyed. In the oratories which escaped destruction, the statues of Caligula were forcibly set up; and in the largest of them, a beautiful synagogue, the brazen statue of the emperor, in a chariot drawn by four horses, received divine honours. The Alexandrians took care to acquaint the emperor of these proceedings; and he, supposing the Jews to be hostile, read their accounts with great satisfaction. The example of Alexandria was followed by the other cities of Egypt; and in them, wherever there were Jews, similar outrages were committed. A few days later, Flaccus published an edict, declaring the Jews to be no longer citizens, but aliens. The multitude, thus let loose upon them, proceeded to greater acts of violence. The wealthy Jews inhabiting the Greek quarter of the city were driven from their dwellings. Thirty-eight of the senators were loaded with chains, dragged through the city, and whipped unmercifully. Houses and shops were plundered. Reduced to beggary and pining with hunger, crowded into the Jewish quarter, suffocated with heat where the air was stagnant and impure, watched day and night by their ferocious enemies, many of them tortured and crucified, they passed the whole month of September in almost inconceivable wretchedness. At length, a centurion arrived from Rome, who, with great secrecy, arrested Flaccus, and bore him a prisoner to Italy. The same Egyptians who had induced him to treat the Jews with such injustice now appeared as his accusers. But his greatest enemy was the emperor himself, who was provoked, beyond all measure, by the suppression of the Jewish edict, and the representations he had received from king Herod Agrippa. Flaccus was banished, his estates were confiscated,

and he was finally put to death. But the grievances of the Alexandrian Jews did not end with the cessation of his authority. They were still insulted by the enraged populace; and the magistrates continued to deny them the rights of citizens. At length it was agreed to refer the whole controversy to the emperor; and ambassadors were appointed, on both sides, to repair to Rome. Philo, the historian, headed the Jewish embassy; and Apion, the learned grammarian, that of the Greeks. They set out from Alexandria in the midst of winter, but, on their arrival, found that Caligula was in Gaul. King Agrippa was then in Rome; and, by his means, they conveyed to the emperor a submissive memorial, stating the condition of the Jews, the hardships they had undergone, their attachment to his person and government, and their entreaties for his protection. But Caligula did not return to Rome till his birth-day, the 31st of August, in the third year of his reign; and his unhappy mind had then arrived at that height of frenzy in which he had actually conceived that he was a god. Nothing short of divine honours would satisfy him; and the Jewish embassy, after enduring the ridiculous mockery of his madness, were glad to escape with their lives and liberty. Into these excesses, which are fully detailed by Philo, in his account of the legation, it is not our province to enter. Suffice it to say, that they did not recover their privileges till the reign of Claudius, who issued a decree, pronouncing all the proceedings in the reign of Caius null and void, and restoring the Jews to all the rights which they had ever enjoyed.[22]

A. J. P. 4751. A. V. Æ. 38. A. J. C. 41.

IV.

It is uncertain whether Caius recalled Vitellius from Syria in the second or third year of his reign; but that Petronius

[22] See Philo in Flacc. et Legat. ad Caium. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. viii. A good summary of Philo's two books is given by the authors of the Ancient Universal History, in the appendix to vol. xiv. pp. 576—590, and there is a barbarous translation of it appended to L'Estrange's Josephus.

was sent in the third, and after the emperor's audience of the Alexandrian embassy, must be inferred from the language of Josephus.[23] He was ordered to invade Judæa, at the head of a large army, for the purpose of erecting the emperor's statue in the temple at Jerusalem. If the Jews should admit the statue willingly, he was to proceed no further; if they did not, he was to make open war upon them, and erect it by force. Accordingly, Petronius, on his arrival in Syria, began to collect a large body of auxiliaries, which he added to the two Roman legions under his command. After he had collected these levies, he went to Ptolemais, the modern St. Jean d'Acre, to pass the winter, with the intention of beginning the war in the following spring. Of this intention he informed the emperor, who commended him for his alacrity, and gave him fresh orders to proceed to extremities, if the Jews did not obey his commands. Tidings of this intention having reached Jerusalem, a vast multitude of Jews went to Ptolemais, to turn Petronius, if possible, from his resolution. He, at first, received them roughly; but, seeing their numbers and resolution, softened his manner, and attempted to persuade them, by dwelling on the power of the emperor, their own inability to resist, and the necessity under which he lay of strictly complying with his master's orders. To this the Jews replied, that if *his* obligations were so strong, *theirs* were much stronger; that they would bear every calamity, rather than transgress their law; and that God, who, as he knew, was infinitely superior to Caius, would enable them to resist. Petronius, being a wise and prudent man, delayed the execution of his orders, and, with a retinue of servants and friends, went to Tiberias, to see more of the Jews, and obtain further information. In the mean time, the whole nation became agitated as one man. Seed-time passed by, and there was no tillage. A famine would be the consequence, — the taxes to the Roman government would be unpaid, — a bloody

[23] Ibid. ut sup. § 2.

and desperate war would ensue, — the Roman arms might be checked and dishonoured. These reflections of his own mind were strongly enforced by the entreaties of Aristobulus, the brother of king Agrippa, and of Helcias, surnamed the great, a man of much consequence and consideration. Indeed, still greater multitudes, of the most eminent men of the nation, prostrated themselves, at Tiberias, before Petronius, for forty days in succession, baring their necks, as ready to submit to instant death, and declaring that he must pass over the dead bodies of the whole people, before he could accomplish so impious a resolution. The prudent president determined, therefore, to state these considerations to the emperor, and await further instructions. During this time, Herod Agrippa was in Rome, and in greater favour than ever with the emperor. At a magnificent banquet made for him by the Jewish monarch, the heart of Caius was so warmed towards him, that he asked him to name a request, and it should be granted. Agrippa, disclaiming any selfish desire, entreated him to suspend the order for the erection of his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. This was before the letters of Petronius arrived; and the request was cheerfully granted. But when the letters of Petronius did arrive, Caligula returned an answer of bitter reproof, accusing him of being bribed by the Jews, and of insolence, because he had delayed the enforcement of his commands. But, by some accident, the messenger who carried this answer was detained, and Petronius received letters concerning the death of Caligula twenty-seven days before this token of his displeasure came to hand.[24]

V.

On the accession of Claudius, which took place on the 24th of January, in the twelfth year after our Lord's resurrection, all the proceedings of Caius were reversed. Herod Agrippa, who was still at Rome, acted as a mediator

A. J. P. 4753.
A. V. Æ. 40.
A. J. C. 46.

[24] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. viii. De Bel. Jud. lib. ii. cap. x.

between Claudius and the Senate, and was very instrumental both in preventing a civil war and in settling him peaceably upon the vacant throne. In consequence of this, the good-will of the new emperor showed itself by enlarging the dominions of Herod, so as to include all which belonged to his grandfather, Herod the Great, and bestowing liberal favours upon the Jews in Alexandria, in Judæa, and wheresoever else they were dispersed through the Roman empire. His edicts are preserved at large by Josephus, and are very ample.[25] Agrippa repaired immediately to Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices, and performed all the other rites required by the law. He made no changes excepting in the removal of the high priest, Theophilus, (though for what reason is not mentioned,) and the substitution of Simon, the son of Boëthus. This must have been the son or grandson of that Simon, the son of Boëthus, whose daughter, Mariamne, was the wife of Herod the Great.[26] He, some time after, deprived this Simon Cantheras, and offered to restore Jonathan, the son of Ananus, and the elder brother of Theophilus, confessing that he was more worthy of that dignity than Simon. This high priest, who seems to have been a man of piety, refused the proffered honour. "God," said he, "hath plainly showed that he did not think me worthy of the pontificate. To me it is sufficient that I have once put on the holy garments; for then I was holier than I should be now, if I again received the investiture from thee. If thou desirest to be counselled by me as to who is worthier than I, know that I have a brother who is void of offence toward God and toward thee. Him I commend as worthy of this honour." The king took his advice, and appointed Matthias, the younger brother of Jonathan and Theophilus. About the same time, says Josephus, Marsus was sent to succeed Petronius as president of Syria.[27] He was far from being a friend of Agrippa, and viewed all his

[25] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix. c. v.
[26] Comp. Antiq. lib. xv. c. ix. with lib. xix. c. vi.
[27] Jos. Ant. lib. xix. c. vi.

proceedings with a most jealous watchfulness. The king wished to ingratiate himself with the Jews; and, for that purpose, began to encircle the new city, or the northern suburbs, with a wall. He designed to make it of such amazing breadth and height, that, if finished, it would have rendered Jerusalem impregnable, even on its weakest side. But Marsus wrote letters to the emperor concerning these proceedings, which alarmed him so much that he sent orders to Agrippa instantly to desist. On another occasion, Marsus interfered with his regal hospitality in a manner equally offensive, and still more mortifying. He was at Tiberias, entertaining most sumptuously the kings of Commagene, Emesa, Pontus, and the lesser Armenia, with his own brother, Herod, king of Chalcis. Marsus took that opportunity to visit him also. To honour him as the Roman president of Syria, Agrippa and his royal guests went forth seven stadia from the walls of the city to meet him. Marsus, considering this intimacy as boding no good to the Romans, met them haughtily, and ordered them to return instantly to their respective dominions. Stung with anger at this insult, and justly suspecting him of interference with regard to the walls of Jerusalem, Agrippa wrote frequently to the emperor, soliciting his recall from the government of Syria. After the death of Agrippa, these letters had their desired effect. Claudius, touched with sorrow for the loss of one who had served him so well, recalled Marsus, and sent Cassius Longinus to be president of Syria.[23]

In the mean time, Agrippa removed Matthias from the high-priesthood, and appointed Elioneus, the son of Simon Cantheras. The reason is not assigned by Josephus; but as Matthias was appointed by the advice of the pious and unambitious Jonathan, it is probable that he was a man of like disposition with his brother, and unpopular with the nation, because he would not persecute the Christians. At the accession of Claudius, and the immediate reversal of the

[23] Jos. Antiq. lib. xix. c. vii.—ix; xx. 1.

order to set up the statue of the late emperor in the temple, the general alarm had subsided. The danger of that sacrilege had turned their fury from the apostles and their disciples, who were thus suffered to proclaim the Gospel in comparative tranquillity. The progress of the faith, from the death of Stephen to the period of which we are now writing, will be considered more properly hereafter. It need only be observed now that the Church had become strong at Antioch, the seat of the Roman government in Syria, and that this circumstance, in the existing animosity of Agrippa towards Marsus, may have had its influence on his mind, in addition to the motive of pleasing the Jews. Certain it is that the change in the high-priesthood is mentioned by the historian as coincident with the insult offered at Tiberias. On his return to Jerusalem, the king entered warmly into the feelings of the Jews; appointed Elioneus, the son of Cantheras, to be high priest; probably at his instigation, beheaded St. James, the son of Zebedee; and, because he saw it pleased the Jews, proceeded further to take Peter also.[29] "Then," says St. Luke, "were the days of unleavened bread." These extended, in that year, from Thursday, the 22nd, to Thursday, the 29th of March. The whole nation was present at Jerusalem. It was exactly fourteen years after our Lord's crucifixion, and the whole nation were therefore again guilty of crucifying the Lord afresh, in his body, the Church, and in the person of one of his most eminent apostles. The other was most miraculously delivered by an angel, who loosed him, and opened the gate of his prison. Agrippa condemned his keepers to death, as if they had been guilty of negligence or malversation; and at the end of the feast, went down to Cæsarea. There the justice of God soon overtook him. The Tyrians and Sidonians, with whom he was offended, came as humble suppliants, and, through the intervention of Blastus, his chamberlain, obtained an audience. It was on the occa-

A. J. P. 4755. A. V. Æ. 42. A. J. C. 48.

[29] Acts xii. 1—3, comp. with Jos. Ant. xix. 8.

sion of a great festival, in honour of Claudius. It may have been the emperor's birthday, the 1st of August. The king exhibited shows, in the presence of the most distinguished men of his province, who had assembled in great crowds. The second day of the show was appointed for the audience; and the king came into the theatre clothed in a robe of silver tissue, which, as he sat upon his throne, reflected the beams of the rising sun. As he spake, in answer to the address of his suppliants, a universal shout arose, and his flatterers, among the heathen, exclaimed that he was a god. "Be propitious!" they cried; "though we have hitherto reverenced thee only as a man, henceforth we confess thee superior to mortal nature." The king reprimanded them not; nor did he reject the impious flattery. Suddenly, excruciating pains seized him, and he felt that he had not long to live. "Your god," he exclaimed, "is rendered submissive, and his life is overthrown. He whom you have called immortal is dying." He was hurried to the palace, and, after five days, expired in agony. Thus fell Herod Agrippa, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. Under Caius, he governed the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias three years; in the fourth, the tetrarchy of Galilee was annexed, upon the banishment of Herod and Herodias; on the accession of Claudius, Judæa and Samaria were added, so as to include the whole dominion of Herod the Great. If he died, as we suppose, on the 7th of August, in the third year of Claudius, this extended dominion was held by him nearly two years and six months. By his grandmother, Mariamne, he was connected with the Asmonæan family, and, consequently, was remotely connected with the royal race of David. He left four children, — Agrippa, seventeen years old, Bernice, sixteen, Mariamne, ten, and Drusilla, six.[30]

[30] Jos. Antiq. lib. xix. c. viii. ix. Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. xi. Acts xii. 1—23. For the harmony of St. Luke's account with that of Josephus, see Lardner, Credibility of the Gospel History, Pt. i. B. i. ch. i. § 6. Ed. Kippis. 8vo. vol. i. pp. 20—25. In the Antiquities, Josephus says, in round numbers,

VI.

As soon as it was known that Agrippa had expired, a serious riot ensued in Cæsarea and Sebaste. Though he had ever been kind to the inhabitants, they treated his memory with insult, and the character of his children with public outrage of the most indecent character. For this reason, when the emperor, immediately on hearing of his death, wished to appoint his son, Agrippa, who was then at Rome, to succeed him, the freedmen, by whom Claudius was governed, would not allow it. A youth of seventeen, they said, was not competent to govern so large a kingdom, and so turbulent a people. Cuspius Fadus was, therefore, sent to be the procurator of Judæa, and to punish the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste. The soldiers who had insulted the family of Agrippa were ordered to Pontus. They contrived, however, to appease the emperor, and were permitted to remain; but they became the prime movers in the subsequent calamities of the Jews, and were the first who sowed the seeds of war under Florus.[31]

that Agrippa reigned *seven* years; in the Wars, he says *six* years. According to my computation, from the accession of Caligula, when he was taken from prison and made king, to August 7th, in the third year of Claudius, was six years, three months and twenty-eight days. We cannot be sure that the beheading of St. James and the imprisonment of St. Peter took place just before the Passover, in the year of Agrippa's death. It may have been at the Passover of the preceding year. Nevertheless, from the manner in which St. Luke connects the two events, and the whole narrative of Josephus, I am inclined to place both at the latest period in which they possibly could have happened, the year of the Common Æra 42. Eusebius, (Chron. ed. Arm. Aucher. tom. ii. p. 269,) Archbp. Usher, (Ann. A. D. 44,) and Dr. Hales, (vol. iii. p. 499,) place the death of Agrippa in the fourth year of Claudius. All probably counted seven complete years. Dr. Hales, who places, as I do, the accession of Caligula in March, A. D. 36, and that of Claudius in January, A. D. 40, dates the full grant to Agrippa, I know not for what reason, in A. D. 41, and adds three years after it on the authority of Josephus xix. 8. But as Josephus varies from this, in Bel. Jud. ii. 11, I see no reason for extending the reign of Agrippa beyond August, A. V. Æ. 42; and on this computation the whole question, as to the second Jewish persecution, depends. As for the story of the owl seen by Agrippa at the time he was smitten by the hand of God, it is the *heathen* version of the prodigy. Dr. Hales says, "Josephus *unquestionably* had seen Luke's account, which he thus parodied, and varnished the plain, simple narrative in the Acts with his *heathenish* gloss." (Ibid. p. 501.) I like not to speak thus positively in matters of mere conjecture.

[31] Jos. Antiq. lib. xix. c. ix.

Fadus was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, the son of that Alexander Lysimachus who governed the Jews of Alexandria. He was, therefore, a Jew by birth; was scrupulous as to any innovations in the national laws and customs; and was, on that account, acceptable to the nation. During this time, therefore, they lived in great tranquillity. But while their foreign yoke was thus light, it pleased God to inflict upon the stubborn nation by whom He had been rejected the sore judgment of famine. That it began soon after the death of Herod Agrippa, and continued for several years, is evident from the language of Josephus. While speaking of Helena, the mother of Izates, king of Adiabene, who had become a convert to the Jewish religion, and, on that account, visited Jerusalem, he says: "Her coming was exceedingly advantageous to the inhabitants; for, at that time, a famine sorely oppressed the city; and many perished for want of food." Helena sent to Alexandria and the island of Cyprus, to purchase great quantities of wheat, which she distributed among the poor. Her son, Izates, also sent a large sum of money to the chief men of Jerusalem.[32] This shows that the famine did not extend to those countries, but was confined to Judæa. In another place the same historian, speaking of Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, says, "Under these happened the great famine throughout Judæa, during which, as I have before said, queen Helena purchased wheat, at great expense, from Egypt, and distributed it among the needy."[33] This shows, also, not only that the famine afflicted the Jews principally, but that it continued under both procurators, and, therefore, for several years. This fact is also attested by St. Luke, who says that it was predicted by Agabus, and that the Christians did not suffer, because they were relieved by the timely oblations of their brethren. It seems to have been a very general contribution; and the phrase that "every man sent relief according to his ability" implies, as Lardner has

A. J. P. 4757. A. V. Æ. 44. A. J. C. 50.

[32] Jos. Antiq. lib. xx. c. ii. § 5. [33] Ibid. c. v. § 2.

well observed, the easy and plentiful condition of the givers.[34] The commencement of the famine appears to have been in the fifth year of Claudius, in the consulship of Vinicius II. and Corvinus, the seventeenth year after our Lord's crucifixion.[35]

A. J. P. 4757. A. V. Æ. 44 A. J. C. 50.

VII.

In the eighth year of Claudius, died Herod, king of Chalcis, the brother of the late Herod Agrippa. By virtue of the power committed to him by the emperor after the death of his brother, he had removed Simon Cantheras, and appointed Joseph, the son of Camus, or Camydus, to the high-priesthood.[36] Now, just before his death, he removed Joseph, and promoted Ananias, the son of Nebedæus, to that dignity. Claudius gave the vacant crown of Chalcis to the young Agrippa; and, about the same time, sent Cumanus to be procurator of Judæa, in the room of Tiberius Alexander.[37] Whether the administration of the latter, who, as we have said, was a native Jew, was considered, by the Roman government, as too lenient, or whether the change was owing to some other cause, certain it is that the arrival of Cumanus

A. J. P. 4760. A. V. Æ. 47. A. J. C. 53.

[34] Acts xi. 27—36. Dr. Lardner has treated the subject with his usual learning, candour and ability, in his Credibility of the Gosp. Hist. Part i. B. i. ch. xi. § 2. Ed. Kippis, vol. i. pp. 240—246.

[35] I infer this from the decree of Claudius, preserved at length by Josephus, Antiq. xx. 1, dated the fourth before the kalends of July, (June 28.) Rufus and Pompeïus Silvanus consuls. These must have been substituted for Vinicius and Corvinus, April 1, A. V. Æ. 41. It appears, from the decree, that Cuspius Fadus was procurator when it was issued. Herod, king of Chalcis, had asked permission of the emperor to appoint the high priest, and had accordingly removed Cantheras, and appointed Joseph, the son of Camus. About this time, he adds, Helena, the queen of the Adiabeni, embraced the Jewish religion. Her journey to Jerusalem took place probably at the Passover of that year, and the failure of the crops led to the famine, and the exercise of her benevolence. Eusebius, and after him St. Jerome, evidently confounded this famine with that which, according to Tacitus, Annal. xii. 43, occurred six years later, in the consulship of Claudius V. and Ophitus, or A. V. Æ. 50.

[36] Camas, says Josephus, Antiq. xx. 1, Camidus, xx. 5.

[37] We find in Suetonius, Tiberius Alexander as præfect of Egypt, and there persuading the army to proclaim Vespasian, July 1, A. V. Æ. 68. It is possible that, on the death of his father, he became the alabarch or ethnarch of the Jews, and from motives of policy was entrusted with the command of all Egypt. Sueton. Vesp. c. vi. ed. Wolfius, Lipsiæ, 1802, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 226.

was soon followed, among the Jews, by a very serious and general revolt.

The first excitement was occasioned by an indecent act of one of the Roman soldiers, on the fourth day of the Passover. The man should have been punished. If he had been, tranquillity would have been restored. Instead of this, Cumanus sent his whole army into the tower of Antonia. The people were frightened at this, and, expecting a general massacre, took to flight. The rush was immense. Many were trodden down and suffocated. Twenty thousand, says Josephus, perished; and the feast was turned to mourning. Soon after, occurred another outrage. About eight miles and a half from the city, a servant of the emperor was waylaid and robbed. Cumanus immediately sent soldiers to lay waste the villages near the spot, and bring before him, in chains, their chief inhabitants. In one of these villages, a soldier found certain manuscripts of the Mosaic law, and tore them, publicly, with words of derision and blasphemy. The Jews assembled in great numbers at Cæsarea; and Cumanus, fearing a revolt, ordered the offending soldier to be beheaded. When this was done, tranquillity was restored; but all confidence between the governor and the nation was at an end, and was soon to be succeeded by a burning hate. Another and still more grievous difficulty soon followed. It grew out of the old enmity of the Samaritans. These fought with and killed a great number of Galilæans, who were passing through their territory, on the way to Jerusalem, at the festivals. Of this the principal Galilæans complained to Cumanus, and demanded satisfaction. The Roman governor, bribed by the Samaritans, refused to interfere. Upon this, the Jews flew to arms, claimed the assistance of a robber named Eleazar, and plundered and burned several of the Samaritan villages. The governor, when he heard of this violence, sent a body of cavalry, stationed at Sebaste, with four battalions of infantry; and the Samaritans were furnished with arms to attack and

conquer the Jews. Many of the latter were killed, and a still greater number taken prisoners. Fully aware of the greatness of this calamity, the most illustrious for birth and honour among the inhabitants of Jerusalem put on sackcloth, covered their heads with ashes, and conjured and entreated those who had thus revolted to desist from their purpose. They set before their eyes their country laid waste, — their temple burned, — their wives, their children, themselves, reduced to slavery. On the multitude this had the desired effect; but the hardened hearts of the robbers, inveterate in crime, could not be subdued. They entrenched themselves in their strongholds; and, "from that time," says Josephus, "all Judæa was filled with robberies."[33]

Such was the beginning of the contest with the Romans. Ummidius Quadratus had been sent as president of Syria, in the room of Cassius Longinus; and, as there was a constant state of feud between the Jews and Samaritans, both parties, finally, referred their cause to him, while he was spending some time at Tyre. Quadratus deferred his decision till he should come into Judæa; and soon after went to Samaria, and thence to Lydda, a populous village not far from Joppa, on the road from that port to Jerusalem.[39] Here he tried the question at issue; but, finding wrongs committed on all sides, referred the final judgment to the emperor. The high priests, Jonathan, and Ananias, and Ananus, the captain of the temple, were sent in bonds to Rome. The chief men, both of the Samaritans and the Jews, Cumanus, the procurator, and Celer, the chiliarch, were ordered to appear before Cæsar. Quadratus then went to Jerusalem; and, finding the inhabitants peacefully celebrating the national feast, left them in the midst of that solemnity, and returned to Antioch. The freedmen and their friends espoused the cause of Cumanus and the Samaritans; and it would have gone hard with the Jews, if

[33] Jos. Ant. lib. xx. c. vi. i.

[39] Reland. Palæst. p. 877. and D'Anville, Geog. Anc. Eng. transl. p. 403.

told by our Saviour,[43] persuaded the multitude to follow them into solitary places, with the promise of working signs and wonders, by the power of God. Among these was a pretended prophet from Egypt, who went to the Mount of Olives with thirty thousand followers, among whom were four thousand of the Sicarii.[44] But he was soon led to see that the principal inhabitants of Jerusalem were opposed to his pretensions. Instead of joining him, they assisted the Romans. He made his escape, with a few of his followers, a portion of whom were killed or taken prisoners. Of the deluded multitude, the greater number saved themselves by flight. But, as Josephus observes, in a thoroughly diseased and corrupted body, the inflammation, overcome in one spot, breaks out in another. The deceivers and the robbers were constantly gathering together the multitudes, and exciting them to rise against the Roman power. After a stormy and severe government, for several years, by which he incurred the odium of all parties, — the very reverse of "the quietness" ascribed to it by the fawning Tertullus,[45] — Felix was recalled, and Porcius Festus became the procurator of Judæa. A contest had arisen, between the Jews and Syrians of Cæsarea, as to their respective rights and privileges. This led to a riot, which Felix quelled by force and bloodshed. The sedition continued, until he was obliged to send, from the principal men of both nations, an embassy to the emperor. The Jews preferred a

[43] St. Matt. xxiv. 5, 11. St. Luke xxi. 8.

[44] In this way I reconcile the account of Josephus with the incidental mention of the same event in Acts xxi. 38. See Eusebius, H. E. lib. ii. c. xxi., with the note of Valesius. Dr. Lardner has mentioned other solutions. "There is more need," he observes, "of reconciling Josephus with himself, ... than to reconcile St. Luke with Josephus." Vol. i. pp. 414—419. Of the Egyptian Impostor. Comp. Ant. lib. xx. c. viii. § 6, with Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. xiii. § 5. I do not see, however, that there is any contradiction, if we suppose that Felix directed his attack chiefly upon the Sicarii. He killed, of the four thousand, 400, and took 200 prisoners. The rest fled with the Egyptian. Or the ingenious hypothesis of Mr. Ward, as given by Dr. Lardner, may be adopted. The Egyptian, seeing that the principal inhabitants of Jerusalem took part with Felix, fled, as soon as he saw the Romans advancing with *a small number of followers*. The Romans pursued him, neglecting the multitude, and killed *of his followers* 400, and took 200 prisoners.

[45] Acts xxiv. 2, 3.

formal accusation against Felix, who was saved only by the influence which his brother, Pallas, had over Nero. The Syrians, on the other hand, bribed Burrhus to obtain a rescript from the emperor, annulling the rights of the Jews as citizens of Cæsarea. This led to all the miseries of the war.[46]

IX.

The government of Festus was firm, but transient. He died in office; and Albinus, a man of very different character, was sent in his stead. But, previous to this change, a dispute arose between the Jews and king Agrippa, because he had built upon Mount Zion a banqueting room which overlooked the temple. The detail may be found in Josephus; but it led to frequent mutations of the office of high priest, which Agrippa conferred successively upon Ismael, the son of Fabi, Joseph, surnamed Cabi, the son of Simon, and Ananus, the son of Ananus. This younger Ananus was a bold and insolent man, of the sect of the Sadducees. In the interim between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus, he seized the occasion to bring St. James, the Lord's brother, before the Sanhedrim, together with some others, whom he accused as violators of the law, and delivered to be stoned. This was the *third* persecution by the Jewish authorities. But the character of St. James and his companions was so exemplary, that some of the most moderate and best men of the city, who were themselves strict observers of the law, were greatly opposed to these proceedings, and sent secretly to king Agrippa, requesting him to forbid them in writing, as contrary to law. Some of them, also, went to meet Albinus, who was then on his way from Alexandria, to inform him that it was not lawful for Ananus to convoke the Sanhedrim without his consent. Albinus, persuaded by these representations, wrote an angry letter to Ananus, threatening him with punishment; and king Agrippa deprived him, on this

[46] Jos. Ant. lib. xx. c. viii. Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. xiii.

account, of the high-priesthood, which he had held only three months, and gave it to Jesus, the son of Damnæus. We may well believe that he whom St. Paul had almost persuaded to become a Christian would feel great displeasure at this violent conduct of the high priest. But his intervention, though it may have arrested the judicial proceedings, and the legal execution of the sentence, did not save the life of the holy martyr. We are indebted to Hegesippus, a Christian writer who flourished a century after Josephus, for the conclusion of the tragedy. At the Passover, the scribes and Pharisees hurried St. James to one of the battlements of the temple, and required him thence to address the multitude against the faith of Jesus the crucified. He answered by confessing Christ, as sitting in heaven at the right hand of the majesty on high, whence he will come in the clouds of heaven. On his saying this, they hurled him from the battlements. He was not killed by the fall; but, rising upon his knees, prayed, as Stephen did, for his murderers. Some of the bystanders cried out, Let us stone James the Just; and they began to stone him, while he continued to pray, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." One of the priests cried out, Stop; what are you doing? the Just one is praying for you. Upon this, one of the crowd seized a fuller's club, smote him on the head, and killed him. Thus fell "James, the Lord's brother, who," says Hegesippus, "received the government of the Church with the apostles, and who, from the times of the Lord himself even unto our own, has been universally surnamed the Just." As it was the object of the Jewish sects to assert their independence on the Roman government in the administration of their law, they took the opportunity, before Albinus arrived, and defeated the purpose of Agrippa, by raising a tumult among the people at the Passover.[47]

A. J. P. 4775.
A. V. Æ. 62.
A. J. C. 68.
Nero 9.

[47] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. c. ix. § 1, compared with the fragments of Hegesippus in Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, 1846, vol. i. p. 208, and the learned notes of

X.

On the arrival of Albinus, he endeavoured for some time to promote the tranquillity of the province; but he soon found all these attempts ineffectual; and he therefore changed his conduct, and sought only by rapacity and extortion to swell his private coffers. Agrippa also incurred the hatred of the Jews, by turning his munificence to the embellishment of Cæsarea Philippi, to which, in honour of the emperor, he gave the name of Neronias. This led him, probably, to take the high-priesthood from Jesus, the son of Damnæus, and confer it upon Jesus, the son of Gamaliel. These frequent changes increased the miseries of the people, by dividing them into factions; some declaring for one high priest, and some for another. Albinus was soon succeeded by Gessius Florus; and about this time the temple was finished. It had been constantly undergoing repairs and embellishments. "More than eighteen thousand workmen," says Josephus, "had been employed upon it; and these were now reduced to want by the cessation of their wages." The people,

the venerable editor, pp. 228—249, with the authors therein cited. In a doubting age, it has been doubted by many learned men, whether the passage relating to St. James, in the present copies of Josephus, be not some Christian forgery, they know not when or by whom committed. For this I see no reason, excepting that they thought the testimony too good to be true. It rests on the same foundation as the testimonies of the same historian to St. John the Baptist and our Lord himself. If Josephus had said nothing, it would have been thought a triumphant argument against Christianity; if he says anything, doubts are raised of its authenticity. How unreasonable is this mode of procedure! Josephus is very reserved, and says as little as possible about Christianity; but what he does say comes in very naturally, and is in perfect harmony with the context. Nor can I perceive any contradiction between him and Hegesippus. The Sanhedrim, he says, under the influence of Ananus, condemned St. James to be stoned, as guilty of blasphemy; but he does not say the sentence was executed. On the contrary, he says that measures were taken to prevent it. The persons who went to meet Albinus would not have gone, if the murder had already been committed. Here Hegesippus takes up the narrative, and tells us that St. James was killed in a popular tumult at the Passover, and at the instigation of the Jewish sects, who were determined not to lose their victim. As to the year we cannot speak with absolute certainty, because we know not how long Festus lived. It was between the sailing of St. Paul from Rome and the persecution of the Christians in the tenth year of Nero, i. e., between A. V. Æ. 60 and 63, most probably at the Passover, A. V. Æ. 62. Hegesippus is placed by Cave at A. V. Æ. 170.

fearing that the sacred treasury might be plundered by the Romans, "petitioned king Agrippa to rebuild the eastern porch or gallery (στοὰ) of the outer temple, *which was lying in a deep valley, having walls four hundred cubits in height, and composed of squared and very white stones.*[48] *The length of each stone was twenty cubits, and its height six.* IT WAS THE WORK OF THE FIRST KING SOLOMON, *the stupendous builder of the entire temple.* Entrusted with the care of the temple by Claudius Cæsar, but considering how easy had been the demolition of the whole work, and how difficult would be its restoration, — especially, concerning this porch, (or gallery,) how much time it would take, and how much treasure would be required for the work, — the king denied their request in this matter, but did not forbid their paving the city with white stones.[49] It is impossible not to remark, that the temple in which the Son of God appeared was not only still in building when he began his ministry, but continued to be built, in its outer constructions, after its significance was destroyed by his death, until a very few years before it was demolished by the Romans. It deserves also to be remarked, that the original platform of both temples still exists. The time may come when all Israel may unite in erecting a third temple in honour of him whom they pierced.

There is another subject which it may be well to notice

[48] This enormous height seems scarcely credible. "The specifications of Josephus," Dr. Robinson thinks, are "undoubted exaggerations." Bib. Resear. vol. i. pp. 428–9. He estimates the height at 310 feet above the bottom of the valley, viz., the Kidron; the valley itself, 150 feet; the elevation of the wall and portico, 160 feet.

[49] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. c. ix. § 7. Various considerations have induced me to insert here the very words of Josephus. They show, first, that the south-eastern porch or gallery of the original outer temple built by Solomon, which had been thrown down by Nebuzaradan, was still lying in the deep valley, though the substructions, composed of immense stones, and four hundred cubits in height, were then entire. Estimating the cubit as equal to the Italian *braccio*, or half the French *aune*, the height of these substructions must then have been 700 feet! They show, secondly, that the temple rebuilt by Herod, though now completed according to his design, still wanted that external porch or gallery which Solomon had erected on his vast substructions. They show, thirdly, that the re-construction, though the materials had not been destroyed, but only buried and defaced for six centuries, would have been so costly that, even with more than eighteen thousand workmen, and a full treasury, Agrippa feared to undertake so stupendous a work.

here; not for its intrinsic importance, but as illustrating the condition of the priests and levites, just as the temple service was near its end. The singers among the levites petitioned the monarch, that he would convene the Sanhedrim, and permit them, as well as the priests, to wear a linen stole. They did not ask this on the ground of ancient usage, for it was contrary, says Josephus, to the institutions of their fathers. It was to be instituted anew, as a perpetual memorial of his regal authority. The vanity of the king was excited and gratified; and they were permitted to wear the linen garments during their ministrations in the temple, with the consent of those who came to the Sanhedrim. Whether this innovation created any controversy or not, does not appear; but about this time Agrippa removed from office Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whose pontificate the war between the Romans and the Jews began. From the times of Herod the Great to the destruction of the city and temple by Titus, there were in all, says Josephus, twenty-eight high priests; and the whole period of time was one hundred and seven years. But of this more hereafter.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE JEWISH WAR.

COMPREHENDING SEVEN YEARS.

I. Gessius Florus procurator. — Cestius Gallus succeeds Quadratus in Syria. — His blind attachment to Florus. — The Jews accuse Florus to him in vain. — To anticipate their appeal to the emperor, Florus determines to provoke them to war. — Insurrection begins at Cæsarea. — Perfidy and cruelty of Florus. — The Romans enter the city, but are driven out. — Florus returns to Cæsarea. II. Accuses the Jews to Cestius of being in open rebellion. — Opposite representations. — Cestius sends a confidential officer to Jerusalem. — He meets king Agrippa, the high priests, and principal Jews, at Jamnia. — All go to Jerusalem together. — The officer finds them peaceable. — Agrippa seeks to persuade the inhabitants to submission, but is pelted with stones by the rioters, and driven from the city. — Two aggravating events. — The Roman garrison at Massada put to the sword, and all sacrifices of Gentiles refused. — The heads of the nation send to Florus and Agrippa for an armed intervention. — Agrippa complies with their request. — The rioters attack and gain the upper city. III. The high priest, Ananias, (Acts xxiii. 2, 3,) slain. — Perfidy of the rioters towards the Roman garrison. — On the same day, Jews slaughtered in Cæsarea. — In retaliation, the Jews invade Syria and Phœnicia. — This provokes further slaughters of the Jews. — Cestius interferes. IV. At the feast of Tabernacles, he marches toward Jerusalem. — Attacked by the Jews, who are repulsed with difficulty. — Agrippa attempts conciliation in vain. — Cestius gains Bezetha. — Suddenly and unaccountably retreats. — Pursued and put to flight, with great loss. — The Christians leave Jerusalem, and flee to Pella, in Agrippa's dominions. — This flight before winter. V. Cestius sends despatches to Nero, then in Achaia. — Vespasian appointed general. — He sends his son, Titus, to Egypt, while he proceeds to Syria. — The Jews prepare for defence. — Confide their whole territory to able generals. — The two Galilees under Josephus, the historian. — He fortifies Sepphoris. — Its inhabitants submit to the Romans. — Objects of Vespasian. — Siege of Jotapata. — Josephus throws himself into it. — Trajan sent against Japha. — Cerealis to Mount Gerizim. — Jotapata taken. — Josephus, with one companion, saved alive. VI. Operations in lower Galilee. — Tarichæa. — Vespasian suffers his promises to be violated. — All lower Galilee in his power, except Gischala and Mount Tabor. — The Romans cross the Jordan, and attack Gamala. — Expedition under Placidus against Mount Tabor. — Gamala taken, and all its inhabitants destroyed. — Titus sent against Gischala. — Stratagem of John to escape. — Causes the destruction of an innocent multitude. — End of the campaign. — The whole sea-coast from Syria to Egypt, and the whole north to the line from Cæsarea to Scythopolis, in the power of the Romans. VII. Arrival at Jerusalem of John of Gischala. — The Zealots determine to put down all authority but their own. — Murder of Antipas, Livias, and Sophas. — An obscure and im

becile priest raised by lot to the high-priesthood. — This sacrilege rouses the people. — Under the high priest, Ananus, they confine the Zealots in the temple. — Perfidy of John of Gischala. — Idumæans secretly sent for. — Invest the city. — Favoured by a violent storm, the Zealots introduce them into the city. — The high priests, Ananus and Jesus, slain. VIII. Vespasian, informed of passing events, leaves the Jews to destroy one another. — No further operations till February of the next year. — Romans enter Gadara. — Placidus left to subdue Peræa. — Early in the spring, Vespasian overruns the hill-country of Judæa. — Returns to Emmaus, and thence to Jericho. — Jerusalem thus surrounded, he returns to Cæsarea. — Delays further action, on hearing of Nero's death. — Sends Titus to Galba. — Galba's death, the following January, causes Titus to return to Alexandria. — Vespasian there proclaimed emperor, July 1st. — At the close of winter, gives the command to Titus, and leaves Alexandria for Rome. IX. Condition of Jerusalem for two years. — Simon, son of Gioras. — Zealots within the walls divided into two factions. — Simon, being admitted, forms a third. X. Perpetual fighting in the temple and the streets. — Store-houses set on fire, and provisions for many years burned. — Titus arrives at Cæsarea. — His march toward the city. — Wonderful escape. — Arrives at Scopus. — Trajan on the Mount of Olives. XI. Effects on the Jewish factions. — Passover. — The last to be celebrated. — John of Gischala surprises Eleazar. — Titus levels the whole distance from Scopus to king Agrippa's wall in four days. XII. Disposition of the Roman army. — Breach in the outer wall. — The Jews retire within the second, which was the outer wall when our Lord was crucified. — Breach in it. — Titus enters, but is driven back. — After three days, the whole broken down. XIII. Preparations for attacking the last wall. — Siege relaxed for four days. — Mounds then erected, to gain the temple and the upper city. — Difficulties. — Another summons to surrender, but in vain. — Famine. — Severity of Titus. XIV. Mounds finished. — Those at the base of Antonia undermined by John of Gischala. — The other two destroyed by Simon. — Titus builds a wall and thirteen forts around the whole city. — Feast of Pentecost. — Dreadful mortality in the city. XV. New mounds erected at Antonia. — Skirmishes. — Antonia gained. — Conflict in the area. — Part of Antonia demolished — On the same day, the perpetual sacrifice ceases. — The finishing stroke to the law. XVI. Offers of Titus on this occasion rejected. — Thirty hundredths of the army ascend the temple area. — The Zealots are the first to set fire to the precincts of the temple. — The Romans follow their example. — Ravages of the famine. — A woman kills and eats her sucking child. — Predicted by Moses. — One event of this kind in the history of Israel. — This the first in the history of Judah. — Attacks of the Romans on the court of the Gentiles. — They finally burn its gates. — Fire communicates to the porches within. — The Zealots paralyzed. — Make no attempts to extinguish the flames. XVII. The fire prevails for two days. — Titus decides in council not to burn the temple. — Orders the fire to be extinguished, that the army may advance. — The Zealots rally and repulse the Romans, after three hours' fighting. — Titus defers the storming of the temple till the next day, and retires. — Another sudden sally of the Jews defeats his design. — The temple burned on the tenth of Ab, Sunday, July 10th. — John of Gischala and some of the Zealots escape. — Indiscriminate slaughter. — The abominations of him that maketh desolate set up. XVIII. Mounds begun against the city of David in the Tyropœon and valley of Hinnom. — The Romans enter from the latter. — On the Sabbath, August 12th, the city in ruins. — Simon and John, with 700 other captives, reserved for the triumph. — Titus passes the remainder of that year in the East. —

The temple at Heliopolis closed, and all sacrifice in it forbidden. — The united triumphs of Vespasian and Titus early in A. V. Æ. 70. XIX. The fifth period of the mediatorial kingdom fully ended in the 42d year after the crucifixion, and in the second year of Vespasian. — Résumé of events from the end of the seventy weeks. — The final judgment of the fifth compared with those of the other four periods. XX. The rejection of the Jews and calling of the Gentiles the great topic of St. Paul's epistles. — His predictions of mercy to the ancient covenant people. — They, as well as we, are now looking for the Messiah. — The proud conqueror by whom they have been oppressed must be punished, as Babylon was. — The decree for that punishment went forth in the very prophecy of the LXX. weeks. — The desolations of Judæa decreed till the end of God's war with Rome. — The immediate actors in the bloody tragedy punished. — Conclusion. — The judgments of God, like the weldings of a forge, bind the several periods of human history together.

I.

GESSIUS FLORUS, who was sent by Nero in the tenth year of his reign as the successor of Albinus, filled nearly to the brim the measure of Jewish calamities. He was a native of Clazomene, and had for his wife Cleopatra, the friend and confidant of the empress Poppæa, and her equal in wickedness. Through the combined influence of these abandoned women, he obtained the government of Judæa; and the excess of evil which he occasioned led the Jews to praise Albinus, greedy and rapacious as he was, as comparatively a benefactor. Inexorable and insatiable, he even entered into partnership with the robbers, and shared their gains. The plunder and devastation committed everywhere with impunity drove the wretched inhabitants from their homes. In the second year of Florus, and the twelfth of Nero, the whole nation, thinking it better to perish all together than singly, took up arms. Cestius Gallus had succeeded Quadratus in the government of Syria; and he was so blindly attached to Florus, that no one dared to send any charges to Antioch against the administration of the procurator. At length, however, Cestius came to Jerusalem, a little before the Passover. Not less than 3,000,000 of Jews gathered together as suppliants; but Florus stood by the side

A. J. P. 4776.
A. V. Æ. 63.
A. J. C. 69.
Nero 12.

A. J. P. 4778.
A. V. Æ. 65.
A. J. C. 71.
Nero 12.

of Gallus, and laughed them to scorn. They obtained nothing but empty promises; and Florus, foreseeing that they would appeal to Cæsar, determined to provoke them to insurrection.

An incident which occurred at Cæsarea favoured his design. A Jewish synagogue was so situated, that a piece of ground, belonging to a Greek, was required to make it easily accessible The Jews had frequently offered to buy it at its full value; which the man as frequently refused. At length he began to erect shops upon it, which to them were a nuisance. They complained to Florus, and offered him eight talents,[1] if he would hinder the building. Florus took the money, but went immediately to Sebaste, the station of his cavalry, without issuing the prohibition. The work went on, and the Jews prepared to interrupt it. But the Gentile inhabitants, having received the emperor's rescript,[2] which deprived the Jews of the rights of citizens, and consequently of holding property, espoused the cause of the Grecian proprietor. Just at this juncture, on the Sabbath, while the Jews were assembled in crowds at their synagogue, a man appeared with two birds, one of which he sacrificed on an earthen vessel over a running stream. It was the rite prescribed by the Mosaic law for the purification of a leper.[3] The Gentiles generally received the old Egyptian story, that the Jews were expelled from Egypt under Moses, because they were leprous.[4] This act was therefore intended and received, not only as a national insult, but as an impious profanation of God's law; and it was soon discovered that the man was sent by the Gentiles for the very purpose of provoking the Jews to madness. The moderate men of the nation, to prevent bloodshed, sent a deputation to Florus, at Sebaste; and these ventured to remind him of the eight talents. For this they were seized and put in

[1] Doubtless silver talents, amounting then to $12,040.20, or, in the present value of money, $36,120.60.

[2] See p. 527.

[3] Levit. xiv. 2—9.

[4] See Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. i., and Justin. Hist. lib. xxxvi. 2.

prison. With the most wanton provocation, he sent orders to the sacred treasury at Jerusalem, to pay seventeen talents for the service of the emperor; and, instead of marching to quell the insurrection at Cæsarea, he advanced upon the holy city, with a formidable army of horse and foot. Even this provocation was peaceably received. The people went forth to receive the governor, but were uncourteously driven back and ordered to disperse. The next day, Florus sat upon his tribunal, and received the high priests and most eminent men of the nation with great haughtiness. On their advising lenient measures, he ordered his soldiers to plunder the inhabitants, and not only allowed the massacre of men, women and children, to the number of 3600 souls, but publicly whipped and nailed to the cross Jews who were Roman citizens, admitted even to the dignity of the equestrian order. Berenice, the eldest sister of Agrippa, was then in Jerusalem to perform a vow, living in her palace as a queen, attended by her guards. She narrowly escaped with her life from the violence of the Roman soldiers; and, though she appeared barefoot before Florus to supplicate mercy, was driven from his presence with disgrace and danger. This happened on the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius, or Iyar, in the twelfth year of Nero, and the seventeenth year of Agrippa.[5]

A. J. P. 4778.
A. V. Æ. 65.
A. J. C. 71.
Nero 12.

The next day a great concourse of the inhabitants rent the air with lamentations for their murdered friends, and with curses loud and deep against Florus. The high priests and men in power, affrighted at what they foresaw, — their garments torn, and with dust upon their heads, — ran among the people, imploring them to remain quiet. They succeeded in dispersing them, much to the dissatisfaction of Florus, who was

[5] The month Artemisius began on Tuesday, the 23d of April, and continued till Wednesday, the 22d of May. The sixteenth of the month coincided, therefore, with Wednesday, May 8th, A. V. Æ. 65. The golden number of that year, reckoning back from the Nicene computation, was ix.; and the Sunday letter F. See the table of the Roman year, for April and May, compared with the Consuls of Nero's reign. Chron. Introd. pp. 88, 89 and 312. It took place in the consulship of Telesinus and Suetonius.

intent upon urging them to riot, and thus kindling an inextinguishable flame. He told the high priests and rulers that the people must show their submissiveness by going out unarmed to meet the soldiers, who were marching from Cæsarea. At the same time he sent secret orders to the centurions, that the troops should not return the salutations of the Jews, and, if they heard anything spoken against himself, should avenge it upon them with their weapons. A terrible destruction of life followed; and, as the Romans entered the city, the inhabitants assailed them with missiles from the tops of their houses; defeated their attempt to gain the tower of Antonia and the temple; and forced them to retire to their camp. Florus was intent upon plundering the treasury; but seeing it impracticable to do so, he then returned to Cæsarea.[6]

II.

He had now recourse to Cestius Gallus; went to Antioch in person; accused the Jews of being in open revolt; and urged him to march immediately with his army into Judæa. These representations, however, were counteracted by letters from the high priests and rulers, corroborated by the statements of queen Berenice. Cestius determined first to send Neopolitanus, a confidential officer, to see and report to him the actual condition of the country. On his way, Neopolitanus met, at Jamnia, king Agrippa, who was returning from Egypt; and, while they were together, the high priests and principal men of the Jews came to make their court to the king, and compliment him on his safe return. By his intercession, and the representations of the Jewish rulers that it was only a few rash and ardent young men who were the exciters of sedition, Neopolitanus was induced to accompany them and the king to Jerusalem. He walked about the whole city, attended only by a single soldier; and finding the inhab-

[6] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. xiv. xv.

itants peaceable, offered sacrifices in the temple, as a Gentile, and then returned to Antioch.

After his departure, the inhabitants petitioned the king and the high priests for leave to send a deputation to Rome, to lay their grievances before the emperor, and obtain the recall of Florus. In a formal and set speech, Agrippa endeavoured to dissuade them from this purpose, and lead them to bear with patience and submission their present evils, rather than incur the hazard of greater. The time, he told them, was past for regaining their liberties; and the only thing which could be done was to render their slavery the most tolerable. This speech, rendered more impressive by the king's tears, and the tears of his sister, Berenice, produced for some time an effect upon the multitude. But the rioters could not long be restrained. They assailed him with reproaches, expelled him from the city, and even pelted him with stones. Indignant at these outrages, the king left them to settle affairs with Florus as they could, and retired to his own dominions.

Two events now occurred which greatly aggravated the impending evils. The one was a sudden attack by the war party on the fortress of Masada, which they took by surprise, and put the whole Roman garrison to the sword; the other, the refusal of the officiating priests in the temple to receive and offer any sacrifices of the Gentiles. This innovation on ancient practice involved the great principle, that the temple, as the type of the Messiah, was the house of prayer for all nations. The refusal of sacrifices from the Gentiles was an assumption that all propitiation for sin was confined to Jews alone; an assumption in strict conformity with the rejection of Christ; and one which hastened their punishment for that rejection, because it excluded the sacrifices of the emperor and the Roman people, as well as all other heathen. This was done chiefly under the influence of Eleazar, the son of the high priest Ananias, a headstrong and daring young man, who was then the captain of the temple. It was very offensive to the

heads of the nation, who foresaw its evil consequences. They determined, therefore, to send one deputation to Florus, and another to king Agrippa, soliciting an armed intervention, to repress these disorders, and coerce the refractory. Florus, who desired war, paid no attention to their request; but Agrippa sent a force of 3000 horsemen; and with these the upper city was placed in a state of defence, while the lower city and the temple were in possession of the insurgents. Between these and the royal troops there were frequent skirmishes; the one exhibiting the greatest daring, the other superior in military skill. For seven days, great slaughter was committed on both sides, without any positive advantage to either. But on the feast of the Wood-offering,[7] a large number of the Sicarii, mingling with the populace, rushed into the temple, and, excluding their adversaries, obtained such power of numbers as to assault and take the upper city; compelling the royal troops to retreat into the citadel. The attack was so sudden and so impetuous, that many of the chief men and high priests were obliged to creep, for concealment, into the common sewers, while others effected their escape with the king's soldiers into the garrison. The rioters burned the high priest's house, the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice, and the public archives. The last was a principal object with them, because it contained the bonds and records of debts owed to the wealthy by some of the incendiaries, and many of the poorer classes. The next day, being the fifteenth of Loüs, they attacked the fortress Antonia; and, after two days of hard fighting, took it by assault, and put the whole garrison to the sword.[8] Flushed with success, they now

[7] See Nehem. x. 34. It was called in later times by the Greek name, *Xylophory*. Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. xvii. vi.

[8] The Syro-Macedonian month Loüs corresponds with Ab, the fifth ecclesiastical month of the Jews. Hales, Chronol. vol. i. pp. 25—28. Josephus has here affirmed that the wood-offering, or feast of Xylophory, when the wood for the service of the temple was annually brought in and offered to God, was the fourteenth day of the fifth month, which corresponded that year with August 3d. Antonia was attacked on the fourth, and taken on the fifth or sixth, of August.

attacked the fortress in the upper city; and being greatly increased in numbers, divided themselves into four bodies, invested it on all sides, and prepared to reduce it by assault or by famine. In the mean time, Menahem, the son of Judas the Galilæan, had broken into Herod's armoury at Masada, and distributed the arms among his own followers and other robbers. With these he returned, in royal state, to Jerusalem, placed himself at the head of the insurgents, and proceeded vigorously with the siege. The king's soldiers were allowed to capitulate and retire; but the Romans, to whom no quarter was given, determined to sell their lives as dear as they could. They finally escaped, but with great slaughter, to the three royal towers, Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamne; and Menahem, with his followers, took and plundered and burnt the citadel.[9]

III.

The next day the high priest Ananias, the same who had ordered St. Paul to be smitten on the mouth, was himself smitten by God.[10] He was found lurking in an aqueduct of the royal palace; dragged before the robbers, with his brother Hezekiah, and both were murdered. Menahem, the author of this crime, was soon after killed in like manner, by the violence of Eleazar, the son of Ananias, and his party. This done, the Romans in the three royal towers were attacked and forced to capitulate. Their lives were to be spared, but they were required to deliver up all that they had, and to lay down their arms. These terms, severe as they were, were accepted by the Romans, but were most shamefully violated by the Jews. Eleazar and his companions, regardless of their oaths and pledges, fell upon and slaughtered their prisoners, as soon as they were unarmed. The latter offered no resistance, and uttered no supplication, though with loud cries they reproached

[9] This happened on the 24th of August, A. v. Æ. 65, the sixth of Gorpiæus, or Elul. Joseph. de Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c xvii. vi.

[10] Acts xxiii. 1—5.

their perfidy. Metilius, their commander, was the only one who saved his life, by professing his readiness to receive circumcision, and embrace the Jewish faith. This crime was aggravated, by being committed on the Sabbath. It occasioned little loss to the Romans; but to the Jews it was the prelude of impending destruction. Men saw, in this event, says the historian, that even if they escaped the vengeance of Rome, the foul contagion of the polluted city must provoke the unappeasable anger of God.[11]

On the same Sabbath day, and at *the very hour* in which these soldiers were slain at Jerusalem, the Gentile inhabitants of Cæsarea slew twenty thousand Jews. If any fugitives escaped, they were caught by Florus and sent to the galleys. In retaliation for this massacre, the Jews invaded Syria, laid waste the neighbouring cities and villages, and then turned their arms against the Tyrians, and the cities and villages of Phœnicia. The Syrians committed equal barbarities, not only upon the Jews, but against all whom they suspected of judaizing. At Scythopolis the Jewish inhabitants had espoused the cause of the Gentiles, and fought against their own countrymen. Their excessive alacrity created suspicions of some latent treachery. In token of their fidelity, they were required to leave the city, and assemble in a neighbouring grove. With this request they unsuspectingly complied; and on the third night, the throats of men, women and children, were cut, to the number of thirteen thousand. One young man, whose name was Simon, of great stature and strength, and who had bravely fought for them against his own countrymen, was awakened, and saw the murderers approaching. Resistance, he knew, was vain. "Men of Scythopolis," he exclaimed, "it is fit that I, who have fought for you against my own nation, should die, but not by your perfidy." So saying, he looked around, upon his wife, his children, his parents ad-

[11] Joseph. ut sup. § 9, 10.

attacked the fortress in the upper city; and being greatly increased in numbers, divided themselves into four bodies, invested it on all sides, and prepared to reduce it by assault or by famine. In the mean time, Menahem, the son of Judas the Galilæan, had broken into Herod's armoury at Masada, and distributed the arms among his own followers and other robbers. With these he returned, in royal state, to Jerusalem, placed himself at the head of the insurgents, and proceeded vigorously with the siege. The king's soldiers were allowed to capitulate and retire; but the Romans, to whom no quarter was given, determined to sell their lives as dear as they could. They finally escaped, but with great slaughter, to the three royal towers, Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamne; and Menahem, with his followers, took and plundered and burnt the citadel.[9]

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[11] Joseph. ut sup. § 9, 10.

vanced in age ; and, seizing his father by his hoary locks, ran his sword into his body. His mother willingly presented herself, and shared the same fate. His wife and children followed ; and then, standing upon their bodies, as they lay weltering in blood, he sheathed the same sword to its hilt in his own bowels. With such miseries were the Jews afflicted everywhere. Ascalon slew 2500 ; Ptolemais, 2000, besides those who were only imprisoned ; Tyre, and Hippos, and Gadara, did the like. All the cities of Syria, excepting Antioch, Sidon and Apamia, joined in this indiscriminate persecution. Josephus thinks the Jews were spared in these cities because they were peaceable. It is more likely that the great numbers who had professed themselves Christians protected their unbelieving brethren. During the absence of Agrippa, plots were laid against the Jews, even in his own kingdom. At Alexandria the ancient feuds continued ; but were restrained by the wise and prudent measures of Tiberius Alexander, who, as we have seen, was by birth a Jew, and yet held the prætecture of Egypt.[12] Even his clemency, however, was turned to rigour by the violent behaviour of the turbulent. To coerce them, he was obliged to let loose upon them two Roman legions, and five thousand other soldiers, who had happened to arrive from Libya. They wanted only this leave to wreak their cruelty on a race which they detested. In this way 50,000, of all ages, were destroyed ; and the innocent, as usual, suffered with the guilty.[13] During all these commotions, Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, whose duty to the empire required him to act with prudence and vigour, remained totally inert. The conflagration, which Florus was fanning, might have been extinguished, or at least kept under, at an earlier period, but was now raging with an intensity which the feeble Cestius could not overcome. He marched from Antioch to Ptolemais, with the twelfth legion, and about one third of

[12] See before, p. 520, and note 27, p. 521. [13] Jos. ut sup. c. xviii. § 1—8.

each selected from the remainder.[14] To these were added the auxiliaries furnished by Agrippa and other tributary kings, amounting to 4300 horse, and 8700 foot. The free cities furnished numerous auxiliaries, badly disciplined, but active, and full of hatred towards the Jews. With these he commenced a predatory warfare, which produced no other effect but an increase of cruelty and exasperation on both sides.[15]

IV.

In this way things proceeded till the feast of Tabernacles, which fell, that year, on the 2nd of October. Cestius marched from Antipatris to Lydda; and finding it deserted, because the men had gone up to Jerusalem to the feast, he slew fifty of the old men who remained at home, and set fire to the city. He then marched by Beth-horon to a place then called Gabaa, the ancient Gibeon,[16] about seven miles from Jerusalem, where he pitched his camp. Upon this, the Jews left the feast, and marched, though it was the Sabbath, to meet the Romans. The attack was furious and disorderly; but their numbers were so great that they broke the ranks of the Romans, and greatly endangered the safety of Cestius and his whole army. They were finally repulsed, with the loss, on the part of the Romans, of 515 men, of whom 400 were infantry; while the Jews, as Josephus says, lost only 22! The Romans retreated to Beth-horon; and the Jews, inspirited by this partial success, prepared for a siege. King Agrippa, who accompanied Cestius, now determined to try the effect of conciliation. He sent two persons, whom the Jews knew, with offers of entire forgiveness if they would lay down their arms. The attempt was vain. One of the messengers was killed; the other, badly wounded, escaped by timely flight. After three days, Cestius

[14] A Roman legion then consisted of five or six thousand infantry, with cavalry in the proportion of one to ten. Gibbon, chap. i. The Dict. de Trévoux, Art. Légion, on the authority of Isidore, L. ix. de Orig. c. iii., differs slightly from his computations. "La Légion étoit de six milles hommes, divisés en soixantes centuries, trente manipules, douze cohortes, et deux cens troupes."

[15] Joseph. Ibid. c. xviii. § 9—11.

[16] Reland, Palæst. vol. ii. p. 769.

again advanced, drove the Jews before him, and penetrated to Scopus, an elevation less than a mile from the city. Four days later, on the 16th of October, he gained possession of the lower city, called Bezetha. If he had then acted with energy, he might at once have put an end to the war; but several of his principal officers had been corrupted by Florus, and they dissuaded him from the attempt. Under the influence of Ananus, the son of Jonathan, many of the principal men of the upper city offered to open the gates to him; but Cestius, fearful of some treacherous design, delayed so long his acceptance of the offer, that the insurgents became aware of the plan, and threw Ananus and his party over the walls. The Romans then began to attack the northern wall of the temple, and on the sixth day were ready to burn its gate. Frightened at this, the insurgents made their escape, and the peaceable inhabitants were disposed to admit the Romans as benefactors. If Cestius had continued the siege a little longer, he would undoubtedly have been successful; but he suddenly recalled his soldiers, and, though his arms had met with no disgrace, despairingly retired from the city to his camp at Scopus. So surprising to all, and so unaccountable, was this conduct, that Josephus attributes it to the intervention of God's wrath. "I suppose," he observes, "that on account of those wicked men, God became averse to his holy things; and so forbade the war to terminate on that day."[17] He little knew how much meaning there was in his words. His wicked nation were now suffering for the blood they had brought upon themselves and their children. Their worship had become an abomination; for it no longer represented the death of the Incarnate Redeemer.

This unexpected retreat roused the courage of the robbers, while it mortified and dispirited the Roman army. After remaining one night at Scopus, he continued his retreat to his former camp at Gabao. This invited the Jews to follow, and

[17] Jos. de Bel. lib. ii. c. xix. § 6.

harass his rear. The Romans, afraid of breaking their ranks, were terribly galled by the immense multitudes who hovered around them. With difficulty did they reach Gabao, though it was only seven miles distant, with the loss of some of their bravest officers, and a considerable part of their baggage. Cestius stopped two days; but finding his enemies constantly increase, began a more rapid retreat, which ended in a panic flight. All that could be spared was thrown away. The mules and other beasts of burthen, excepting those which carried their darts and military engines, were slain. In passing between the hills, on their way to Beth-horon, the heights above and the narrow gorges were lined with foes, who assailed them in every direction with darts and other missiles, while they could neither defend themselves nor fly. Cries of despair were forced from the bravest, and mingled with the lamentations of the wounded and the groans of the dying. Four hundred of the most courageous were left in the fortifications at Beth-horon, while the rest fled by night towards Antipatris. The 400 were slain to a man; and the loss of the Romans, when they arrived at Antipatris, amounted to 5300 foot and 380 horsemen. The Jews, finding they could not overtake them, turned back at Antipatris, having sustained very little loss; and, collecting the scattered weapons and engines, and stripping the dead bodies, finally entered Jerusalem with songs of triumph. This signal defeat of the Roman arms took place on the 24th of October, the eleventh day of the thirteenth year of Nero.[18]

"After this calamity of Cestius," says Josephus, "many of the most illustrious Jews departed from the city as from a sinking ship." Our Lord had warned his disciples in a manner which they could not mistake: "When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judæa flee to

[18] Josephus says the twelfth year; but as Nero began to reign on the 14th of October, his twelfth year ended on the thirteenth of that month, in the consulship of Telesinus and Suetonius, A. v. Æ. 65.

the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto. For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled."[19] The Romans, who were "the leader people" predicted by Daniel, were to come and "destroy both the city and the sanctuary."[20] To this prophecy our Lord alluded when he spake of the fulfilment of all things; and the sudden cessation, occasioned by the flight of Cestius, was a visitation of mercy to the Christians, who were chiefly of the better informed and most thoughtful and peaceable classes of society. King Agrippa, himself inclined to Christianity, at peace with the Romans, and dwelling in his capital of Cæsarea Philippi, furnished a near and safe retreat. Pella, a city of the Decapolis, was within his territory; and thither, as ancient writers testify,[21] the Jewish Christians retired. Their flight was *before the winter*, the only time when Jerusalem was not thenceforth compassed with armies. Not one was left to endure the desolating storm; and this flight we assign to the months of Marchesvan and Casleu, between the 24th of October and the 14th of December, about thirty-seven and a half years after our Lord's crucifixion, and thirty-four years after the expiration of the seventy weeks of Daniel.

A. J. P. 4778.
A. V. Æ. 65.
A. J. C. 71.
Nero 13.

V.

Cestius hastened to Antioch, where he was soon joined by two distinguished Jews of the moderate party, and by Philip, the son of Jacimus, the general of king Agrippa's army. They had effected their escape from Jerusalem while the Zealots were still in pursuit of the flying Romans. These three he sent immediately with despatches to the emperor, who was then in Achaia, to exculpate himself, and throw all

[19] St. Luke xxi. 20—22.
[20] See Period v. chap. i. pp. 249, 250, Dan. ix. 26, and note, p. 250.
[21] Euseb. lib. iii. c. v.

the blame upon Florus. What became of both these despicable men is uncertain. It has been inferred, from an expression of Suetonius, that Florus was slain;[22] while Cestius is said, by Tacitus, to have died of disease or vexation.[23] On receiving this intelligence, Nero was filled with consternation, which he vainly endeavoured to conceal. Under his unsteady helm, the empire, violently tossed, and reeling and creaking at every joint, seemed ready to sink amid the impetuous and boiling billows. If so small a nation as the Jews were not subdued, the consequences of such disgrace might be incalculable. He had thrown the blame, not upon his army, but upon their officers; and it was all-important that he should now select a general adequate to the emergency. His choice fell upon Vespasian; a man whom he disliked, but who was with him in Achaia, and might therefore be sent without delay. He was in disgrace, because, when Nero sang, he would fall asleep or leave the theatre; but he was brave, experienced, and skilful; energetic, and yet prudent; possessed of great personal influence over his soldiers; and yet of too obscure a family to be dangerous for his ambition. Such was the general whom Nero appointed to be the minister of God's vengeance, and thereby to secure a throne from which he himself, as a monster of wickedness, was soon to be hurled.

Vespasian had no sooner received the appointment, than he ordered his eldest son, Titus, to proceed instantly to Alexandria for the fifth and tenth legions, who were among the flower of the Roman army; while he himself left Achaia for Thrace, crossed the Hellespont, and with eight bodies of horse, and ten cohorts of infantry,[24] marched into Syria. Here he spent the winter in the most active and incessant preparations for the coming war. Titus was no less vigilant

[22] Vespas. 4. "Judæi . . . . rebellarunt, cæsoque Præposito, legatum insuper Syriæ consularem suppetias ferentem, rapta Aquila fugaverunt."

[23] Tacit. Hist. lib. v. 10. Cestium Gallum Syriæ legatum . . . . . qui ubi fato, aut tædio occidit.

[24] Suet. ut sup. octo alis, cohortibus decem.

and indefatigable. He and his army marched from Alexandria along the Mediterranean, enduring all the inclemencies of the season, and with such rapid movements, that he arrived in Ptolemais, which was to be the centre of operations, long before his father expected him.

In the mean time, the Jews were preparing to defend themselves to the last extremity. They had offended the Roman pride, and could expect from them no mercy. Excepting the Idumæans, no nation around them was friendly. Agrippa, and the neighbouring kings of Commagene and Emesa, were in arms against them. Malichus, the king of Arabia, had sent to Vespasian 1000 horse, and 5000 foot. A disciplined and well-appointed army of 60,000 men, commanded by well-chosen officers, presented a danger so formidable as for a while to quell the contentions of parties by which they were distracted. They distributed their whole territory under able generals. The two Galilees, where the war was sure to begin, were confided to Josephus, the historian; and all the strong places they contained were fortified and garrisoned by him with consummate skill. To this able general and candid writer are we indebted for the description of events which he saw with his own eyes, or heard of at the time from authentic sources. His narrative is the more valuable, because, after his capture, he was continually with the Roman army; and yet, as a priest and a patriot, he was feelingly alive to the true interests of his nation, while he deplored its errors and its crimes.

A. J. P. 4779.
A. V. Æ. 66.
A. J. C. 72.
Nero 13.

Sepphoris or Dio-Cæsarea, nearly east of Ptolemais, had been fortified by Josephus with great care, as the key to Galilee, and the most important of its strongholds. He had, as he thought, rendered it impregnable; but the inhabitants, of their own accord, threw open their gates, and not only admitted the Romans peaceably, but engaged to fight under them against their own countrymen. This was a most important event for the Romans; for it advanced the base of their oper-

ations into the enemy's country, and enabled them to guard their rear, and receive constant supplies from the sea-coast. A sense of its importance induced Josephus to attempt its recovery; but the inhabitants were against him, and he was repulsed with loss. This so dispirited his soldiers, that he retired to Tiberias, the seat of his government, while a strong body of Romans, under Placidus, overran the upper Galilee, with fire and sword. Vespasian had two objects in view: to terrify the inhabitants into submission; or, if that failed, to carry on a war of extirpation, beginning at the extremities, and gradually approaching on all sides, until Jerusalem should be hemmed in by his armies. But the example of Sepphoris was not followed by any other city of Galilee; and Vespasian, though naturally clement, was obliged to yield to the ferocity and thirst for vengeance which animated alike the Romans and their auxiliaries. Jotapata, a strong fortress on a rock surrounded with deep valleys, and accessible only from the north,[25] was in vain attacked by Placidus. Vespasian determined to reduce it; and, for that purpose, sent a party of horse and foot to level the road, and make it practicable for his whole army. They began the work on the 29th of April, and finished it in four days. But on the 2d of May, Josephus, cognizant of his design, threw himself into the fortress with succours from Tiberias, and roused the fainting spirits of the garrison. The Roman general was no less elated by the intelligence; for he hoped to secure the person of the Jewish commander, and thus bring the war in Galilee to a speedy termination. He therefore followed, the next day, with his whole army, and pitched his camp upon a hill about seven furlongs to the north of the city. For the details of this memorable siege, we must refer to the historian. The whole month of May was spent in unsuccessful attempts to reduce the place by assault or famine. The army at length became so tired, that Vespasian thought it prudent, by way of diversion,

[25] Reland, vol. ii. p. 868.

to send Trajan, who then commanded the tenth legion, and who was afterwards emperor, against the neighbouring city of Japha. He invested it with 1000 horse and 2000 foot soldiers. Japha was naturally strong, and secured by a double wall; but the Jews made a sally, and were repulsed; and the Romans, entering with them, shut the gates of the first wall, while their own people within the second wall shut its gates against them. Thus enclosed, they were butchered without mercy, to the number of 12,000. Trajan now sent to the general, that he might complete the victory; and he sent Titus, with a reinforcement of 1000 foot and 500 horse. The second wall was scaled on the 5th of June, and a fierce battle ensued in the streets. After a fight of six hours, in which the women engaged as well as the men, all were put to death, excepting 2130 women and infants, who were taken captive and sold as slaves. The whole number of slain amounted to 15,000.

A similar expedition was sent, under Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, against the Samaritans, who had exhibited signs of revolt. They had assembled in great numbers on Mount Gerizim; and could not be persuaded, though suffering from want of water and the extreme heat of the season, to lay down their arms. Cerealis ascended the mountain on the 7th of June, and slew them all, to the number of 12,600. Encouraged by these successes, the Romans returned with new vigour to the siege of Jotapata, which was finally taken by surprise on the 10th of June. A deserter advised the Romans to attack them in the last watch of the night, when, spent with fatigue and hardships, most of them would be buried in sleep. A dark mist favoured the enterprise; and the Romans had climbed up the walls, and surprised the guards, without being discovered. An indiscriminate slaughter ensued. They were put to the sword, or hurled from the precipices. Josephus alone escaped, by leaping into a deep pit, connected with an unseen cavern. Forty of the

principal men had here secreted themselves, with provisions for a few days. They were at length discovered, and, in their despair, cast lots who should be first slain. Providentially, the last lot fell upon Josephus. He was promised life and safety if he would surrender, and he obtained the like conditions for his only surviving companion. The whole length of time, from the commencement of operations against Jotapata to the surrender of Josephus, was forty-seven days; and in this time more than 40,000 Jews were destroyed.[26]

VI.

Upper Galilee being now in the power of the Romans, Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, and thence proceeded to Cæsarea, with a view of forming a line of communication across from that city to Scythopolis, the frontier town of the lower Galilee. These two places he designed to make the next winter quarters of his army. By a strange infatuation, if it were not a divine judgment, the cities of Tiberias and Tarichæa took that moment to rebel. The former, in which the men of authority were disposed to be submissive, was soon pardoned, at the intercession of king Agrippa, on the expulsion of the insurgents. These fled to Tarichæa, a strong city built on the western side of the Jordan, where it issues from the lake of Gennesareth. Washed by the waters of the lake on one side, and lying on the slope of a hill, it had been fortified by Josephus on the land side, while the inhabitants had many vessels, by which, if necessary, they could escape. They were, however, peaceably disposed, but overpowered by

[26] In this manner I reconcile the apparently conflicting statements of the historian. He says expressly that the whole time was forty-seven days; yet the period from the 21st of Artemisius, or May 2d, when Josephus entered Jotapata, to the first day of Panemus, or June 10th, when it was taken, did not exceed forty days. The remaining seven may have included the first attack under Placidus, the four days of preparation for the march of Vespasian's army, and a day or two after its capture for the final surrender of Josephus. On the fourth of Panemus, or June 13th, A. V. Æ. 66, Vespasian returned to Ptolemais. Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. iii. c. vi. to ix.

the strangers, who manned the fortifications with blind desperation and ungovernable fury. The city held out for a fortnight, and was finally taken on the 15th of August. A council of war was called to discriminate the foreigners from the inhabitants. Vespasian presided, and was himself inclined to clemency; but he yielded to the exasperation of the army, and suffered them to violate his promises. It was the greatest and darkest blot upon his conduct during the whole war. The old and useless, twelve hundred in number, were butchered. Six thousand of the strongest young men were sent to Nero, in Achaia, to dig through the isthmus. Thirty thousand four hundred were sold as slaves. Six thousand five hundred had been killed during the siege. With the fall of Tarichæa, both the Galilees, Gischala and Mount Tabor excepted, returned to their obedience.

The Romans now crossed the Jordan to attack Gamala, which was situated, in relation to the lake and the river, like Tarichæa, but, from its peculiar position, was almost inaccessible. It was seated upon a high rock, bounded by precipices; and it had two eminences resembling the humps of a camel, from which it derived its name. The valour of Vespasian's army was here severely tested. Great numbers perished; and the prudent general thought it necessary to relax operations, and divert their attention to minor objects, as he had done at Jotapata. Placidus was sent, with six hundred horsemen, to reduce the insurgents on Mount Tabor. This he accomplished by stratagem; slew a great number, compelled the rest to flee to Jerusalem, and returned without loss to Gamala. This raised the spirit of the army, and they renewed their attacks with increased vigour. In the mean time, a scarcity of provisions began to discourage the people of Gamala. Many of the boldest made their escape by secret passages, while the weaker and the more timid died of disease and famine. Chares, one of their commanders, was so ill, that anxiety and disease rendered the issue doubtful. Still,

they held out till the 28th of September, when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion succeeded in undermining secretly a high tower full of men. It fell suddenly, with great noise, bringing down its guards headlong, and so terrifying all the men-at-arms that they deserted their posts, and fled in every direction. Chares expired at the shock, and Joseph, the other commander, was at the same time killed with a dart. The Romans, however, rendered cautious by former sufferings, did not enter the city till the next day. They fell upon the miserable and defenceless inhabitants without mercy, sparing neither age nor sex. Four thousand were killed with the sword; five thousand were thrown from the precipices, and perished in the deep valleys beneath. Not even infants were spared. Two women only escaped, by concealment during the first burst of fury. They were the daughters of Philip, who has been already named as king Agrippa's general; and to that parentage they probably owed their preservation.

No place now remained to be subdued in Galilee but Gischala. The inhabitants of that small city were principally husbandmen, and therefore peaceful; but a crafty, unprincipled and turbulent native, who went therefore by the name of John of Gischala, held the command there, and compelled them to resist. Vespasian sent Titus against them, with a thousand horse. The expedition was successful, excepting that John effected his escape by stratagem. "It was the work of God," says Josephus; "for John was reserved to be the destruction of Jerusalem."[27] His utter disregard of all virtue was shown even in this flight. He persuaded a large number of unarmed men, women and children, to escape under the protection of himself and his followers, and then deserted them on the road. The Roman horsemen, whom Titus sent in pursuit, not being able to overtake John, vented their fury on this innocent multitude. Six thousand were slain, and three thousand brought back as prisoners, to suffer,

[27] De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. ii. § 3.

doubtless, a more ignominious fate. With these transactions ended the thirteenth year of Nero. Vespasian returned to Cæsarea with two legions, and sent the tenth, under Trajan, to Scythopolis. Titus, having placed a garrison in Gischala, joined his father at Cæsarea; and all further operations, excepting on the sea-coast, were suspended. Joppa, the ordinary place of embarkation from Jerusalem, had been destroyed soon after the capture of Jotapata. All that remained was the citadel, in which a small Roman garrison was kept.[28] The ports of Jamnia and Azotus were now secured, their Jewish inhabitants removed, and Roman garrisons placed in them. Thus the whole coast of Palestine, from Syria to Egypt, was completely in the power of the Romans. The north and west being thus secured, the east and the south were left for another campaign.[29] We may turn, therefore, and consider the condition of Jerusalem, and the internal disorders of the Jewish nation.

VII.

Upon the arrival of John of Gischala and his companions, the short, and hot, and quick breathing of the fugitives, showed the rapidity of their flight, and their panic fears; yet John assumed a boastful tone, affected to despise the Romans, and urged the people to greater fury. These inflammatory speeches had much effect upon the young; the aged and experienced foresaw the issue, and were filled with the most gloomy forebodings. The high-priesthood had been already vilified by the caprice of state interference; but it was now to undergo a still lower degradation. The robbers, who had taken the title of Zealots, determined to put down all rule and authority but their own. Ananus, the oldest of the living high priests; Gorion, the son of Joseph; Jesus, the son of Gamalas; and Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, were the heads of the Sanhedrim. Three persons, of royal lineage, Antipas,

[28] De Bel. Jud. lib. iii. c. ix. § 4. [29] De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. iii. § 2.

Livias, and Sophas, were the chief men among the people who upheld the supreme authority of the Sanhedrim as being then the only legitimate executive. These it was necessary to remove. Antipas was the most powerful, and had charge of the public treasury. Him the Zealots imprisoned, and secretly murdered. The other two soon shared the same fate. A vague charge was brought against them of having conferred with the Romans for the surrender of Jerusalem. Many other men of influence were either murdered, or set at variance among themselves by various artifices, so as to be incapable of opposition. The lower classes were coerced by terror. Thus prepared, they next determined to change the order of succession hitherto observed, and put a man into the high-priesthood whom they could make their servile instrument. They sent into the country for an obscure course of priests, and cast lots which of them should have the pontificate. As if in mockery of their wickedness, the lot fell upon Phannias, a man so ignorant and imbecile, that, when invested with the sacred garments, the Zealots were obliged to teach him what he was to do. A high priest taught to perform his functions by robbers and murderers, was the lowest stage of infamy to which a son of Aaron could be reduced. This horrid sacrilege was, to the Zealots, an occasion of rude jest and ribaldry ; but to the priests, and to all who valued the law, it was a sight which caused bitter tears. Even the most unthinking were shocked. The spirit of popular indignation was effectually roused. The high priests exhorted them to shake off this frightful tyranny, by expelling these profane wretches from the temple and the city. In answer to a stirring speech of the venerable Ananus, who, at the beginning of the revolt, had been appointed the chief governor of the city, they, with loud cries, demanded to be led by him to the combat. While he was marshalling them for this purpose, the Zealots learned, by their spies, what was going on, and determined, by a sudden sally, to defeat the design. They were driven back,

however, by the force of numbers. The people rushed with them into the court of the Gentiles, and they were compelled to retreat into that of the Jews. The high priest, fearing to pollute that enclosure with blood, would not attempt to force the gates, but contented himself with placing a guard of six thousand well armed men to prevent their egress. These were relieved at stated intervals; and thus, for several days and nights, they were confined with great vigilance. In the mean time, the perfidious John of Gischala pretended to take part with the high priest Ananus and the people. He dextrously obtained the knowledge of their most secret plans, and then privately revealed them to the Zealots. Being suspected of this treachery, he purged himself by oath, with such apparent sincerity, that he was even sent to the Zealots, with the offer of favourable terms, if they would capitulate. Instead of faithfully executing this commission, he hinted the necessity of their obtaining external aid, and assisted two fleet messengers to escape with letters to the Idumæans. An army of twenty thousand men was instantly raised, who invested the city, before the high priests and the people knew aught of the treason. They had barely time to shut the gates, and endeavour, by speeches from the city walls, to persuade and pacify these formidable intruders. The night after their arrival, a fearful thunder-storm broke over Jerusalem. The rain fell in torrents; the wind was loud and boisterous; the darkness, interrupted only by vivid flashes of lightning, was rendered thereby only the more profound. It seemed as if no living man could brave this war of elements. Yet the Idumæans protected themselves with their shields, and suffered little; while the streets of the city were deserted, and the guards, which had generally been visited every hour, were, on this night, allowed to sleep, without inspection, and in fancied security. Though ignorant of this advantage, the Zealots in the temple determined to saw the bars of one of its gates, and let themselves out. The howling of the storm was

such, that even if the guards had been vigilant, the creaking of the saws would have been unheard. The robbers stole out into the city, and were astonished to find it unguarded. They applied their saws, as they had done before in the temple, and opened the gate nearest to the Idumæans. The latter now entered cautiously with them, so as not to alarm the inhabitants, and proceeded to release the Zealots from their confinement in the court of the Jews. The slaughter of the people in the court of the Gentiles now began. The whole of this outer temple was overflowed with blood. The day dawned, and exhibited the frightful spectacle of eight thousand five hundred human bodies weltering in their own gore. This done, the thirst for vengeance was first slacked in the blood of the high priests, Ananus and Jesus. The bodies of those venerable men were thrown out, unburied, to be devoured as carrion. "I should not err," says Josephus, "if I were to date the destruction of the city from the death of Ananus. . . . If he had lived, there might have been an amicable arrangement. . . . but I suppose that God, having condemned the polluted city to destruction, and willing to purify his holy places with fire, cut off those who defended and tenderly loved them."[30] The number of the common people who were afterwards slain exceeded twelve thousand; and the men of eminence, who at first were spared, in hopes of their joining the Zealots, were unmercifully tortured when they were found to be inflexible. Even the Idumæans were touched with pity, repented of their interference, and, to the surprise of all parties, left the city and returned home. But Jerusalem was now in the power of the Zealots; and they continued to destroy with impunity all whom they feared or envied.

VIII.

By the continual flight of persons who contrived, by bribery, to escape from this tyranny, Vespasian was kept

[30] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. v. § 2.

informed of all these transactions. His officers urged him to march immediately to Jerusalem; but their wiser general soon convinced them that it was better to leave the Jews to destroy one another. He therefore lay still, with his army, and did not recommence his operations till the month of February, in the last year of Nero.[31] On the fifth of that month he entered Gadara, the metropolis of Peræa. As the inhabitants, generally, submitted, and, in token of that submission, demolished their walls, he left a small Roman garrison to protect the place; ordered Placidus to pursue the insurgents, who fled before him, to prevent their gaining any of the villages; and then returned himself to Cæsarea. The whole country, on the other side of Jordan, was soon subdued, as far as Machærus, the southern frontier. The Romans slew, without mercy, all who resisted; and both the Jordan and the Asphaltic lake were covered with the slain. Fifteen thousand were killed in battle, and two thousand two hundred taken prisoners; while those who, to avoid the Roman cruelty, unwillingly leaped into the Jordan, and were drowned by its swollen current, were innumerable.

A. J. P. 4780.
A. V. Æ. 67.
A. J. C. 73.
Nero 14.

While Peræa was thus subdued by Placidus, Vespasian heard, at Cæsarea, that the Gauls, under Vindex, had revolted from Nero. This news determined him to press the war in Judæa with greater vigour, that he might be ready for any emergency of Rome or the empire. He marched, therefore, in the beginning of spring, to Antipatris, and thence, through Lydda and Jamnia, towards Idumæa. Thus the whole mountainous country of Judæa was overrun and laid waste. He then returned to Nicopolis, or Emmaus, where he had previously fortified his camp and left the fifth legion. Thence he crossed to Jericho, where he arrived on the 2d of June. Here he was joined by Trajan, with all the forces from Peræa.

[31] There were in that year thirteen lunations, which made the Passover fall as late as the middle of April. The fourth of the Syro-Macedonian month, Dystrus, which corresponded with the Hebrew Adar, fell on the fifth of February.

Jerusalem was now surrounded on all sides with fortified towns, garrisoned by Romans or their auxiliaries; and all liberty of removing from it was taken away, excepting to such as would voluntarily and unconditionally submit. Even to these it was difficult; for any attempt to escape to the Romans was at the hazard of being slain by the Zealots. Vespasian, therefore, returned to Cæsarea, intending to retrace his steps immediately, and invest the city. But, as he was preparing to march, he received the news of Nero's death, which happened on the 9th of June. This induced him to delay the expedition till he should learn who would next obtain the empire. Afterwards, when he heard that Galba was proclaimed, he thought it proper to send his son Titus to salute the new emperor, and receive his commands. Titus and king Agrippa sailed together, but their voyage was in the winter; and as they came near the coasts of Achaia, they received the news that Galba was slain. King Agrippa continued on his journey; but Titus, "by divine inspiration," says Josephus, returned from Greece to Syria, and rejoined his father at Cæsarea. Galba was slain on the 15th of January, and on the 1st of the following July, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor at Alexandria. He was not, however, securely seated on the throne until after the death of Vitellius, which took place on the 21st of December, in that year.[32] This good news Vespasian heard at Alexandria. It was "just at the close of winter," says Josephus, "when he prepared to depart for Rome."[33] He then gave the command of the war, for the destruction of Jerusalem, to his son, Titus, who marched, with a select force of two thousand men, from Alexandria to Cæsarea, early in the following spring. These circumstances are sufficient to account for the inactivity of the Roman army in Judæa for nearly two years.[34]

A. J. P. 4782.
A. V. Æ. 69.
A. J. C. 75
Vespasian 1.

[32] See Chron. Introd. pp. 315—319.

[33] De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. xi. § 5.

[34] That is, from June, A. V. Æ. 67, to the beginning of March, A. V. Æ. 69, when Titus must have arrived at Cæsarea. Josephus (De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. xi. last section) gives a curious detail of his progress from Alexandria to Cæsarea.

Titus assumed the command nearly forty-one years after our Lord's crucifixion.

IX.

We are now to consider the condition of Jerusalem during the same period. There was among the Zealots one Simon, the son of Gioras, a native of Gerasa, who had gathered together a body of insurgents, and plundered the toparchy of Acrabatene. Against him, Ananus, and the other rulers of Jerusalem, had sent an armed force, which compelled him to take refuge, with his followers, among the Sicarii, at Masada. Here he continued till the high priest Ananus, and his other adversaries, had been slain, in the manner above related; after which he left Masada and went into the hill-country. He there "proclaimed liberty to all slaves, and rewards to all freemen, and thus collected bad men together from every quarter."[35] His forces constantly increased. Not only slaves and robbers, but men of power, whom he had corrupted, and great numbers of the populace, who preferred his service to that of the tyrants within the city, flocked to his standard; so that he soon overran the toparchy of Acrabatene, extended his ravages into Idumæa, and openly threatened an assault upon Jerusalem. The Zealots within the city, alarmed at his progress, went forth to give him battle. Simon slew a great number of them, and compelled the rest to retreat within the walls; but did not feel strong enough to scale such formidable ramparts, or to sustain himself, if successful, among so many foes. As he had now 20,000 armed men, he determined, first, to attack and subdue Idumæa. After an obstinate conflict, that country was betrayed by one of its commanders;

He first marched twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, from Alexandria to Nicopolis. Here he embarked his forces in war-galleys on the Nile, and proceeded through the Mendesian Nome to Thmuis, where he landed. Thence he proceeded the first day to Tanis, the second to Heracleopolis, the third to Pelusium. There he rested two days, and thence, in nine successive days, to Cæsarea. The whole must have occupied more than a fortnight. The stations may be easily seen in D'Anville's map.

[35] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. xxii. 2, comp. with lib. iv. c. ix. §§ 3—8.

and Simon, without further bloodshed, became its master. Beside his heavy-armed soldiers, his army was now swollen to 40,000, who could plunder and ravage, though they were irregular and undisciplined. Josephus compares the invading force to locusts. Everything behind them was destroyed. Simon now turned toward Jerusalem; and the Zealots, afraid to meet him in open combat, endeavoured by secret ambush to surprise him. They succeeded in taking captive his favourite wife and her attendants; but this only chafed him into more ungovernable fury. Like a wounded beast of prey, he rent in pieces and devoured the innocent whom he overtook, because he could not reach the hunter who had pierced him. The old and unarmed, who came out of the city to gather herbs or sticks, were tortured and destroyed, or sent back mutilated, as monuments of his rage. He commanded them to say that "Simon swore by God, the inspector of all, to break down the walls and inflict similar punishment, indiscriminately, upon all the inhabitants, if his wife were not speedily delivered up to him." Terrified at this threat, the Zealots, as well as the people, complied with his demand; and Simon, for a time, though very transiently, relaxed his cruelty. He turned back to Idumæa, and forced great numbers of its peaceable inhabitants to fly for safety to Jerusalem. He then followed them thither, and again encompassed the walls, slaying all the labourers who approached the city from the country. Thus were the Idumæans punished for the part they had taken in the death of Ananus and his companions.

The Zealots within the walls were now divided into two factions: the one comprised the leaders and their partisans as they were before the arrival of John of Gischala, and may, therefore, be called the old party; the other, were the adherents of John, who, after the death of Ananus, was evidently aiming at monarchy. Where there is no love of God or man, self-preservation and self-interest are the only bonds of society. Mistrust of motives, mutual jealousies and fears, inev-

itably exist among bad men; and are always more conspicuous and more enfeebling in an oligarchy than in a monarchy. This gave John an advantage over them, which he was not slow in exercising. Shrewd, bold and active,—unscrupulous as to the means of accomplishing his ends,—of winning manners and seductive eloquence, and, at the same time, imperious and persevering,—he soon gathered around him the most wicked and daring of the robbers, and exercised over their minds the most unlimited control. The Galilean insurgents, as they were driven into Jerusalem by the Romans, like tigers driven from their lairs into a narrow circle, at a royal eastern hunt, always became his followers. Thus he greatly out-numbered the old party; and kept them in a state of perpetual siege within the Jewish court, or inner precincts of the temple. They had, however, one advantage over him, in their elevated position and strong walls, which enabled them to attack him, with great effect and little risk, from above. He was similarly situated with regard to the lower city, having in his possession the court of the Gentiles and the outer cloisters. As long as he himself was obeyed, he cared nothing for the miseries inflicted upon others. He therefore indulged his followers in the most unbridled excesses. They roamed among the peaceable inhabitants, disguised as women, but carrying arms under their garments. They plundered dwellings, abused women and children, and, if their husbands and fathers resisted, murdered them. If any persons attempted to escape from the tyrant within the walls, they fell into the hands of the tyrant without. Simon was, if anything, better than John; for he had not his craft, and was superior to him in bodily strength and courage. It was determined, therefore, in an assembly of the people, to throw open the gates to him and his followers; and the high priest, Matthias, was sent to make terms with him, and put him in possession of the upper city. In a lordly manner, he took them under his protection; and "in the third year of the war," says Josephus, A. J. P. 4751. A. V. Æ. 68. A. J. C. 74.

"in the month Xanthicus, did Simon thus get possession of Jerusalem."[36] The peaceable inhabitants soon found, to their cost, that Simon was as much *their* enemy as he was the enemy of the Zealots, from whom they wished to be delivered. "God," says Josephus, "turned their counsels to evil; and they contrived a remedy worse than death itself."

X.

From this time there was perpetual fighting in the temple and in the streets. The Romans were lying inactive in their camps; and the miserable inhabitants of Jerusalem began to wish for their approach, as a less evil than the merciless barbarities of the Zealots. The old party in the temple, headed by the priest, Eleazar, though far inferior in numbers, were more than sufficient to man the walls, and were well provided for with all necessary stores. The provisions for sacred uses were abundant; and they scrupled not to take them for their own support. The priests performed their daily ministrations as usual, and all persons who wished to offer sacrifices were admitted, though with great precaution. But the conflict still went on with John of Gischala. Of the timber which king Agrippa had collected to complete the temple, John had formed engines for throwing darts, javelins, and stones, which greatly annoyed those who were above him. Oftentimes a priest, or a stranger who had come to worship at the altar, was slain by these missiles, as well as the impure and wicked wretches who had turned God's sanctuary into a for-

[36] De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. ix. § 12. The war commenced, as we have seen, on the 16th of Artemisius, or the 8th of May, A. V. Æ. 65, in the twelfth year of Nero, (p. 536, note 5.) The third year of the war, therefore, began in May, A. V. Æ. 67, and ended in May, A. V. Æ. 68. The golden number of the latter year was xii. It was Bissextile, and its Sunday letters were C. B. Xanthicus corresponded with the first Hebrew month, Nisan, which extended that year from March 22d to April 19th, inclusive. As Simon, with his party, were probably admitted for the feast of the Passover, we may place his entrance on the tenth of Nisan, when the lambs for that sacrifice were brought annually into the city. It fell, that year, on the 31st of March, and the Passover began on Monday evening, the 1th of April.

tress. The pavement was flooded with gore, and the brazen altar sprinkled with blood of men; while dead bodies of priests, and worshippers, and Zealots, lay in heaps together, trodden upon by the feet of the living, and thus inflicting generally that legal pollution on things and persons which, by the express words of the law, rendered them unclean and abominable. On the other hand, John, in his frequent skirmishes with Simon, killed and wounded great numbers of his men, and also of the people who, under his orders, attacked the temple from beneath. When Eleazar and his Zealots, exhausted or inebriated, slackened their attacks upon him, John sallied into the city, and plundered and burned and slew with overwhelming fury. On one of these occasions, he set on fire the store-houses, in which large quantities of grain and other provisions were laid up. Simon, as if on purpose to serve the Romans, completed the destruction of these granaries and the provisions they contained, which were amply sufficient to sustain a siege of many years. Such was the state of things in Jerusalem early in the spring, when Titus arrived at Cæsarea.[37]

A. J. P. 4782.
A. V. Æ. 69.
A. J. C. 75.
Vespasian I.

It was now time for the Romans to advance upon Jerusalem. Titus broke up his winter quarters everywhere, and commenced his march. The Jewish historian was an eye-witness, and has given a clear account of the movements and discipline of the invading army. Signals were given by the sound of trumpets. At the first, they struck their tents and packed their equipage; at the second, they laid them on the sumpter mules and other beasts of burthen; at the third, every man, in his proper place, lifted his right hand and cried, "Ready;" at the fourth, they began their march. The auxiliaries went first. Then followed the pioneers, with all accoutrements necessary to render roads practicable, or to measure and lay out an encampment. Wherever they halted, it rose like an exhalation — a populous

[37] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. v. c. i.

city formed in a night. Then followed the baggage of the chief officers, and the heavy-armed men appointed to guard it. Titus himself came next, with a select body of troops and the lancers. The cavalry of that legion advanced next. All these came before the engines: that is, the balistæ, or immense cross-bows; and iron-headed javelins and darts; and the catapultæ, for throwing stones; and the battering-rams, of immense size and weight, to make breaches in the walls. After these came the tribunes with select forces, and leaders of the several cohorts with their men. Then came the ensigns, surrounding the great Roman eagle, the standard of the host, and before these went the trumpeters belonging to each legion. Then followed the phalanx, serried and broad, in six divisions. The servants of every legion, with the heavy baggage before them, and lastly the mercenaries and their guards, brought up their rear. During the march, the commander-in-chief, with his staff, preceded the host. It contained four legions; three which had served under Vespasian, and the twelfth, which had been so disgraced under Cestius, and was now burning with shame and anger to regain its lost honours, and revenge itself upon the Jews. All had been carefully and fully recruited from the 2000 who had marched from Alexandria, and 3000 drawn from the Euphrates. In addition to these, the fifth legion, lying at Nicopolis, and the tenth, at Jericho, were ordered to advance from their respective positions. The whole army, at a moderate estimate, must have exceeded 80,000 of all arms. Titus advanced through Samaria to Gophna, which had been taken by Vespasian, and was then occupied by a Roman garrison. There he staid one night, and thence, in two days, came to the valley of thorns, near Gabath-Saul, the ancient Gibeah of Saul, or Gibeah of Benjamin.[38] It was thirty stadia, or three miles and three quarters, from Jerusalem. Here he selected 600 horsemen, and

[38] 1 Sam. xiii. 2, 15, 16; xiv. 16; xv. 34. Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 810, comp. with p. 769.

the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto. For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled."[19] The Romans, who were "the leader people" predicted by Daniel, were to come and "destroy both the city and the sanctuary."[20] To this prophecy our Lord alluded when he spake of the fulfilment of all things; and the sudden cessation, occasioned by the flight of Cestius, was a visitation of mercy to the Christians, who were chiefly of the better informed and most thoughtful and peaceable classes of society. King Agrippa, himself inclined to Christianity, at peace with the Romans, and dwelling in his capital of Cæsarea Philippi, furnished a near and safe retreat. Pella, a city of the Decapolis, was within his territory; and thither, as ancient writers testify,[21] the Jewish Christians retired. Their flight was *before the winter*, the only time when Jerusalem was not thenceforth compassed with armies. Not one was left to endure the desolating storm; and this flight we assign to the months of Marchesvan and Casleu, between the 24th of October and the 14th of December, about thirty-seven and a half years after our Lord's crucifixion, and thirty-four years after the expiration of the seventy weeks of Daniel.

A. J. P. 4778.
A. V. Æ. 65.
A. J. C. 71.
Nero 13.

V.

Cestius hastened to Antioch, where he was soon joined by two distinguished Jews of the moderate party, and by Philip, the son of Jacimus, the general of king Agrippa's army. They had effected their escape from Jerusalem while the Zealots were still in pursuit of the flying Romans. These three he sent immediately with despatches to the emperor, who was then in Achaia, to exculpate himself, and throw all

[19] St. Luke xxi. 20—22.
[20] See Period v. chap. i. pp. 249, 250, Dan. ix. 26, and note, p. 250.
[21] Euseb. lib. iii. c. v.

the blame upon Florus. What became of both these despicable men is uncertain. It has been inferred, from an expression of Suetonius, that Florus was slain ;[22] while Cestius is said, by Tacitus, to have died of disease or vexation.[23] On receiving this intelligence, Nero was filled with consternation, which he vainly endeavoured to conceal. Under his unsteady helm, the empire, violently tossed, and reeling and creaking at every joint, seemed ready to sink amid the impetuous and boiling billows. If so small a nation as the Jews were not subdued, the consequences of such disgrace might be incalculable. He had thrown the blame, not upon his army, but upon their officers ; and it was all-important that he should now select a general adequate to the emergency. His choice fell upon Vespasian ; a man whom he disliked, but who was with him in Achaia, and might therefore be sent without delay. He was in disgrace, because, when Nero sang, he would fall asleep or leave the theatre ; but he was brave, experienced, and skilful ; energetic, and yet prudent ; possessed of great personal influence over his soldiers ; and yet of too obscure a family to be dangerous for his ambition. Such was the general whom Nero appointed to be the minister of God's vengeance, and thereby to secure a throne from which he himself, as a monster of wickedness, was soon to be hurled.

Vespasian had no sooner received the appointment, than he ordered his eldest son, Titus, to proceed instantly to Alexandria for the fifth and tenth legions, who were among the flower of the Roman army ; while he himself left Achaia for Thrace, crossed the Hellespont, and with eight bodies of horse, and ten cohorts of infantry,[24] marched into Syria. Here he spent the winter in the most active and incessant preparations for the coming war. Titus was no less vigilant

[22] Vespas. 4. "Judæi . . . . rebellarunt, cæsoque Præposito, legatum insuper Syriæ consularem suppetias ferentem, rapta Aquila fugaverunt."

[23] Tacit. Hist. lib. v. 10. Cestium Gallum Syriæ legatum . . . . . qui ubi fato, aut tædio occidit.

[24] Suet. ut sup. octo alis, cohortibus decem.

and indefatigable. He and his army marched from Alexandria along the Mediterranean, enduring all the inclemencies of the season, and with such rapid movements, that he arrived in Ptolemais, which was to be the centre of operations, long before his father expected him.

In the mean time, the Jews were preparing to defend themselves to the last extremity. They had offended the Roman pride, and could expect from them no mercy. Excepting the Idumæans, no nation around them was friendly. Agrippa, and the neighbouring kings of Commagene and Emesa, were in arms against them. Malichus, the king of Arabia, had sent to Vespasian 1000 horse, and 5000 foot. A disciplined and well-appointed army of 60,000 men, commanded by well-chosen officers, presented a danger so formidable as for a while to quell the contentions of parties by which they were distracted. They distributed their whole territory under able generals. The two Galilees, where the war was sure to begin, were confided to Josephus, the historian; and all the strong places they contained were fortified and garrisoned by him with consummate skill. To this able general and candid writer are we indebted for the description of events which he saw with his own eyes, or heard of at the time from authentic sources. His narrative is the more valuable, because, after his capture, he was continually with the Roman army; and yet, as a priest and a patriot, he was feelingly alive to the true interests of his nation, while he deplored its errors and its crimes.

A. J. P. 4779.
A. V. Æ. 66.
A. J. C. 72.
Nero 13.

Sepphoris or Dio-Cæsarea, nearly east of Ptolemais, had been fortified by Josephus with great care, as the key to Galilee, and the most important of its strongholds. He had, as he thought, rendered it impregnable; but the inhabitants, of their own accord, threw open their gates, and not only admitted the Romans peaceably, but engaged to fight under them against their own countrymen. This was a most important event for the Romans; for it advanced the base of their oper-

ations into the enemy's country, and enabled them to guard their rear, and receive constant supplies from the sea-coast. A sense of its importance induced Josephus to attempt its recovery; but the inhabitants were against him, and he was repulsed with loss. This so dispirited his soldiers, that he retired to Tiberias, the seat of his government, while a strong body of Romans, under Placidus, overran the upper Galilee, with fire and sword. Vespasian had two objects in view: to terrify the inhabitants into submission; or, if that failed, to carry on a war of extirpation, beginning at the extremities, and gradually approaching on all sides, until Jerusalem should be hemmed in by his armies. But the example of Sepphoris was not followed by any other city of Galilee; and Vespasian, though naturally clement, was obliged to yield to the ferocity and thirst for vengeance which animated alike the Romans and their auxiliaries. Jotapata, a strong fortress on a rock surrounded with deep valleys, and accessible only from the north,[25] was in vain attacked by Placidus. Vespasian determined to reduce it; and, for that purpose, sent a party of horse and foot to level the road, and make it practicable for his whole army. They began the work on the 29th of April, and finished it in four days. But on the 2d of May, Josephus, cognizant of his design, threw himself into the fortress with succours from Tiberias, and roused the fainting spirits of the garrison. The Roman general was no less elated by the intelligence; for he hoped to secure the person of the Jewish commander, and thus bring the war in Galilee to a speedy termination. He therefore followed, the next day, with his whole army, and pitched his camp upon a hill about seven furlongs to the north of the city. For the details of this memorable siege, we must refer to the historian. The whole month of May was spent in unsuccessful attempts to reduce the place by assault or famine. The army at length became so tired, that Vespasian thought it prudent, by way of diversion,

[25] Reland, vol. ii. p. 868.

to send Trajan, who then commanded the tenth legion, and who was afterwards emperor, against the neighbouring city of Japha. He invested it with 1000 horse and 2000 foot soldiers. Japha was naturally strong, and secured by a double wall; but the Jews made a sally, and were repulsed; and the Romans, entering with them, shut the gates of the first wall, while their own people within the second wall shut its gates against them. Thus enclosed, they were butchered without mercy, to the number of 12,000. Trajan now sent to the general, that he might complete the victory; and he sent Titus, with a reinforcement of 1000 foot and 500 horse. The second wall was scaled on the 5th of June, and a fierce battle ensued in the streets. After a fight of six hours, in which the women engaged as well as the men, all were put to death, excepting 2130 women and infants, who were taken captive and sold as slaves. The whole number of slain amounted to 15,000.

A similar expedition was sent, under Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, against the Samaritans, who had exhibited signs of revolt. They had assembled in great numbers on Mount Gerizim; and could not be persuaded, though suffering from want of water and the extreme heat of the season, to lay down their arms. Cerealis ascended the mountain on the 7th of June, and slew them all, to the number of 12,600. Encouraged by these successes, the Romans returned with new vigour to the siege of Jotapata, which was finally taken by surprise on the 10th of June. A deserter advised the Romans to attack them in the last watch of the night, when, spent with fatigue and hardships, most of them would be buried in sleep. A dark mist favoured the enterprise; and the Romans had climbed up the walls, and surprised the guards, without being discovered. An indiscriminate slaughter ensued. They were put to the sword, or hurled from the precipices. Josephus alone escaped, by leaping into a deep pit, connected with an unseen cavern. Forty of the

principal men had here secreted themselves, with provisions for a few days. They were at length discovered, and, in their despair, cast lots who should be first slain. Providentially, the last lot fell upon Josephus. He was promised life and safety if he would surrender, and he obtained the like conditions for his only surviving companion. The whole length of time, from the commencement of operations against Jotapata to the surrender of Josephus, was forty-seven days; and in this time more than 40,000 Jews were destroyed.[26]

VI.

Upper Galilee being now in the power of the Romans, Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, and thence proceeded to Cæsarea, with a view of forming a line of communication across from that city to Scythopolis, the frontier town of the lower Galilee. These two places he designed to make the next winter quarters of his army. By a strange infatuation, if it were not a divine judgment, the cities of Tiberias and Tarichæa took that moment to rebel. The former, in which the men of authority were disposed to be submissive, was soon pardoned, at the intercession of king Agrippa, on the expulsion of the insurgents. These fled to Tarichæa, a strong city built on the western side of the Jordan, where it issues from the lake of Gennesareth. Washed by the waters of the lake on one side, and lying on the slope of a hill, it had been fortified by Josephus on the land side, while the inhabitants had many vessels, by which, if necessary, they could escape. They were, however, peaceably disposed, but overpowered by

[26] In this manner I reconcile the apparently conflicting statements of the historian. He says expressly that the whole time was forty-seven days; yet the period from the 21st of Artemisius, or May 2d, when Josephus entered Jotapata, to the first day of Panemus, or June 10th, when it was taken, did not exceed forty days. The remaining seven may have included the first attack under Placidus, the four days of preparation for the march of Vespasian's army, and a day or two after its capture for the final surrender of Josephus. On the fourth of Panemus, or June 13th, A. V. Æ. 66, Vespasian returned to Ptolemais. Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. iii. c. vi. to ix.

the strangers, who manned the fortifications with blind desperation and ungovernable fury. The city held out for a fortnight, and was finally taken on the 15th of August. A council of war was called to discriminate the foreigners from the inhabitants. Vespasian presided, and was himself inclined to clemency; but he yielded to the exasperation of the army, and suffered them to violate his promises. It was the greatest and darkest blot upon his conduct during the whole war. The old and useless, twelve hundred in number, were butchered. Six thousand of the strongest young men were sent to Nero, in Achaia, to dig through the isthmus. Thirty thousand four hundred were sold as slaves. Six thousand five hundred had been killed during the siege. With the fall of Tarichæa, both the Galilees, Gischala and Mount Tabor excepted, returned to their obedience.

The Romans now crossed the Jordan to attack Gamala, which was situated, in relation to the lake and the river, like Tarichæa, but, from its peculiar position, was almost inaccessible. It was seated upon a high rock, bounded by precipices; and it had two eminences resembling the humps of a camel, from which it derived its name. The valour of Vespasian's army was here severely tested. Great numbers perished; and the prudent general thought it necessary to relax operations, and divert their attention to minor objects, as he had done at Jotapata. Placidus was sent, with six hundred horsemen, to reduce the insurgents on Mount Tabor. This he accomplished by stratagem; slew a great number, compelled the rest to flee to Jerusalem, and returned without loss to Gamala. This raised the spirit of the army, and they renewed their attacks with increased vigour. In the mean time, a scarcity of provisions began to discourage the people of Gamala. Many of the boldest made their escape by secret passages, while the weaker and the more timid died of disease and famine. Chares, one of their commanders, was so ill, that anxiety and disease rendered the issue doubtful. Still,

they held out till the 28th of September, when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion succeeded in undermining secretly a high tower full of men. It fell suddenly, with great noise, bringing down its guards headlong, and so terrifying all the men-at-arms that they deserted their posts, and fled in every direction. Chares expired at the shock, and Joseph, the other commander, was at the same time killed with a dart. The Romans, however, rendered cautious by former sufferings, did not enter the city till the next day. They fell upon the miserable and defenceless inhabitants without mercy, sparing neither age nor sex. Four thousand were killed with the sword; five thousand were thrown from the precipices, and perished in the deep valleys beneath. Not even infants were spared. Two women only escaped, by concealment during the first burst of fury. They were the daughters of Philip, who has been already named as king Agrippa's general; and to that parentage they probably owed their preservation.

No place now remained to be subdued in Galilee but Gischala. The inhabitants of that small city were principally husbandmen, and therefore peaceful; but a crafty, unprincipled and turbulent native, who went therefore by the name of John of Gischala, held the command there, and compelled them to resist. Vespasian sent Titus against them, with a thousand horse. The expedition was successful, excepting that John effected his escape by stratagem. "It was the work of God," says Josephus; "for John was reserved to be the destruction of Jerusalem."[27] His utter disregard of all virtue was shown even in this flight. He persuaded a large number of unarmed men, women and children, to escape under the protection of himself and his followers, and then deserted them on the road. The Roman horsemen, whom Titus sent in pursuit, not being able to overtake John, vented their fury on this innocent multitude. Six thousand were slain, and three thousand brought back as prisoners, to suffer,

[27] De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. ii. § 3.

doubtless, a more ignominious fate. With these transactions ended the thirteenth year of Nero. Vespasian returned to Cæsarea with two legions, and sent the tenth, under Trajan, to Scythopolis. Titus, having placed a garrison in Gischala, joined his father at Cæsarea; and all further operations, excepting on the sea-coast, were suspended. Joppa, the ordinary place of embarkation from Jerusalem, had been destroyed soon after the capture of Jotapata. All that remained was the citadel, in which a small Roman garrison was kept.[28] The ports of Jamnia and Azotus were now secured, their Jewish inhabitants removed, and Roman garrisons placed in them. Thus the whole coast of Palestine, from Syria to Egypt, was completely in the power of the Romans. The north and west being thus secured, the east and the south were left for another campaign.[29] We may turn, therefore, and consider the condition of Jerusalem, and the internal disorders of the Jewish nation.

VII.

Upon the arrival of John of Gischala and his companions, the short, and hot, and quick breathing of the fugitives, showed the rapidity of their flight, and their panic fears; yet John assumed a boastful tone, affected to despise the Romans, and urged the people to greater fury. These inflammatory speeches had much effect upon the young; the aged and experienced foresaw the issue, and were filled with the most gloomy forebodings. The high-priesthood had been already vilified by the caprice of state interference; but it was now to undergo a still lower degradation. The robbers, who had taken the title of Zealots, determined to put down all rule and authority but their own. Ananus, the oldest of the living high priests; Gorion, the son of Joseph; Jesus, the son of Gamalas; and Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, were the heads of the Sanhedrim. Three persons, of royal lineage, Antipas,

[28] De Bel. Jud. lib. iii. c. ix. § 4. [29] De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. iii. § 2.

Livias, and Sophas, were the chief men among the people who upheld the supreme authority of the Sanhedrim as being then the only legitimate executive. These it was necessary to remove. Antipas was the most powerful, and had charge of the public treasury. Him the Zealots imprisoned, and secretly murdered. The other two soon shared the same fate. A vague charge was brought against them of having conferred with the Romans for the surrender of Jerusalem. Many other men of influence were either murdered, or set at variance among themselves by various artifices, so as to be incapable of opposition. The lower classes were coerced by terror. Thus prepared, they next determined to change the order of succession hitherto observed, and put a man into the high-priesthood whom they could make their servile instrument. They sent into the country for an obscure course of priests, and cast lots which of them should have the pontificate. As if in mockery of their wickedness, the lot fell upon Phannias, a man so ignorant and imbecile, that, when invested with the sacred garments, the Zealots were obliged to teach him what he was to do. A high priest taught to perform his functions by robbers and murderers, was the lowest stage of infamy to which a son of Aaron could be reduced. This horrid sacrilege was, to the Zealots, an occasion of rude jest and ribaldry ; but to the priests, and to all who valued the law, it was a sight which caused bitter tears. Even the most unthinking were shocked. The spirit of popular indignation was effectually roused. The high priests exhorted them to shake off this frightful tyranny, by expelling these profane wretches from the temple and the city. In answer to a stirring speech of the venerable Ananus, who, at the beginning of the revolt, had been appointed the chief governor of the city, they, with loud cries, demanded to be led by him to the combat. While he was marshalling them for this purpose, the Zealots learned, by their spies, what was going on, and determined, by a sudden sally, to defeat the design. They were driven back,

however, by the force of numbers. The people rushed with them into the court of the Gentiles, and they were compelled to retreat into that of the Jews. The high priest, fearing to pollute that enclosure with blood, would not attempt to force the gates, but contented himself with placing a guard of six thousand well armed men to prevent their egress. These were relieved at stated intervals; and thus, for several days and nights, they were confined with great vigilance. In the mean time, the perfidious John of Gischala pretended to take part with the high priest Ananus and the people. He dextrously obtained the knowledge of their most secret plans, and then privately revealed them to the Zealots. Being suspected of this treachery, he purged himself by oath, with such apparent sincerity, that he was even sent to the Zealots, with the offer of favourable terms, if they would capitulate. Instead of faithfully executing this commission, he hinted the necessity of their obtaining external aid, and assisted two fleet messengers to escape with letters to the Idumæans. An army of twenty thousand men was instantly raised, who invested the city, before the high priests and the people knew aught of the treason. They had barely time to shut the gates, and endeavour, by speeches from the city walls, to persuade and pacify these formidable intruders. The night after their arrival, a fearful thunder-storm broke over Jerusalem. The rain fell in torrents; the wind was loud and boisterous; the darkness, interrupted only by vivid flashes of lightning, was rendered thereby only the more profound. It seemed as if no living man could brave this war of elements. Yet the Idumæans protected themselves with their shields, and suffered little; while the streets of the city were deserted, and the guards, which had generally been visited every hour, were, on this night, allowed to sleep, without inspection, and in fancied security. Though ignorant of this advantage, the Zealots in the temple determined to saw the bars of one of its gates, and let themselves out. The howling of the storm was

such, that even if the guards had been vigilant, the creaking of the saws would have been unheard. The robbers stole out into the city, and were astonished to find it unguarded. They applied their saws, as they had done before in the temple, and opened the gate nearest to the Idumæans. The latter now entered cautiously with them, so as not to alarm the inhabitants, and proceeded to release the Zealots from their confinement in the court of the Jews. The slaughter of the people in the court of the Gentiles now began. The whole of this outer temple was overflowed with blood. The day dawned, and exhibited the frightful spectacle of eight thousand five hundred human bodies weltering in their own gore. This done, the thirst for vengeance was first slacked in the blood of the high priests, Ananus and Jesus. The bodies of those venerable men were thrown out, unburied, to be devoured as carrion. "I should not err," says Josephus, "if I were to date the destruction of the city from the death of Ananus. . . . If he had lived, there might have been an amicable arrangement. . . . but I suppose that God, having condemned the polluted city to destruction, and willing to purify his holy places with fire, cut off those who defended and tenderly loved them."[30] The number of the common people who were afterwards slain exceeded twelve thousand; and the men of eminence, who at first were spared, in hopes of their joining the Zealots, were unmercifully tortured when they were found to be inflexible. Even the Idumæans were touched with pity, repented of their interference, and, to the surprise of all parties, left the city and returned home. But Jerusalem was now in the power of the Zealots; and they continued to destroy with impunity all whom they feared or envied.

VIII.

By the continual flight of persons who contrived, by bribery, to escape from this tyranny, Vespasian was kept

[30] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. v. § 2.

informed of all these transactions. His officers urged him to march immediately to Jerusalem; but their wiser general soon convinced them that it was better to leave the Jews to destroy one another. He therefore lay still, with his army, and did not recommence his operations till the month of February, in the last year of Nero.[31] On the fifth of that month he entered Gadara, the metropolis of Peræa. As the inhabitants, generally, submitted, and, in token of that submission, demolished their walls, he left a small Roman garrison to protect the place; ordered Placidus to pursue the insurgents, who fled before him, to prevent their gaining any of the villages; and then returned himself to Cæsarea. The whole country, on the other side of Jordan, was soon subdued, as far as Machærus, the southern frontier. The Romans slew, without mercy, all who resisted; and both the Jordan and the Asphaltic lake were covered with the slain. Fifteen thousand were killed in battle, and two thousand two hundred taken prisoners; while those who, to avoid the Roman cruelty, unwillingly leaped into the Jordan, and were drowned by its swollen current, were innumerable.

A. J. P. 4780.
A. V. Æ. 67.
A. J. C. 73.
Nero 14.

While Peræa was thus subdued by Placidus, Vespasian heard, at Cæsarea, that the Gauls, under Vindex, had revolted from Nero. This news determined him to press the war in Judæa with greater vigour, that he might be ready for any emergency of Rome or the empire. He marched, therefore, in the beginning of spring, to Antipatris, and thence, through Lydda and Jamnia, towards Idumæa. Thus the whole mountainous country of Judæa was overrun and laid waste. He then returned to Nicopolis, or Emmaus, where he had previously fortified his camp and left the fifth legion. Thence he crossed to Jericho, where he arrived on the 2d of June. Here he was joined by Trajan, with all the forces from Peræa.

[31] There were in that year thirteen lunations, which made the Passover fall as late as the middle of April. The fourth of the Syro-Macedonian month, Dystrus, which corresponded with the Hebrew Adar, fell on the fifth of February.

Jerusalem was now surrounded on all sides with fortified towns, garrisoned by Romans or their auxiliaries; and all liberty of removing from it was taken away, excepting to such as would voluntarily and unconditionally submit. Even to these it was difficult; for any attempt to escape to the Romans was at the hazard of being slain by the Zealots. Vespasian, therefore, returned to Cæsarea, intending to retrace his steps immediately, and invest the city. But, as he was preparing to march, he received the news of Nero's death, which happened on the 9th of June. This induced him to delay the expedition till he should learn who would next obtain the empire. Afterwards, when he heard that Galba was proclaimed, he thought it proper to send his son Titus to salute the new emperor, and receive his commands. Titus and king Agrippa sailed together, but their voyage was in the winter; and as they came near the coasts of Achaia, they received the news that Galba was slain. King Agrippa continued on his journey; but Titus, "by divine inspiration," says Josephus, returned from Greece to Syria, and rejoined his father at Cæsarea. Galba was slain on the 15th of January, and on the 1st of the following July, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor at Alexandria. He was not, however, securely seated on the throne until after the death of Vitellius, which took place on the 21st of December, in that year.[32] This good news Vespasian heard at Alexandria. It was "just at the close of winter," says Josephus, "when he prepared to depart for Rome."[33] He then gave the command of the war, for the destruction of Jerusalem, to his son, Titus, who marched, with a select force of two thousand men, from Alexandria to Cæsarea, early in the following spring. These circumstances are sufficient to account for the inactivity of the Roman army in Judæa for nearly two years.[34]

A. J. P. 4782.
A. V. Æ. 69.
A. J. C. 75
Vespasian 1.

[32] See Chron. Introd. pp. 315—319.

[33] De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. xi. § 5.

[34] That is, from June, A. V. Æ. 67, to the beginning of March, A. V. Æ. 69, when Titus must have arrived at Cæsarea. Josephus (De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. xi. last section) gives a curious detail of his progress from Alexandria to Cæsarea.

Titus assumed the command nearly forty-one years after our Lord's crucifixion.

IX.

We are now to consider the condition of Jerusalem during the same period. There was among the Zealots one Simon, the son of Gioras, a native of Gerasa, who had gathered together a body of insurgents, and plundered the toparchy of Acrabatene. Against him, Ananus, and the other rulers of Jerusalem, had sent an armed force, which compelled him to take refuge, with his followers, among the Sicarii, at Masada. Here he continued till the high priest Ananus, and his other adversaries, had been slain, in the manner above related; after which he left Masada and went into the hill-country. He there "proclaimed liberty to all slaves, and rewards to all freemen, and thus collected bad men together from every quarter."[35] His forces constantly increased. Not only slaves and robbers, but men of power, whom he had corrupted, and great numbers of the populace, who preferred his service to that of the tyrants within the city, flocked to his standard; so that he soon overran the toparchy of Acrabatene, extended his ravages into Idumæa, and openly threatened an assault upon Jerusalem. The Zealots within the city, alarmed at his progress, went forth to give him battle. Simon slew a great number of them, and compelled the rest to retreat within the walls; but did not feel strong enough to scale such formidable ramparts, or to sustain himself, if successful, among so many foes. As he had now 20,000 armed men, he determined, first, to attack and subdue Idumæa. After an obstinate conflict, that country was betrayed by one of its commanders;

He first marched twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, from Alexandria to Nicopolis. Here he embarked his forces in war-galleys on the Nile, and proceeded through the Mendesian Nome to Thmuis, where he landed. Thence he proceeded the first day to Tanis, the second to Heracleopolis, the third to Pelusium. There he rested two days, and thence, in nine successive days, to Cæsarea. The whole must have occupied more than a fortnight. The stations may be easily seen in D'Anville's map.

[35] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. xxii. 2, comp. with lib. iv. c. ix. §§ 3—8.

and Simon, without further bloodshed, became its master. Beside his heavy-armed soldiers, his army was now swollen to 40,000, who could plunder and ravage, though they were irregular and undisciplined. Josephus compares the invading force to locusts. Everything behind them was destroyed. Simon now turned toward Jerusalem; and the Zealots, afraid to meet him in open combat, endeavoured by secret ambush to surprise him. They succeeded in taking captive his favourite wife and her attendants; but this only chafed him into more ungovernable fury. Like a wounded beast of prey, he rent in pieces and devoured the innocent whom he overtook, because he could not reach the hunter who had pierced him. The old and unarmed, who came out of the city to gather herbs or sticks, were tortured and destroyed, or sent back mutilated, as monuments of his rage. He commanded them to say that "Simon swore by God, the inspector of all, to break down the walls and inflict similar punishment, indiscriminately, upon all the inhabitants, if his wife were not speedily delivered up to him." Terrified at this threat, the Zealots, as well as the people, complied with his demand; and Simon, for a time, though very transiently, relaxed his cruelty. He turned back to Idumæa, and forced great numbers of its peaceable inhabitants to fly for safety to Jerusalem. He then followed them thither, and again encompassed the walls, slaying all the labourers who approached the city from the country. Thus were the Idumæans punished for the part they had taken in the death of Ananus and his companions.

The Zealots within the walls were now divided into two factions: the one comprised the leaders and their partisans as they were before the arrival of John of Gischala, and may, therefore, be called the old party; the other, were the adherents of John, who, after the death of Ananus, was evidently aiming at monarchy. Where there is no love of God or man, self-preservation and self-interest are the only bonds of society. Mistrust of motives, mutual jealousies and fears, inev-

itably exist among bad men; and are always more conspicuous and more enfeebling in an oligarchy than in a monarchy. This gave John an advantage over them, which he was not slow in exercising. Shrewd, bold and active, — unscrupulous as to the means of accomplishing his ends, — of winning manners and seductive eloquence, and, at the same time, imperious and persevering, — he soon gathered around him the most wicked and daring of the robbers, and exercised over their minds the most unlimited control. The Galilean insurgents, as they were driven into Jerusalem by the Romans, like tigers driven from their lairs into a narrow circle, at a royal eastern hunt, always became his followers. Thus he greatly out-numbered the old party; and kept them in a state of perpetual siege within the Jewish court, or inner precincts of the temple. They had, however, one advantage over him, in their elevated position and strong walls, which enabled them to attack him, with great effect and little risk, from above. He was similarly situated with regard to the lower city, having in his possession the court of the Gentiles and the outer cloisters. As long as he himself was obeyed, he cared nothing for the miseries inflicted upon others. He therefore indulged his followers in the most unbridled excesses. They roamed among the peaceable inhabitants, disguised as women, but carrying arms under their garments. They plundered dwellings, abused women and children, and, if their husbands and fathers resisted, murdered them. If any persons attempted to escape from the tyrant within the walls, they fell into the hands of the tyrant without. Simon was, if anything, better than John; for he had not his craft, and was superior to him in bodily strength and courage. It was determined, therefore, in an assembly of the people, to throw open the gates to him and his followers; and the high priest, Matthias, was sent to make terms with him, and put him in possession of the upper city. In a lordly manner, he took them under his protection; and "in the third year of the war," says Josephus,

A. J. P. 4781. A. V. Æ. 68. A. J. C. 74.

"in the month Xanthicus, did Simon thus get possession of Jerusalem."[36] The peaceable inhabitants soon found, to their cost, that Simon was as much *their* enemy as he was the enemy of the Zealots, from whom they wished to be delivered. "God," says Josephus, "turned their counsels to evil; and they contrived a remedy worse than death itself."

X.

From this time there was perpetual fighting in the temple and in the streets. The Romans were lying inactive in their camps; and the miserable inhabitants of Jerusalem began to wish for their approach, as a less evil than the merciless barbarities of the Zealots. The old party in the temple, headed by the priest, Eleazar, though far inferior in numbers, were more than sufficient to man the walls, and were well provided for with all necessary stores. The provisions for sacred uses were abundant; and they scrupled not to take them for their own support. The priests performed their daily ministrations as usual, and all persons who wished to offer sacrifices were admitted, though with great precaution. But the conflict still went on with John of Gischala. Of the timber which king Agrippa had collected to complete the temple, John had formed engines for throwing darts, javelins, and stones, which greatly annoyed those who were above him. Oftentimes a priest, or a stranger who had come to worship at the altar, was slain by these missiles, as well as the impure and wicked wretches who had turned God's sanctuary into a for-

[36] De Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. ix. § 12. The war commenced, as we have seen, on the 16th of Artemisius, or the 8th of May, A. V. Æ. 65, in the twelfth year of Nero, (p. 536, note 5.) The third year of the war, therefore, began in May, A. V. Æ. 67, and ended in May, A. V. Æ. 68. The golden number of the latter year was xii. It was Bissextile, and its Sunday letters were C. B. Xanthicus corresponded with the first Hebrew month, Nisan, which extended that year from March 22d to April 19th, inclusive. As Simon, with his party, were probably admitted for the feast of the Passover, we may place his entrance on the tenth of Nisan, when the lambs for that sacrifice were brought annually into the city. It fell, that year, on the 31st of March, and the Passover began on Monday evening, the 4th of April.

tress. The pavement was flooded with gore, and the brazen altar sprinkled with blood of men; while dead bodies of priests, and worshippers, and Zealots, lay in heaps together, trodden upon by the feet of the living, and thus inflicting generally that legal pollution on things and persons which, by the express words of the law, rendered them unclean and abominable. On the other hand, John, in his frequent skirmishes with Simon, killed and wounded great numbers of his men, and also of the people who, under his orders, attacked the temple from beneath. When Eleazar and his Zealots, exhausted or inebriated, slackened their attacks upon him, John sallied into the city, and plundered and burned and slew with overwhelming fury. On one of these occasions, he set on fire the store-houses, in which large quantities of grain and other provisions were laid up. Simon, as if on purpose to serve the Romans, completed the destruction of these granaries and the provisions they contained, which were amply sufficient to sustain a siege of many years. Such was the state of things in Jerusalem early in the spring, when Titus arrived at Cæsarea.[37]

A. J. P. 4782. A. V. Æ. 69. A. J. C. 75. Vespasian I.

It was now time for the Romans to advance upon Jerusalem. Titus broke up his winter quarters everywhere, and commenced his march. The Jewish historian was an eye-witness, and has given a clear account of the movements and discipline of the invading army. Signals were given by the sound of trumpets. At the first, they struck their tents and packed their equipage; at the second, they laid them on the sumpter mules and other beasts of burthen; at the third, every man, in his proper place, lifted his right hand and cried, "Ready;" at the fourth, they began their march. The auxiliaries went first. Then followed the pioneers, with all accoutrements necessary to render roads practicable, or to measure and lay out an encampment. Wherever they halted, it rose like an exhalation — a populous

[37] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. v. c. i.

city formed in a night. Then followed the baggage of the chief officers, and the heavy-armed men appointed to guard it. Titus himself came next, with a select body of troops and the lancers. The cavalry of that legion advanced next. All these came before the engines: that is, the balistæ, or immense cross-bows; and iron-headed javelins and darts; and the catapultæ, for throwing stones; and the battering-rams, of immense size and weight, to make breaches in the walls. After these came the tribunes with select forces, and leaders of the several cohorts with their men. Then came the ensigns, surrounding the great Roman eagle, the standard of the host, and before these went the trumpeters belonging to each legion. Then followed the phalanx, serried and broad, in six divisions. The servants of every legion, with the heavy baggage before them, and lastly the mercenaries and their guards, brought up their rear. During the march, the commander-in-chief, with his staff, preceded the host. It contained four legions; three which had served under Vespasian, and the twelfth, which had been so disgraced under Cestius, and was now burning with shame and anger to regain its lost honours, and revenge itself upon the Jews. All had been carefully and fully recruited from the 2000 who had marched from Alexandria, and 3000 drawn from the Euphrates. In addition to these, the fifth legion, lying at Nicopolis, and the tenth, at Jericho, were ordered to advance from their respective positions. The whole army, at a moderate estimate, must have exceeded 80,000 of all arms. Titus advanced through Samaria to Gophna, which had been taken by Vespasian, and was then occupied by a Roman garrison. There he staid one night, and thence, in two days, came to the valley of thorns, near Gabath-Saul, the ancient Gibeah of Saul, or Gibeah of Benjamin.[38] It was thirty stadia, or three miles and three quarters, from Jerusalem. Here he selected 600 horsemen, and

[38] 1 Sam. xiii. 2, 15, 16; xiv. 16; xv. 34. Reland. Palæst. tom. ii. p. 810, comp. with p. 769.

rode with them to reconnoitre the city. On this occasion he was in imminent danger. He had imprudently advanced near the city, without helmet or hauberk; and, turning aside from the main road, was entangled among trenches dug from the wall of the city, to protect the suburban gardens. In this situation, a sudden sally of the Jews, in great numbers, cut him off, with a few attendants, from the main body of his cavalry. To escape in any other direction was impossible; and, calling hastily to his attendants to follow him, he dashed, on a powerful horse, at full speed, through his enemies. Showers of javelins and darts were aimed at him; but though unarmed, both he and his horse escaped without a wound. Two only of his attendants were killed, though all were wounded in the back and sides. One of the horses was killed with his rider; the other was captured by the Jews, and carried off in triumph. Such an escape of Titus, unarmed as he was, and surrounded by such numbers of ferocious enemies, must be ascribed, as Josephus has ascribed it, to that providence without which even a sparrow falls not to the ground. That night the fifth legion joined him from Nicopolis; and the next day he advanced to Scopus; the same spot in which the ill-fated Cestius had encamped before him. It was, as its name imports, an elevated plain on the northern side of Jerusalem, less than a mile from the city, and commanding a distinct view of that and the surrounding country. Here he fortified a camp for two of his legions. At the distance of three stadia in the rear, he formed another, for the fifth legion. Trajan, at the head of the tenth, which came from Jericho, was ordered to defile along the deep valley of Jehoshaphat, separated from the city only by the brook Kidron, and to encamp on the acclivity of the Mount of Olives, above the garden of Gethsemane.

XI.

The sight of these several camps seemed, for a time, to awaken all parties in the city to a sense of their common

danger. They attempted to dispossess the tenth legion, and were for a time successful; but, principally owing to the courage and constancy of Titus himself, they were finally driven back into the city.[39] As the Romans busied themselves constantly in fortifying their camps, the external war ceased for a while, and the animosity of the internal factions revived. The Passover was nigh at hand. It fell, that year, on Friday, the 24th of March, completing, within one day, forty-one solar years after our Lord's crucifixion. It was the last Passover to be celebrated in that temple to which the Lord of glory came; and the blood of the paschal lambs was mingled with the blood of three, if not four, generations, of the very men who had imprecated the blood of the innocent Jesus upon themselves and their children. Eleazar and his party, relying upon the truce which the presence of the Romans had occasioned, opened the gates of the inner court, and admitted all who came to worship at the greatest festival of their religion. The crafty and faithless John could not let such an opportunity escape. He armed the obscure and unknown members of his party, and sent them into the inner court, though they had not been purified according to the law, under the pretence of keeping the feast. As soon as they had entered, they threw aside their disguise, and appeared in armour. Many were slain, and many, with Eleazar, saved themselves by taking refuge in the subterranean constructions of the temple. The unoffending multitude, who had assembled to worship, were thrown down, trampled under foot, and beaten or slain, while the Zealots who had concealed themselves were received into favour on their submission. The victorious John was now the acknowledged head of both factions blended into one. He had possession of the inner, as well as the outer court; and all the warlike engines taken in the flight of Cestius, and laid up in the temple, could now be brought to bear upon Simon and his followers.

[39] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. v. c. ii.

On the very day when the festival of the Passover began, Titus placed a chosen body of horse and foot to repel the sallies of the Jews, while the rest of the army were engaged in levelling the entire distance from Scopus to the outermost northern wall. They threw down hedges, filled up trenches, laid waste the gardens, cut down the fruit-trees and shady groves, and smoothed the stony places to what Josephus calls "the monuments of Herod, and the serpents' pool."[40] All this was accomplished in four days. The wall, thus approached by Titus, was begun about twenty-eight years before, by Herod Agrippa the elder; but he had scarcely laid its foundations, when the governor of Syria, in the manner above related, procured an order, from the emperor Claudius, instantly to stop the work.[41] This must be considered as an interposition of the divine will; for, if the king had been permitted to finish the work, he would have rendered the city impregnable. He began on the west at the tower of Hippicus; running his wall north-westerly to the tower called Psephinos; thence easterly near the monument of Helena, queen of Adiabene, and the grottoes of the ancient kings of Judah. He then turned it southerly, at a tower near "the conduit of the upper pool in the high-way of the fullers' field;"[42] and so joined it to the old wall, overhanging the valley of Jehoshaphat and the Kidron. The stones were of enormous size, twenty cubits in length, ten in breadth, and five in height.[43] Such masses, says Josephus, "no iron tool could have easily undermined, and no engines could have shaken."[44] So that if he had been allowed to complete his designs, Jerusalem could not have been forced to surrender, excepting only by famine. But he appears to have laid scarcely one tier of these stones, when the jealousy of the

[40] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. v. c. iii. § 2.

[41] See page 516.

[42] 2 Kings xviii. 17. Isai. vii. 3, comp. with Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. v. c. iv. § 2.

[43] According to the various computations of the cubit, they were from 30 to 35 feet long, 15 to 17½ feet broad, and 7½ to 8¾ high.

[44] Ibid. c. iv. § 2

Roman government interfered. The work was not recommenced until after the defeat of Cestius; and the new constructions were far inferiour to the original design. Yet it was, even then, a work of magnitude. The Jews raised it to an elevation of more than thirty feet; and the battlements and turrets, for the besieged to assail the besiegers, were from three to eight feet more. At equal distances of three hundred feet, ninety towers were erected of solid masonry, equal on every side to the height of the walls, on which houses were erected with upper chambers, containing cisterns to collect rain water. The whole extent of this wall must have been at least 19,800 cubits, or, at the smallest calculation, about 30,000 feet.

XII.

Titus now brought up the lines of his army within a quarter of a mile from the city. The centre, where his own tent was pitched, was at the tower of Psephinos, commanding a distant view as far as the Dead Sea and Arabia. His right wing extended on the west to the tower of Hippicus; his left on the east, toward the valley of Jehoshaphat, so as to coöperate with the tenth legion on the Mount of Olives. This position being taken, the work of destruction and death began. He made his embankments, and drew up his wooden towers, raised higher than the walls; and between these, covered with bridges from one tower to another, were ranged the balistæ to throw darts and javelins, and the catapultæ, to hurl immense stones high in the air, at such angles as would bring them down, at the distance of two stadia, with crushing force on the heads of his foes. Amid his battering-rams was one of such immense size and strength, that it was called "the conqueror." With this, a breach was made on the 15th of April, which was the fifteenth day of the siege.[45] The Ro-

[45] "The seventh of Artemisius," says Josephus, "the fifteenth day." The month Artemisius, corresponding with the second Hebrew month, Iyar, began

mans poured in at the breach, and opened the gates of Bezetha to the whole army, while the Jews retired within their second wall, which extended from a gate near the tower of Hippicus to the north-west corner of the tower of Antonia, and was thus connected with the northern cloisters of the temple. This was undoubtedly the wall built by Nehemiah, and afterwards strengthened and embellished by Herod the Great. It was the external wall of the city when our Lord was crucified; and as he suffered without the gate,[46] must have crossed Akra south of Calvary.[47] It had fourteen towers,

that year on Sunday, the ninth of April; consequently the seventh of Artemisius fell on Saturday, or the Jewish Sabbath, April 15th, and the operations began on the first of April, which was also the Jewish Sabbath.

[46] Heb. xiii. 12.

[47] The debates concerning this wall have arisen principally from the question whether the Church of the Holy Sepulchre does or does not cover the place of our Lord's crucifixion and burial. Into this it is not my province to enter. The excess of veneration leads to a minute and childish credulity; and the reaction of the human mind produces a cold and stern, but equally repulsive, scepticism. Josephus describes the first northern wall, or that of David and Solomon, as running from the angle where the tower of Hippicus was afterwards built by Herod the Great; and then he adds: "The second wall began at the gate which they called Gennath, belonging to the first wall, and then, encircling the northern region alone, extended to Antonia." *De Bel. Jud.* lib. v. c. iv. § 2. This decides nothing for or against the Holy Sepulchre; and is, therefore, by the disputants called obscure. No one knows where the gate Gennath was, though it is reasonably inferred, from this concise description, that it cannot have been far from the tower of Hippicus. Not a vestige remains of the wall, and hence no testimony can be added from actual survey. We must, therefore, be content with our ignorance; being assured only that the place where our sins were expiated, and the sepulchre where the body of our Lord was deposited until the day of his resurrection, were both "without the gate." We are told that it was a new tomb dug out of the solid rock, and very near the place of execution. It is incredible that his disciples could forget such places. The remembrance of them would be perpetuated from age to age; and the Christian of the present day may well be indulged in the holy fervours which the "religio loci" inspires. Since writing this note, I have turned to what Dr. Robinson has said of the "second wall," Bib. Researches, vol. i. pp. 461–4. I had supposed that no vestiges of it remained; but he maintains that "the large ancient hewn stones, which lie just within the Damascus gate of the present city, are remains of that wall which Nehemiah rebuilt, and which was the outer northern wall when our Saviour suffered." On the east side of that gate "we were surprised," he says, "to find a square dark room adjacent to the wall, the sides of which are entirely composed of stones having precisely the character of those still seen at the corners of the temple area, large, bevelled, with the whole surface hewn smooth. . . . Connected with this room on the west side is a winding staircase leading to the top of the wall." "Following out this discovery," they "found upon the western side of the gate, though further from it, another room of precisely the same kind, corresponding in all respects to that upon the eastern side; except that it had been much more injured in building the present wall," &c. Hence he conjectures

and was otherwise strongly fortified, by successive constructions, to the time of Herod the Great; but it could not long resist the tremendous engines which the Romans now brought to bear upon it. Titus had pitched his camp within the new city, on the very spot which had been occupied by the Assyrians in the days of Hezekiah.[48] The war was now carried on with increased zeal and fury; the Jews animated by hopes of divine interposition, the Romans by their recent success. Attacks and defences upon the wall, and perpetual sallies from the gates, occupied the day; and at night both Jews and Romans lay in their armour, to avoid surprise, and be ready for the combats of the day following. Thus, on both sides, the nights were sleepless, and the days still more severe. On the 20th of April, a sufficient breach was made in the second wall, for Titus to enter it with a chosen body of heavy-armed troops, amounting to a thousand men. It was just at that part of the new city, where the magazines of wool, the brass founderies, and the clothes markets were congregated in narrow streets, running obliquely to the wall. If, then, he had immediately demolished the greater part of the second wall, and laid waste, as he might have done by the laws of war, what he had already taken, his force would have sustained no

"that they were ancient towers, of a date anterior to the time of Herod, and probably the guard-houses of an ancient gate upon this spot. This gate could have belonged only to the second wall." Admitting all this, it does not follow that this second wall of the old city included the site now shown as the place of the crucifixion and the holy sepulchre. Dr. Robinson admits that "except these" two rooms, "no traces whatever of the second wall are visible." It may have crossed Acra south of the spot now shown as Calvary, and very near it, and this would render it easy for the crowds who manned the ramparts to revile the meek sufferer with greater ease and greater cruelty.

[48] It was, as Josephus testifies, "beyond the reach of darts" from the second wall; and the Scriptures describe it as being "by the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fullers' field:" precisely where, as we have already seen, the third wall turned southerly. 2 Kings xviii. 17, comp. with Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. v. c. vii. § 3. It must have been, therefore, at the east angle of Bezetha, near the junction of the third, or Herod Agrippa's wall, with the second; for the Assyrians conversed easily with Hezekiah's officers in the hearing of the people who stood on that wall. See 2 Chron. xxxii. 18, and Isai. xxxvi. 2, 11. We have already seen that the third wall ran near this spot, and, therefore, the camp of Titus was in the eastern part of Bezetha. Indeed, Josephus says that he occupied all the intermediate space to the Kedron.

loss. But, in the hope of subduing the Jews by moderation, he neither widened the breach nor permitted his men, after his entrance, to kill any whom they seized, or to burn the houses. This conduct was construed by the Jews as proceeding from a sense of weakness; and they fought with increased ardour. Every house was made a fortress, from which missiles were thrown on the Romans, in the crowded streets below. Titus saw that a retreat was necessary; and he retired, with considerable loss, through the narrow breach, and the pent-up passages, into the new city. This unexpected success roused the courage of the Zealots to madness. "It was a visitation of God," says Josephus, "upon their counsels, on account of their wickedness." They considered neither the immense superiority of the Roman power, as compared with this slight repulse, nor the famine which was already creeping in among themselves. The fight went on for three days longer; the breach was filled up by heaps of dead bodies; but, on the 24th of April, a vigorous assault of the Romans prevailed, and the whole of this northern wall was immediately broken down.[49]

XIII.

Preparations were now made to attack the last wall; but, instead of pressing forward, Titus relaxed the siege for a short season, in the vain hope that the demolition of the second wall, and the fear of famine, might finally induce the Jews to surrender. That he might strike terror into their hearts, he ordered his whole army to be drawn out in full equipment, to receive their pay. No sight of earthly splendour could have been more glorious. The men, in burnished armour, reflecting the sun-beams; the horses, gaily caparisoned, led by their dismounted riders, champing the bit and pawing the ground; the well regulated movements and martial discipline of these conquerors of the world, were all fitted to inspire

[49] Jos. B. J. lib. v. c. viii.

the hearts of the timid with terror, of the brave with admiration, of the prudent and experienced with awe, of the most ferocious with despair. The north side of the temple, the whole of the old wall, the tops of houses, in every direction whither the eye could reach, were covered with spectators, of all ages and all conditions, men, women and children, looking down upon the gorgeous show. But all was in vain. The madness of the Zealots ruled over the devoted city; and they determined to die in war, rather than submit to what they thought inevitable, the ignominy and torments of a more lingering death. Of necessity, the innocent must suffer with the guilty.

Four days were spent in this way; and, on the fifth, when no terms of peace had come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions into two bodies, and began to raise his mounds for two different points of attack. The one was to be directed against the tower of Antonia; the other, against the upper city, at a place then known as "the monument of the high priest, John." By the former, Titus hoped to gain the temple; and there he was opposed by the Zealots, under John of Gischala. The upper city was defended at John's monument by the Idumæans and the heavy-armed soldiers, under Simon. This wall, as Josephus remarks, "was very hard to take, on account of the deep valleys, and the overhanging ridge by which they were crested, and on which the fortifications were erected. To this advantage of position, David and Solomon, and the succeeding kings, had made it their ambition to add continually." The same system was pursued under the Asmonæans, and by Herod the Great. Beginning on the north, at the tower of Hippicus, the wall which the Romans had now to attack ran by the Xystus, or open terrace, and the council-chamber, both on the declivity of Mount Zion, and then crossing the Tyropœon, or valley of the cheese-makers, terminated at the western porch of the temple, with which it was strongly

joined.[50] As for the tower of Antonia, it was still more inaccessible. Divided from Bezetha by a broad and deep valley, which, for its greater security, had been deepened by excavation, it stood upon a rock fifty cubits high, which had been faced and covered, by the first Herod, with polished stones, so that no foot of man could mount or rest upon it. On this foundation rose the tower to the height of forty cubits; and at its four corners were smaller towers, three of which were fifty, and that of the south-east angle, overlooking the temple, seventy cubits high. There were passages down into two cloisters of the temple, through which the Roman soldiers had formerly descended to watch the people at all their great festivals. It is manifest, therefore, that either point of attack chosen by Titus presented difficulties almost insurmountable. The Romans would fight under every disadvantage. The Jews were far above their heads, and had now learned the use of the engines taken in the tower of Antonia, and during the flight of Cestius. Of the balistæ for throwing iron-headed darts and javelins, they had three hundred; of catapultæ, for throwing heavy stones, forty. The superiority of their position enabled them to use these instruments with greater security and more unerring aim, while it added greatly to the momentum of their missiles. The Romans, on the contrary, were more exposed, and their shots, being upward, were in like proportion enfeebled.

Another summons was now made to surrender. Josephus was sent to a secure place, out of the reach of their darts, but within their hearing, to address them in their own language; but his entreaties and expostulations were answered only by jeers and reproaches. A great number of the people, however, sold all that they had for a few pieces of gold, which they swallowed, and took this brief opportunity to desert the city and avail themselves of the proffered clemency. But this desertion was soon checked by the Zealots. It be-

[50] Jos. B. J. lib. v. c. iv. § 2.

came the occasion even of new miseries; for all who were rich and obnoxious were now robbed and murdered, under the pretence that they intended to escape to the Romans. Food had become so scarce, that small measures of wheat and barley were bought at enormous prices, concealed for fear of robbery, and snatched, half-baked, from the coals. Children forgot all reverence for their parents; wives, all affection for their husbands; and even mothers, all pity for their famished children. While the food was in their mouths, it was forced from them. The stronger had more than their share, while the weaker pined and died in hopeless misery. The robbers, like ravening wolves, broke into the barred houses, because to bar them was a sign that its inmates had something to eat. Such were the miseries within the city at the very moment when the last offers of mercy were made by Titus. From this time forth, it became necessary for him to exercise a severity from which his heart revolted. Every day five hundred Jews, and some days more, were caught as they attempted to escape, and, after being scourged and tormented in every possible way by the exasperated soldiers, were nailed, with bitter jests, to the cross. So numerous were these executions, that there was not room enough before the walls for the crosses, nor crosses enough to hang the victims. This, be it remembered, was in the very places where the footsteps of the Son of God, in his dolorous passion, had "trodden the wine-press alone." [51]

XIV.

On Sunday, the 7th of May, the Romans had finished four great mounds, on which they had laboured hard for seventeen days. One was raised, by the fifth legion, at the tower of Antonia; another, at the distance of twenty cubits from it, by the twelfth legion; a third, by the tenth legion, who laboured far remote from them, at the pool called Amygdalon,

[51] Isai. lxiii. 3.

on the northern quarter of Zion; and the fourth, at the distance of thirty cubits from it, by the fifteenth legion, at the monument of the high priest, John. In the mean time, however, John of Gischala had dug a mine from the tower of Antonia, as far as the Roman mounds, and under them; had supported the ground over the mine with cross-beams of great strength; had filled the mine itself with combustibles, smeared with pitch and bitumen; and had finally set them on fire. Thus kindled, the smouldering heat communicated itself to the cross-beams; and when these were burned through, the two mounds fell with prodigious noise. The flames, at first choked by the falling dirt, struggled for vent, and finally shot upward with great fury. Consternation and discouragement seized the two legions; so that they gazed at the conflagration, without attempting to extinguish it.

Two days after this, Simon and his men attempted to destroy the other two mounds, on which the Romans had erected their besieging instruments, and were already beginning to shake the walls. Here they could act only by sallies, with fire and sword; but these were so desperate, that the battering-rams were consumed, and the Romans driven back to their entrenchments. Titus was at Antonia, exploring a site for other mounds, when this sortie occurred. Hastening back, he assailed the Jews on their flank, rallied the flying troops by his reproaches, and compelled the enemy to retire within the wall. The engines, however, were consumed, and the mounds demolished; and as the army was greatly disheartened, it became necessary to devise some other modes of attack. A council was called, and Titus finally determined to build a wall, which should encompass the whole city.[52] This stupendous

[52] As the description of this wall given by Josephus seems clearly to establish the position of the camp of the Assyrians at the north-eastern elevation of Bezetha, a literal translation of the passage, so far as the boundaries are defined, is here attempted. "Having begun from the camp of the Assyrians, where he had pitched his own, he (Titus) conducted the wall down to the lower new city; thence through the Kedron, to the Mount of Olives. Then, bending to the south, he skirted the mountain as far as the rock called the rock of the Periste-

work was instantly begun; and though it was thirty-nine stadia, or nearly five miles, in length, and had thirteen forts on the outer side, the united circumference of which amounted to ten stadia more, it was finished, incredible as the fact may seem, in the space of three days! The soldiers sprang to the work as if endowed with supernatural strength and alacrity. Each man vied with his fellow, in tens, and hundreds, and thousands, superintended and encouraged by their respective decurions, centurions, and tribunes. The general-in-chief rode continually, inspecting the whole. As soon as the forts were thrown up, they were manned with guards, relieved at their accustomed intervals, and keeping watch night and day. Titus himself went the whole round at the first watch of the night; Tiberius Alexander, who was next in command, at the second; and the other commanders followed in rotation. Thus, with untiring vigilance, was the city watched without, while famine was doing her murderous work within.

Two days after the completion of the Roman wall, on Sunday, the 14th of May, was celebrated the feast of Pentecost, the anniversary of the law given at Sinai, and of the gospel which emanated from Zion. The curse of the law, so long predicted, and so long delayed, was now near its consummation, because the blessings of the gospel had been obdurately rejected.[53] The miseries of the devoted city could not be fully described, even by an eye-witness; and the imperfect description of Josephus cannot now be read without loathing. The concentration of retributive justice was required of that generation for the blood of all the prophets.[54] It was "affliction such as was not from the beginning of the creation,

reon, and the following ridge, which overhangs the valley near the Siloam. Thence, bending to the west, he brought it down to the valley of the fountain; after which, ascending by the monument of the high priest, Ananus, and comprehending the mountain where Pompey encamped, he turned to the northern region, and advancing to a certain village, called the house of the Erebinthi, and after that taking in Herod's monument to the east, he joined it to his own camp, whence he had begun." De Bel. Jud. lib. v. c. xii. § 2.

[53] Deut. xxviii. Dan. ix. 27. Rom. x.

[54] St. Luke xi. 50—52.

neither shall be."[55] Let the reader, with the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy before him, and the history of the Jewish war in his hands, as the awful interpreter of that prophecy, reflect whether it was not, as the judgment of the fifth great period, the forerunner of that final judgment of the great day, which awaits all who wilfully reject the Saviour of the world. In the course of seventy-five days, from the 24th of March, when the Romans first pitched their camp near the third wall, to the 7th of the following June, there were carried out of the city, through one gate, 115,880 dead bodies! In the same space of time, of the carcasses of the poor cast without burial into the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, there were no less than 600,000![56] Titus, as he went his rounds, and saw in these valleys heaps of bodies in every stage of putrescence, groaned and lifted up his hands to heaven, calling God to witness that it was not his doing. Even then he was ready to receive all who could flee to him. His army, and especially the Syrian allies, had different feelings. The Zealots were equally vindictive. Both murdered without mercy, when any of the famished inhabitants attempted to escape.

XV.

Their enemies thus hemmed in and dying, the Romans were sure of ultimate success, if their pride would have allowed them to wait for so inglorious a victory. Yet the erection of new mounds was attended with many difficulties. For ninety stadia, or more than eleven miles, around the city, the timber had been already cut down and destroyed. To furnish materials sufficient for subsequent operations, they were obliged to cut trees to the distance of nearly twelve miles and a half from the city; and if the Jews should succeed in burning them again, all further erections would be next to impossible.[57] Titus ordered the new mounds to be constructed only at the

[55] St. Mark xiii. 19.
[56] Jos. de B. J. lib. v. c. xiii. § 7.
[57] Jos. de B. J. lib. vi. c. i. and ii.

tower of Antonia. Under every discouragement, they were finished in twenty-one days; and the Romans began to batter the wall. A fierce conflict took place on the 7th of June, in which the Jews were repulsed; and in a few days, the wall, which had been weakened when John of Gischala dug his mine, fell suddenly and unexpectedly to both parties. What was the dismay of the Romans, at finding a second wall built within! The high tower also was still standing uninjured; and to attempt mounting on the fallen fragments would at first be certain death. Moved, however, by the exhortations of Titus, a Syrian soldier, named Sabinus, with a little band of eleven volunteers, advanced as a forlorn hope. Sabinus gained the summit; and the Jews, supposing that the rest had followed with equal success, fled before him. At this moment, he stumbled against a large stone, and fell. The clang of his iron armour on the pavement made his enemies look back; and seeing him alone, they overwhelmed him with their darts. His party attempted to succour him; but three were dashed down by stones; and the remaining eight, wounded and bleeding, were with difficulty rescued. This skirmish took place on the 9th of June.

A similar exploit, on the 11th of June, was more successful. Twenty men, who were watching the mounds, with the assistance of the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, two horsemen, and a trumpeter, succeeded in surprising the Jewish guards, about the ninth hour of the night. They had fallen asleep from weariness, and were killed without noise or resistance. The wall being gained, the trumpeter gave a loud blast, which frightened the rest of the guards, and roused the Roman army. Titus was the first to ascend, with his chief officers and a select body of men; and the tower of Antonia was gained. The remainder of the forces followed, and a terrible conflict ensued in the area between the tower and the temple, which lasted ten hours. The place was too narrow for darts, and both sides fought sword to sword, and hand to hand. The Jews, feeling that all was at stake, rushed

forward in such numbers, and with such fury, that the Romans were compelled to retire within the walls of Antonia. Titus, therefore, determined to demolish a part of that fortress, to make room for his legions to advance and operate. On Friday, the 23d of June, its wall towards Bezetha was razed to the ground, and even its foundations were dug up, to make a practicable ascent for the army. "On that same day," says Josephus, "the sacrifice to God which is called perpetual failed, from the perplexity of men, to the terrible disheartening of the people."[58] This great event gave the finishing stroke to the expiring law. By the express command of God upon Mount Sinai, "two lambs of the first year, without spot," were to be offered, "day by day, for a continual burnt-offering."[59] They signified, in its mystic allegory, the sacrifice of the "Lamb without blemish," the first-born Son of his virgin mother, "foreordained before the foundation of the world."[60] From Friday, the 4th of April, when the tabernacle was first erected at Mount Sinai,[61] through all the changing fortunes of Israel, this sacrifice continued twice every day till the Friday of which we speak, with the exception of those periods only in which, on account of their sins, it was taken away.[62]

[58] Jos. de B. J. lib. v. c. ii.

[59] Numb. xxviii. 3, 6, 10, 15, 23, 24. The force of תָּמִיד, rendered "continual," is "perpetual time, as moving on continually, without interruption. Hence a continual burnt-offering means one continued daily, both morning and evening." Robinson's Gesenius, in voc. The LXX. and Josephus use for it the word ἐνδελεχισμὸς, which has the same meaning. In verses 10, 15, 23, 24, the LXX. use τῆς διαπαντὸς as a synonyme. Vulg. "Sempiternum" and "juge," never-failing, perennial, originally meaning the perpetual flow of a fountain.

[60] 1 Pet. i. 19, 20. [61] See sup. p. 74.

[62] Whatever may be the inference from Amos v. 25 and Acts vii. 42, as to sacrifices generally, during the forty years in the wilderness, there could not, I conceive, have been any cessation of the morning and evening sacrifice called the *continual*, *never-ceasing* or *perpetual*. The only times in which the daily sacrifice ceased were three: 1. The profanation of the temple under Ahaz, mentioned above (p. 211); 2. The captivity in Babylon; and, 3. The three years of sacrilege under Antiochus Epiphanes. The computations exhibit more than 1520 years, though we cannot determine how long the temple service was interrupted under Ahaz.

From April 4th, B. V. Æ. 1503, when it began at Mount Sinai, to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, June 13th, B. V. Æ. 586, was	918y. 8m. 17d.
From the restoration of the altar service, Sept. 20th, B. V. Æ. 536, to the profanation of the temple under Antiochus, Nov. 14th, B. V. Æ. 168, was	370y. 7m. 13d.
From the dedication of the temple by Judas Maccabæus, Dec. 21st, B. V. Æ. 165, to the 23d of June, A. V. Æ. 69, was	235y. 5m. 13d.
	1524y. 9m. 13d.

After the sacrifice of the cross, it remained an empty pageant, shorn of its significance and efficacy; and, what is remarkable, it terminated on Friday, the same day of the week on which it was instituted, and on which our Lord was crucified. It is affecting to observe that, even when the people were dying for want of food, the lambs for the daily burnt-offerings, morning and evening, were religiously devoted to God's service; and it deserves to be recorded, that when the priests ceased to offer, the people were greatly distressed. A self-denying devotion, even where men oppose the truth, and profess an unavailing religion, commands respect and commiseration. Let us hope that many who then mourned (for the failure of what they thought was an acceptable service) may find mercy, on account of that thought, though they denied their Saviour, and offered a vain oblation.

XVI.

When the Roman commander heard of this event, and of the great dejection which it occasioned among the people, he thought it a proper opportunity to prevent any further effusion of blood. He therefore sent for Josephus, and commanded him to make one more offer of mercy to John of Gischala. He entreated him, if he would fight, at least not to pollute the temple, or compel the Romans to burn it. He conjured him not to intermit the sacrifices which God had appointed. He offered to allow such priests as John might designate to offer them in security. But the Heathen had more piety and mercy than the Jew. Two of the high priests, however, and three of the sons of high priests, took this opportunity to escape. They were kindly received by Titus, and sent, for security, to Gophna. To prevent others from following their example, the Zealots spread a report that they had been put to death. To prove the falsehood of this report, they were recalled to the camp, that they might join with Josephus in urging the people to surrender. All was unavailing. The

madness of the Zealots still attributed the clemency of Titus to his fears. He therefore ordered thirty out of every hundred of his army to mount, by an inclined path, formed from the rubbish of Antonia, while he, from one of its towers, surveyed and directed their movements. Continual skirmishes now took place on the area of the temple; the Romans endeavouring to gain, and the Jews to defend, the court of the Gentiles. By an infatuation amounting to judicial blindness, the Zealots themselves first set fire to the precincts of the temple. On the 28th of June, they thus demolished about thirty or thirty-five feet of the north-west cloister, by which the temple was joined to the tower of Antonia, under the idea of thereby hindering the approach of the Romans. The latter, perceiving the advantage which this gave them, set fire, two days after, to fifteen cubits, or nearly twenty-five feet more. The Jews then destroyed the roof; and thus, the area being enlarged, the Roman army had more room to display itself. On the 3d of July, the Jews filled the whole western cloister, to the very roof, with combustibles, smeared with pitch and bitumen, and then retired, as if they had abandoned it. The more incautious of the Romans fell into the snare; applied their scaling ladders, and mounted upon the roof. It was instantly set on fire by their enemies, and they perished, with scarcely an exception, in the flames, or with the sword. Thus was the western cloister burned, in its whole extent, to the tower which had been erected by John, in his contest with Simon, over the gates leading, by the Xystus, to the upper city. The next day the Romans burned down the whole northern cloister, to the eastern, which hung, at a fearful height, over the valley of the Kedron. The destruction of these external bulwarks hastened the approaching catastrophe.

A. J. P. 4782.
A. V. Æ. 69.
A. J. C. 75
Vespasian 2.

In the mean time the famine increased its ravages. An ineffectual attempt had been made upon the tenth legion, at the Mount of Olives, to force the Roman wall, and obtain sup-

plies. The Zealots themselves, like mad dogs, ran about the city, prowling for food, and "grudging, if they were not satisfied." They ate even their girdles and their shoes; and tore off the leather which covered their shields. A woman of great wealth and high rank, who had come from beyond Jordan to keep the Passover, and had been unable to return home, was reduced to such misery that she actually killed her own sucking child. Attracted by the scent of roasted meat, the Zealots burst into her house, and demanded of her to give them food. She replied, with bitter mockery, that she had reserved for them the choicest portion. She then silently advanced, and uncovered the remains of her infant. "I have eaten of it myself," she added; "do not pretend to be more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother. But if you are scrupulous, leave it for me to finish." Even these hard-hearted wretches were appalled, and went out trembling. It had been predicted by Moses;[63] and a similar event had been recorded in the history of the ten tribes; but never before had so horrid an event occurred in the history of Judah.[64] This dreadful tragedy sent a thrill of horror through the dying inhabitants of Jerusalem, which made them long for death; and, among the Romans, it affected some with commiseration, and others with more bitter hate. Titus, struck with remorse, besought the forgiveness of the Hebrews' God, because he had done all in his power to give peace, and amnesty, and liberty, even to his most ferocious enemies.

The army had been ordered to construct four mounds on the northern and western sides of the temple; and on Friday,

[63] Deut. xxviii. 53—57.

[64] Josephus speaks of this dreadful act almost as if it were incredible. Yet he knew that Moses had expressly predicted it, and that it occurred in Samaria, in the reign of Joram, king of Israel. But till now Judah had been exempt from the curse. There may have been a Medea murdering her own children, and among the heathen, instances of mothers devoting their children to their infernal deities; nay, we know of such barbarous deeds within our own time; but when were ever known such examples of women actually *eating* their own infants, as those recorded in 2 Kings vi. 26—29, and Jos. de B. J. lib. vi. c. iii. § 4? They were plainly fulfilments in Israel and Judah of the prediction of God's wrath.

the 14th of July, two of the legions had completed theirs, near the west end of the inner court, which the Jews had enabled them to reach by the conflagration, above described, of the western cloisters. The constructions of Herod to defend the Holy of Holies had been so thick and strong on that side, that the ordinary battering-rams, though they had beaten against the western wall for six days, had made no impression. On the day of which we speak, others, vastly more powerful, were brought to bear upon this wall, but with no better success. Attempts were then made to undermine the northern gate, leading from the area into the court of the Gentiles. They could only remove the outermost stones; and, despairing of success, desisted from the work. They then determined to scale the northern wall. The Jews suffered them to plant their ladders, and mount upon them; but, as they climbed, slew them with their swords, or threw them down headlong. Sometimes, when the ladders were covered with armed men on every round, they were thrown backward with such force that the assailants were scattered upon the pavement, bruised and disabled. Great slaughter took place on both sides, and the Romans were finally overpowered, with the still greater mortification of losing their standards. This latter disgrace only added to their fury. They applied fire to the gates, and succeeded in melting the massive silver plates with which they were overlaid. The flames, being communicated to the wood within, melted the silver more rapidly, until the whole gates were destroyed. The fire spread to the inner porches, till there was an edge of burning buildings within the court of the Gentiles. The Zealots had hitherto looked confidently for divine interposition, to be vouchsafed in their greatest need. But now the sight of the open gateways, and the fire within, paralyzed them; and they gazed in mute consternation, without any attempt to save the buildings.

XVII.

The fire prevailed that day, and also during the next. Then Titus ordered it to be quenched, that his army might advance; and called a council of war, to determine what should be done with the holy house. Opinions were divided; but, finally, Titus decided, and the council acquiesced in his decision, not to burn or otherwise demolish it. But, on Sunday, the 16th of July, at about eight in the morning, the Zealots, having rallied their whole force, rushed from the inner court, through the great eastern gate, and down the fourteen steps by which it was elevated above the court of the Gentiles. Here they attacked the Romans with their usual impetuosity, and with constantly increasing multitudes; so that the latter, notwithstanding their discipline and bravery, were overborne, and began to give way. Titus, seeing this from the tower of Antonia, sent a chosen body of horse to stem the torrent, and enable the infantry to rally. The fight continued, with great obstinacy on both sides, till about eleven o'clock, when the Jews were compelled to retreat within their barriers. It was now near the hottest part of the day; and Titus retired within the tower, to take some repose, determining to storm the inner court of the temple the next day, with his whole army, and then to encamp around the holy house. But the fatal tenth of the fifth month, on which the first temple was burned by the king of Babylon, was now come.[65]

[65] By referring to the history of that event, p. 237, the reader will see that Solomon's temple was burned on *Saturday*, or the Jewish Sabbath, the 14th of July, B. V. Æ. 586. The second temple was now burned by the Romans on *Sunday*, or the Christian Sabbath, July 16th, A. V. Æ. 69. The whole distance of time between these two events was exactly as follows: The 14th of July, B. V. Æ. 586, inclusive, must be reckoned 585 years 5 months 18 days. The 16th of July, not included in A. V. Æ. 69, must be reckoned 68 years 6 months and 15 days. These sums added make exactly 654 solar years, and two days over. But, according to the Jewish computation of lunar months, the tenth of Ab, or the fifth Jewish ecclesiastical month, fell on Saturday, July 14th, B. V. Æ. 586, and on Sunday, July 16th, A. V. Æ. 69. This accounts for the excess of two days in the solar computation. Josephus is singularly inaccurate

Soon after Titus had thus retired, the Zealots again attacked the Romans, but were driven back in such confusion that they could not bar the gate of the inner court against their foes, who now penetrated even to the holy house. A common soldier, without orders, snatched a burning brand from the smouldering ruins in the court of the Gentiles, ran with it into the inner court, and being lifted upon the shoulders of another, threw it into a golden window communicating with the houses which surrounded, on the north, the base of the sanctuary. The flames were soon visible; and a cry arose from the Jews worthy of such a calamity. Titus, roused from slumber, rushed from his tent, followed by all his commanders, and the several legions. He called with a loud voice, and made signals with his hand, to quench the conflagration; but his voice was unheard, and his signals unheeded. The passions of the army were roused to madness. Instead of stopping, they helped, the combustion. There was yet time to save the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies. Titus entered them, with his officers, and beheld their awful magnificence, which

in his chronological computations. In his Antiq. lib. x. c. viii. § 5, he says that Solomon's temple was burned on the *first* day of the fifth month; whereas we know, from Jerem. lii. 12, that it was burned on the *tenth* of that month. Again, he expressly says, de Bel. Jud. lib. vi. c. iv. § 8, that the second temple was burned in the very same month, and on the same day of the month, in which the first temple was burned; and he speaks of it as a wonderful instance of the accuracy of divine government. In the fifth section of the same chapter, he says that it was burned "on the tenth of the month Loüs," which corresponded with the fifth month of the Jews. It is the more important to notice these inaccuracies, because they show that, to save the credit of the historian, we must, as often as we can, throw the blame on his transcribers. That they were not always to blame, appears from the computations at the close of the chapter now cited. The temple of Solomon was founded in the second month, Ziph, or, as we have shown above, p. 165, about the first of May, B. V. Æ. 1025. It was burned on the 11th of July, B. V. Æ. 586. The difference of these two dates gives for its duration 439 years 2 months and 13 days. Yet Josephus tells us, Antiq. lib. x. c. viii. § 5, that it was burned 470 y. 6 m. 10 d. after its foundation. So, from the foundation of the first temple to the destruction of the second, he tells us, de Bel. Jud. lib. vi. c. iv. § 8, were 1130 y. 7 mo. 15 d. Whereas the true distance of time was 1093 y. 2 mo. 15 d. I need not enter any further into these corrections. What is here said is sufficient to guard the reader from being misled by inaccurate computations. We take the authority of Josephus as to the truth of facts which he saw and knew; and we respect his statements as to more ancient times, when they are not contradictory to the Scriptures.

far surpassed all that had been said of it among the heathen. This sight created a greater desire in his soul to stop the conflagration. As the sanctuary was built on the rock, seventeen feet above the general level,[66] the flames had not yet ascended from the chambers which surrounded it. He therefore leaped forward, and exhorted the soldiers to quench the fire. He even commanded Liberalius, the centurion, to beat the refractory with the heavy staves of his spearmen. But all was in vain. Their anger, their hatred of the Jews, their martial ardour, overcame their reverence and fear of punishment. The temple was the great repository of private, as well as of public, wealth. Rich garments, costly stuffs of every kind, and immense heaps of gold and silver, excited their cupidity. A soldier, who had entered just as Titus went out of the sanctuary, applied fire, in the dark, to the hinges of its gate. Suddenly a flame became visible within, which obliged the officers who accompanied Titus to retire, and effectually prevented all who were without from entering.[67]

While the temple was burning, a few of the more desperate Zealots, with John of Gischala at their head, fought their way into the outer court, crossed the bridge which connected it with the city of David, and took refuge from immediate death among the followers of Simon. An indiscriminate slaughter was made of the remainder. Old men and children, priests and profane persons, were slain together. The males who thus fell were estimated at 10,000. But beside these, a mixed multitude, principally women and children, had been induced that very day to go from the city to the temple, by the public proclamation of a false prophet that God commanded it, and that they should there receive miraculous signs of deliverance. They were all burned to death. The flames of Mount Moriah shot up so high that it seemed as if the whole city were in one blaze. It lighted up the surrounding hills, so as to be seen in the horizon even beyond Jordan.

[66] See the proof of this in p. 260.

[67] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. vi. cap. iv.

At the same time, these hills reverberated the shouts of the whole Roman army, mingled with the shrieks and groans of their victims, and the lamentations of the despairing city. These strange, unearthly noises, resembling rather the cries of fiends, and the howlings of the damned, were followed by the stillness of death. The Romans brought their glittering eagles, the objects of their adoration, and, setting them opposite to the eastern gate, offered to these idols a solemn sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for their victory. It was the last act of pollution predicted by Daniel; upon the eastern wing of God's holy place were set up "the abominations of him that maketh desolate."[68]

XVIII.

The end of this dismal tragedy may be told in few words. Having now no enemies to fear from the heights above them, the Romans began, on Wednesday, the 26th of July, to erect their mounds against the city of David. Titus stationed his auxiliaries in the Tyropœon, between the Xystus and the bridge, while the strength of his army was placed on the opposite side, where the hill of Zion sloped to its south-western extremity, in the valley of the son of Hinnom. Here, on Friday, the 11th of August, the mounds were completed, and the engines brought against the wall. The Zealots, dejected and terrified, no longer fought as they did before the destruction of the temple. After several ineffectual attempts to escape from the city by forcing the Roman wall, some retired to the three towers of Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamne, while others secreted themselves in the subterranean vaults. Though no engines could reach those towers, and the soldiers within them could not be forced to surrender, save only by famine, they fled as soon as the Romans had effected a breach in the lower Zion. The army advanced without opposition, and erected their engines upon these impregnable fortresses. The silence was so profound, and the solitude so perfect, that they

[68] See Dan. ix. 27. Translation and note, p. 250.

feared it was some stratagem. At length, with swords drawn, they cautiously entered the deserted streets, and set fire to the houses. If they went into any of them to plunder, they found entire families dead, and in the upper chambers the bodies, which had been piled up there, of those who had been starved to death during the siege. If they found, perchance, any hapless being still alive, he was instantly slaughtered. As all the city was burning, the sun of the 12th of August rose upon Jerusalem in ruins. It was the Sabbath day of the guilty nation,[69] but its inhabitants were all hushed only in the repose of death, and the polluted city itself was the only altar remaining to be purified by fire. O, Jerusalem, Jerusalem! How often would the Lord of Glory have gathered thy children within thee, under the wings of his mercy, as the domestic bird, the emblem of maternal care, gathereth her brood under her feathers! But, alas! "they would not!" Thou knewest not the day of thy visitation; and thy sons and daughters have ever since been scattered through the world, the subjects of universal scorn and contumely. Thus they must remain, as the Lord himself hath predicted, "until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."[70]

It remains only to add, that Simon and John, with 700 other captives, selected for their athletic forms and manly beauty, were reserved to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The rest were either slain, or sold as slaves.[71] Titus remained in the East till the winter of that year, at Cæsarea, Berytus, Antioch and Alexandria. From Syria, he passed through Judæa on his way to Egypt, stopped to survey the ruins of Jerusalem, and gave his last orders for the reduction of Masada and Machærus, the only two fortresses which still held out against his arms. The same destruction finally overtook

[69] Dion Cassius says expressly that the city was taken on Saturday, lib. lxvii. 748, B. Ed. Reimar, tom. ii. p. 1081; and this perfectly agrees with our computation.

[70] St. Luke xxi. 24.

[71] During the whole siege, as Josephus affirms, 1,100,000 perished, and 97,000 were sold as slaves.

them which had overtaken the metropolis; and the whole land of Judæa was then sold, excepting the town of Emmaus, which was given to a colony of 800 soldiers. From them it received the name of Nicopolis, or the city of victory. Nor were the Alexandrian Jews exempted from a like calamity to that which had befallen their countrymen in Judæa. By a written order from Titus, the temple built by Onias at Heliopolis was closed, and Jewish priests forbidden to come near it. Thus every vestige of sacrifice according to the Mosaic ritual, and by the Aaronic priesthood, was forever abolished.[72]

A. J. P. 4783. A. V. Æ. 70. A. J. C. 76. Vespasian 2.

The triumphs for the conquest of Judæa, decreed by the Senate equally to Vespasian and Titus, were by them blended into one. It was celebrated early the next year, though no record remains of its exact date. Its ceremonies are described at large by Josephus; and to him we must refer the reader. Simon, as the Jewish general-in-chief, was solemnly put to death in the Roman forum.[73] Such was the law, (and it formed a part of the sacred ritual,) that the victors should offer him as a sacrifice to Jupiter Capitolinus. John was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The fate of the other 700 is not mentioned, though it was doubtless more lenient. The sacred vessels of the temple, the table for the shew-bread, and the golden candlestick, after being carried in the procession, were finally deposited in the temple of peace, which Vespasian erected in commemoration of this conquest. The sacred copy of the law, and the veils from the Holy of Holies and the sanctuary, were laid up in the royal palace.[74]

[72] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. vii. c. x. § 2—4.

[73] This statement of Josephus is confirmed by Dion Cassius, who says, "With the rest was taken their commander, Simon Bargioras; and this man only was punished with death in the triumphs." Lib. lxvii. ut sup. Ed. Reimar, tom. ii. p. 1081, B.

[74] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. vii. c. v.

XIX.

By this judgment, in the forty-second year after our Saviour's crucifixion, and in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, the fifth period of the mediatorial kingdom was fully ended. We have seen that the seventy weeks of Daniel, the period of mercy cut out from the long train of calamities brought upon the kingdom of Judah for its disobedience, ended in the month of September, exactly three years and a half after the crucifixion. Then it was that the period of punishment began. On the death of Severus, which occurred the very next year, Flaccus Avilius, the enemy of the Jews, was made prefect of Egypt. Pontius Pilate, as an accomplice in the great crime, was removed from his government in the autumn of the third year; and Caïaphas, another chief criminal, was deposed from the high-priesthood at the following Passover. In March, the next year, Tiberius died; and Flaccus began his persecutions against the Jews of Alexandria. Two years later, in the third year of Caligula, Petronius was ordered to set up the emperor's statue in the temple at Jerusalem. This began the divine controversy with the whole nation. It was suspended, however, in mercy, by the accession of Claudius, and the honours conferred upon Herod Agrippa, the grandson of Mariamne. A desolating famine was then sent, which lasted some years. Yet the nation was obdurate, and the Lord Jesus was again persecuted in his members. To please the Jews, Herod Agrippa beheaded James, the son of Zebedee, and imprisoned Peter. For these crimes he was soon smitten, and the nation again transferred to the immediate and galling tyranny of Roman procurators. Then followed the persecution of the great apostle to the Gentiles; and, during his imprisonment in Rome, the righteous James, the Lord's brother, was put to death, at the commencement of the procuratorship of Albinus. The cup of Jewish iniquity was now full. Just after that event, as Jo-

sephus testifies, a warning voice was heard in the city, crying perpetually, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem." For seven years and five months did one Jesus, a husbandman of humble parentage, continue to proclaim through the streets and lanes of the city, "A voice from the east — a voice from the west — a voice from the four winds — a voice concerning Jerusalem and the temple — a voice concerning the bridegrooms and the brides — a voice concerning the whole people." He came from the country to the feast of Tabernacles the 16th of September, in the thirty-third year after our Lord's crucifixion. From that time until the Romans invested the walls, he was heard, day and night, uttering his mournful cry. Beaten by the magistrates, brought before Albinus, scourged till his flesh was cut even to the bones, he uttered no entreaties for himself, and shed no tears for his own sufferings. To the interrogations of Albinus, Who he was? whence he came? why he spoke thus? he returned no answer but "Woe, woe to Jerusalem." The Roman procurator dismissed him as a madman. He approached no inhabitants; he asked no food; his voice was never hoarse; nor did he ever appear weary. At all the festivals, he gathered new strength, and cried still louder. When the siege by Titus began, he ceased his cry for a season. At length, as he was wandering around the walls, he began again, "Woe, woe to the city, and the people and the temple;" and, finally, "Woe also to myself." As he uttered these words, he was struck by a stone from the Roman engines, and killed on the spot.[75]

A. J. P. 4774.
A. V. Æ. 61.
A. J. C. 67.
Nero 8.

[75] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. vi. c. v. I have not thought it proper to detail here all the prodigies of which Josephus speaks as connected with the fall of Jerusalem. One of them is often mentioned by Christian writers, viz., the noises and movements of invisible angels at the feast of Pentecost, who were heard by the priests to say, "Let us depart hence." I would not reject the story as utterly incredible. The feast of Pentecost having been that on which the law was given, there was an obvious propriety that at the same feast the temple should be abandoned by the heavenly host. But, as Josephus does not tell us at what Pentecost this happened, it was impossible to insert it in a history, the object of which is to confine itself to historic truth.

If we compare this final judgment of the fifth period with those of the four preceding periods, we shall see that it surpassed them all in its dreadful intensity. It was confined, indeed, to a small nation, the remnant of the sons of Jacob; whereas, the judgment of the first period extended to all the sons of Adam but eight persons. Yet even the universal deluge cannot be considered as equally tormenting. Death by drowning is comparatively a mild punishment. So the destruction of the cities of the plain, over which the sluggish waters of the Dead Sea were made a perpetual monument, cannot be compared for misery with this last infliction. It was the first punishment by fire recorded in human history. But it was sent in a moment upon the guilty inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim. They were stifled by the sulphurous rain from heaven, and "turned into ashes," as "an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly;"[76] but their sufferings were short in the body. We know of no other temporal judgment inflicted upon the human race which then was. They were abandoned, indeed, by the righteous retribution of God, because they had given themselves up to idolatry and its constant accompaniment, uncleanness. But this was a spiritual punishment, proportionate to their own corruption, and consequent upon it. The temporal judgment was local; intended, by its nature, to prefigure the final judgment, and admonitory chiefly to Abraham and his posterity. So was it with the judgments which terminated the third period, the slavery of the Israelites, the plagues of Egypt, and the extermination of the Canaanites. All were intended as proofs of God's unrivalled sovereignty. All were chastisements salutary to his covenant people, and terrible to his adversaries. They were progressive in their character, as portions and ensamples of that divine government by which the whole world is regulated. The judgments of the fourth period were those inflicted princi-

[76] 2 Pet. ii. 6.

pally upon the posterity of Jacob; first, the extinction of the kingdom of Israel, and, last, the suspension of the kingdom of Judah in the deportation to Babylon. In all these events, there is a marked gradation of punishment, blended with mercy. Fire is again the awful and visible sign of God's anger. The temple, on which such immense wealth was expended, is burned to its foundations. But the nation is consoled by the promise of restoration at the end of seventy years; and it is restored, though not to its former splendour and dignity. No horrors were undergone like those of the war with the Romans, by which the fifth period was terminated. It was, therefore, the most dreadful prototype which God has yet laid before the eyes of men of that final "judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries."[77] For this reason it was, that, when our Lord predicted the destruction of Jerusalem, he blended his description with that of his last coming to judge the world. It may be also for this reason that the prophets have made the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom the scenes of the last judgment, and the final punishment of the wicked.[78]

XX.

The rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles is of course the great topic of St. Paul's epistles. His conversion and appointment by the Lord Jesus, and his recognition by the Church as the great apostle to the Gentiles, ended the seventy weeks. But his writings explicitly declare, in perfect harmony with the declarations of the ancient prophets, that there is yet mercy in store for the natural descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. More than eighteen centuries, and nearly the third of another century, have passed, since they committed the dreadful crimes for which they are still suffering. Who can tell how long they

[77] Heb. x. 27.

[78] Joel ch. iii. Jerem. xix., comp. with vii. 31, 32. Isaiah xxx. 33.

will continue obdurate in blind unbelief, or when they will be converted and restored? They, as well as we, are looking in earnest expectation for the coming of the Messiah to judge the world. Scattered over the face of the earth, there is scarcely a nation in which we cannot find a Jew. Wonderfully preserved as a distinct people, they are to the Church, in every age and in every clime, to all other races of men, as well as to themselves, a perpetual monument of "the goodness and severity of God."[79]

So has been, also, the proud conqueror, the leader-people, by whom they have been oppressed. As Babylon, the first of the four great monarchies, was itself punished, after being employed as the minister of God to execute his judgment upon his covenant people, so must it be with Rome, the last of those monarchies. The decree went forth for its punishment in the very prophecy concerning the seventy weeks. "His end," said the angel to Daniel, (that is, "the end of the leader-people which cometh and shall destroy both the city and the sanctuary,") "shall be in an inundation." From the moment in which the desolating army set up its idols on the area of God's temple, the fate of Rome was sealed. Until the end of God's war with Rome, the desolations of Judæa are decreed. When those desolations cease, the judgments of God upon the desolator shall have their consummation.[80] But these great events it will be our duty to trace upon the faithful page of history, when we come to the sixth and last period of the militant Church.

The condition of the Jews, in their dispersion, must ever be looked upon by the faithful and devout Christian with feelings of sorrow and commiseration, and must ever accompany the history of the mediatorial kingdom. The same remark is applicable to the various changes and revolutions which have taken place in the Roman empire. Both have run in parallel lines with the great purposes of God for the salvation of the human

[79] Rom. xi. 22. [80] Dan. ix.

race. The Jews are still "beloved for the fathers' sakes." If they abide not in unbelief, the natural branches, which have been broken off from the root and fulness of the good olive-tree, will be grafted in again by the Holy Spirit. The Christian Church is now, what the Jews formerly were, the elect people of God. Every Jew converted to the faith, and baptized into the body of Christ, is restored to greater privileges than he had before the incarnation. He is not to be oppressed and ill-treated with impunity. If he be oppressed, the oppressor is sure to incur the righteous retribution of God. In concluding the present volume, it may, therefore, be important to observe, that, in the dreadful tragedy on which we have so long dwelt, the actors, as far as we can trace their history, however excellent in personal character, experienced the visitation of God's wrath. The Flavian family seems to have been raised from obscurity to become the instruments of that wrath in the final judgment upon his ancient covenant people. That done, it was blotted from the face of the earth. The only brother of Vespasian was killed in the deadly struggle with Vitellius, who had himself been a persecutor of the Jews. Vespasian, raised to undisputed empire amid the universal acclamations of the Roman army, and the general rejoicings of the Roman people, was not permitted to continue long; and his otherwise moderate and just reign was tarnished by the mean and grinding and disgraceful exactions to fill his treasury. He died on the 23d of June, just nine years after the memorable day in which the perpetual sacrifice failed in God's temple. His two sons were his successors, — the first instance in which a Roman emperor had left his power to his son; but both of them died childless. Titus, whose clemency was proverbial, and who was so beloved by his subjects that he was called "the delight and ornament of the human race," died, not without suspicions of being poisoned by his brother, in the forty-first year of his age, when he had reigned only two years, two months and twenty

days. He was succeeded by the profligate and cruel Domitian, who was hated and execrated as much as his brother was beloved and applauded. He was permitted to oppress the Roman empire fifteen years and five days, nearly three years longer than the united reigns of his father and his brother; and he then died, at the premature age of less than forty-five. When the sceptre of empire fell from his hand, the Flavian family became extinct, twenty-six years one month and six days after the destruction of Jerusalem.

It must be remarked, in conclusion, that the righteous judgments of God, like the weldings of a forge, have served to overlap and bind together the several portentous periods of human history. The Ark which preserved Noah and his sons, as the progenitors of the second period, floated over the waves of the Deluge, and bound together, in awful punishment and stupendous mercy, the ante-diluvian and the post-diluvian periods. The rejection of the patriarchal Church for their idolatry, and the symbolic warning of the fires of Sodom and Gomorrah, were many years after the call of Abraham, with which the third period began. The fourth period commenced with the Exodus; but the judgments with which the third period ended continued more than forty years after the fourth period began. The judgments upon Israel and Judah were still more lasting. They bound together the fourth and fifth periods by a still more fiery indignation. The sixth period began at the Resurrection; but the judgment which blended the fifth period with it did not begin till the seventy weeks of mercy were ended, and continued till the forty-second year after the crime for which Judah was rejected. It may still be considered as going on, till the forty-two months of prophetic time, during which the Holy City shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles. O come,

Lord Jesus! Thy bride, the Church, and the Holy Spirit, now dwelling in and presiding over the body of thy Incarnation, cry to thee perpetually to hasten thy coming. O come, Lord Jesus, to thy longing saints! Bring again the lost ones of Israel and Judah! Reign over them on the throne of thy father David! Accomplish the number of thine Elect; that both Jew and Gentile may meet and embrace, in the

NEW AND HEAVENLY JERUSALEM!

APPENDIX

ON EGYPTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

In the year 1845, the author of the preceding work had advanced as far as the third period, when he found himself obliged to examine the phonetic monuments of Egypt, to see if they threw any light on the sacred history from the call of Abraham to the Exodus. For this purpose, he began a close examination of the labours of Champollion le jeune, Rosellini, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and all other investigators of the Egyptian monuments to that time. He had himself visited the collections in the British Museum, in Paris, Turin, Florence, Rome, and Naples; and he had that general acquaintance with the subject which every lover of antiquarian researches must have, who had enjoyed similar opportunities of examination. He soon found that the statement of facts was much blended, in the writings of all these great investigators, with the theories each had formed, or the authorities which each had consulted, on the measurement of time. The statement of facts was plainly distinct from these theories and measurements. His object, then, was to separate the two; to compare the statements of eye-witnesses as so many sources of evidence; to do that which is done every day in courts of justice, — to arrive at the truth by comparison and approximation; to make allowance for all disturbing biases of opinion; to consider the Bible, and the Bible only, as infallible; and, in a word, to throw the lustre of facts upon the light of revelation, and thus increase the brilliancy of both. The only sure way of establishing dates is the inverted process of measuring backward on the scale of time. It has been always and invariably followed by the great masters of chronology, in ancient and modern times; and wherever they have erred, it is not difficult, for any one who studies the subject, to perceive the causes which have led them astray. It is, however, a distinct branch of human science; a branch, which none of the eminent men here mentioned, as the explorers of hieroglyphic lore, have entered upon, or carefully explored. They have contented themselves with taking upon trust the results arrived at by men of established reputation for chronological arrangement; and, therefore, it is no detraction from their merit to say that they have thus committed mistakes, and bewildered themselves and their readers. Archbishop Usher has been generally followed, without considering the errors which have since been detected in some of his computations: errors, which that illustrious man would himself have candidly admitted, if his clear intellect, and patient research, and scrupulous love of truth, had been permitted to see what others, vastly his inferiours in all respects, have since brought to light. After these considerations, the author confidently trusts that his learned readers will not accuse him of presumption in asking their attention to the following brief explanation of his own method.

I. *Five Dynasties, from the end of the thirty-first to the beginning of the twenty-seventh.*

The *thirty-first* dynasty of Manetho *terminated* with the subversion of the Persian monarchy by Alexander the Great. This was effected by the battle of Arbela, the date of which is perfectly well known. According to Plutarch, there was a total eclipse of the moon eleven days before the battle. In the meridian of Arbela, 14½ digits were eclipsed in the night between Monday, the 19th, and Tuesday, the 20th, of September, A. J. P. 4383, B. V. Æ. 331. The *twenty-seventh* dynasty *began* with the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses. According to Ptolemy the astronomer, an eclipse of the moon took place in the *seventh* year of Cambyses, on the 17th day of the Egyptian month Phamenoth, Æra of Nabonassar 225. This corresponded with the night between Wednesday and Thursday, July 16 and 17, A. J. P. 4191, B. V. Æ. 523. The first of Thoth that year coincided with January 1st. (See Chronol. Introd. p. 128, tables, column 1.) As Ptolemy computes the years of his reigns from the first of Thoth, it follows that the fifth year of Cambyses began Thoth 1, Æ. N. 223, or A. J. P. 4189, B. V. Æ. 525; and the sixth year of Cambyses, Thoth 1, or January 1st, A. J. P. 4190, B. V. Æ. 524. Now, the earliest date on the monuments of the twenty-seventh dynasty is that given by Burton: "In the sixth year of the Lord of the world, KAMBOUTH," or Cambyses; and Manetho, as represented by Africanus and Eusebius, states that Cambyses began to reign over Egypt in the fifth year of his reign over the Persians; that is, some time in A. J. P. 4189. The irruption of the Persians into Egypt, by which the twenty-sixth native dynasty was subverted, is, therefore, ascertained. The whole duration of the five dynasties, from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-first, inclusive, could not have exceeded 194 years 9 months. Probably, when we take into account the inundation of Egypt, during which we cannot suppose the expedition of Cambyses would take place, it could not have been so much. Estimating it in round numbers as 194 years, the duration of the several intervening dynasties must be obtained by induction.

No monuments remain of the *thirty-first* dynasty. Africanus and Eusebius agree that the number of kings was three, but differ as to the sum of their reigns. The former says *nine* years; the latter, *twelve*. Both admit that Ochus, the first of the dynasty, reigned two years. By the canon of Ptolemy, he reigned over Persia 21 years, ending in 410 of Nabonassar, which extended from Nov. 16, A. J. P. 4375, to Nov. 15, A. J. P. 4376, B. V. Æ. 338. His two years over Egypt were, therefore, reckoned from Nov. 16, 4374, to Nov. 15, 4376. The two following kings fill up the space from that time to the battle of Arbela, which was exactly 6 years 10 months 15 days; or, one month and a half short of seven years. The computation of Africanus is right, and that of Eusebius wrong.

Africanus and Eusebius agree that the *thirtieth* dynasty consisted of three Sebennyte kings. Africanus makes the sum of their reigns 38 years, and Eusebius, 20. They are called, in both lists, Nectanebes I., Teos, Nectanebes II. Rosellini states that the cartouche of the first king has been found in the island of Philæ, numbered 156 in plate XIV. of vol. 2. The proper name, he says, is Nahshtenebph, or Nahshtphneb. Champollion Figeac states that there is a tablet at Rome, bearing date in the 13th year of Nectanebes. (Égypte Ancienne, p. 385.) If so, Eusebius is wrong in giving the first Nectanebes only ten years, and the second, eight. Africanus gives to each 18. Africanus and Eusebius agree in giving Teos only two years. No monuments of Teos have been found; and it is uncertain whether any exist of Nectanebes II., unless they be those of the Fontana dei Termini, at Rome, which have some phonetic variations.

The *twenty-ninth* dynasty consisted of *four*, or, as Eusebius says, *five* Mendesian kings. The fifth, Muthis, reigned one year. In the four, Nepherites, Achoris, Psammuthis, and Nepherotes or Anapherites, Africanus and Eusebius agree as to the length of each reign. The addition of Muthis, one year, makes the difference of 20 years and 4 months, or 21 years and 4 months for the whole dynasty. No memorial of Muthis has hitherto been found. 1, Nophreopt or Nouphrophth; 2, Hakor or Hakori; 3, Psimaut; and 4, Naiphnouit, as Rosellini, or Naiphrono, as Champollion reads, are supposed to be the four kings of this dynasty.

The *twenty-eighth* dynasty, as both Africanus and Eusebius agree, consisted of one king only, Amyrtæus the Saite, who reigned six years. This name is found in the temple of Khons, at Karnak, and on a sarcophagus of green breccia, in the British Museum. It is variously read, *Meihor* or *Amihort*.

Nothing need be said of the *twenty-seventh* dynasty, the names of the Persian kings and the length of their reigns being known from Persian history. Cartouches of Cambyses, Kambouth, Knboth, or Kmbotuth; of Darius, Ntriousn; of Xerxes, Cushearsha, or Cushirsh; and of Artaxerxes, Artchshesh, have been found.

The number of reigns of these five dynasties is summed up by Africanus, in detail, 199 years 8 months; or more correctly in the sums of each dynasty, 197 years 8 months. By Eusebius they are also reckoned, variously, 179 years 8 months, or 181 years 8 months. Africanus exceeds the true time 2 years 11 months, and Eusebius falls short of it 15 years 1 month. By means of the canon of Ptolemy, we may adjust them. The whole period, from Cambyses to Darius Nothus, inclusive, is stated by him, in round numbers, as 125 years. But as Cambyses began to reign over Egypt in his fifth year, Eusebius is more correct than Africanus in assigning to the twenty-seventh dynasty 120 Egyptian years and 4 months.

So the length of the twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth dynasties may, by the assistance of the canon, be thus determined. Artaxerxes Mnemon reigned 46 years, and Ochus 21 years. The sum is 67 Egyptian years; and as Ochus, the head of the thirty-first dynasty, reigned over Egypt two years, by deducting these two, there remain 65 Egyptian years as the extreme limits of the twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth dynasties. These 65 Egyptian years are equal (365×65) to 23,725 days, or 64 Julian years and 349 days. To the same three dynasties Africanus gives 64 years and 4 months, and Eusebius only 47 years and 4 months. Africanus, therefore, comes nearest to the truth. With these corrections, ($120.4 + 65 + 9 = 194.4$,) it will be seen that we obtain nearly the true amount of the five dynasties. It is the most complete and the most satisfactory subject of our consideration.

II. *Five Dynasties, from the end of the twenty-sixth to the beginning of the twenty-second.*

Concerning this period there was great diversity of opinion till the identity of Sheshonk, or Sesonchis, the head of the twenty-second dynasty, with the Shishak of the Scriptures, was fully established by Champollion le jeune.

It is evident, from the Bible, that Shishak's reign was contemporary with the latter part, certainly with the *last year*, of the reign of Solomon. (1 Kings xi. 40; 2 Chron. x. 2.) Rosellini states that he "found in the court of Karnak one date of the *eleventh* year of his reign." (Mon. Stor. tom. 2, p. 81.) If he had mentioned the connexion in which that date occurs, we might have had some clue for, at least, probable conjecture. Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson seems to have assumed that this *eleventh* year of Sheshonk was the year of his victories; for he places the commencement of his reign B. C. 981, and his plundering the Temple of Jerusalem, B. C. 971. In

the latter date he has adopted the chronology of Archbishop Usher, neglecting the more recent correction of that chronology by Dr. Hales. Rosellini followed the same authority as to the date of Shishak's invasion of Judæa; but he inadvertently departed from his authority, and from the Bible, in making the year B. C. Æ. 971 *the beginning of Shishak's reign!* For, in speaking of the twenty-first dynasty, he says: "Their reign began in the year 1102, and consequently terminated in the year B. C. 972," (Mon. Stor. tom. 2, p. 72,) that is, the year before Shishak's irruption. Usher more consistently supposed that Shishak began to reign B. C. Æ. 978. I say *supposed*, because he had then no facts to build upon, and merely placed the accession of Shishak seven years before his invasion of Judæa, to make the date agree with what he took to be the latter part of Solomon's reign. But Solomon died much earlier. In reckoning backward, the Archbishop did not allow time enough for the collateral reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, nor for the duration of Solomon's temple. This has been fully shown by Dr. Hales. He has rightly fixed several dates, with regard to which Usher erred; such as the true year of the fall of Nineveh, the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, the burning of the first temple, and the true duration of the kingdom of the ten tribes. But he also, as I have elsewhere showed, placed the death of Solomon two years earlier than its true date. His last year coincided with A. J. P. 3725, B. C. Æ. 989; and the division of the two kingdoms was in the year following. The first year of Shishak could not have been later than the last year of Solomon; and assuming that to be his first year, the whole duration of the five dynasties, from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth, inclusive, was 464 years and 6 months.

It would far exceed the limits of this Appendix, were I to attempt a full adjustment of the intervening dynasties to these extreme limits. When we turn from the sure and steady light of the Scriptures, to the evidence derived from all other sources, it is impossible not to exclaim, How great is the darkness! The phonetic monuments support the Scriptures; but their chief use is to show the Egyptian names of the kings, and occasionally to correct the errors of ancient computists with regard to the extent of their reigns. Let it be remembered that we have not the Manetho of the third century before the Common Æra, nor the old Egyptian Chronicle, which, perhaps, was from seventy to ninety years earlier; but we have two lists, professing to be extracted from Manetho, by writers who flourished five and six hundred years after his time; and another list of the Old Chronicle, preserved by a monk of the eighth century after Christ. We have monuments now added of five kings of the twenty-second, three kings of the twenty-fifth, and six kings of the twenty-sixth dynasties. No monuments exist of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth dynasties. Imperfect as this testimony is, if the several witnesses agreed, we should have more confidence in their truth. But they do not agree, as the following summary will show:

	Africanus.		*Eusebius.*		*Old Chronicle.*	
Dynasty, 22	Kings, 9	Years, 120	Kings, 3	Years, 49	Generations, 3	Years, 48
" 23	" 4	" 89	" 3	" 44	" 2	" 19
" 24	" 1	" 6	" 1	" 44	" 3	" 44
" 25	" 3	" 40	" 3	" 44	" 3	" 44
" 26	" 9	" 150 6 mo.	" 9	" 163	" 7	" 177
	26	405 6 mo.	19	344	18	332

Even this is too favourable a view of their testimony; for Africanus, though he comes nearest the truth, differs from himself four years in the sum total of the twenty-second dynasty; and Eusebius, in the twenty-sixth, enlarges, by single reigns, the limits of the dynasty from 163 to 168 years. If we compare the monu-

ments, we find that Africanus gives but 25 years to three kings of the twenty-second dynasty, whom he does not name; whereas the monuments have a date of *one* only of these kings, Sheshonk II., of 29 years! To Takeloth, of the same dynasty, both Africanus and Eusebius allow only 13 years; while in the sculptures at Karnak, there is still a date of the twenty-fifth year of his reign! In the twenty-fifth, or Ethiopian dynasty, the monuments have a date of the first king, Shabak, or Sabbacon, in the twelfth year of his reign; and Eusebius gives him that number, while Africanus allows only *eight!* Tahraka, the third and last king of the dynasty, has a date at Mount Barkal, in Ethiopia, of the twentieth year of his reign. This is the number of years which Eusebius gives to Taracus, while Africanus gives to Tarkes only 18! In the twenty-sixth dynasty, Eusebius inserts an Ethiopian king, whom he calls Ammeris,* and assigns to him 12 years; but, to reduce the number of kings to nine, he omits the last king on the monuments, Psametik III. Africanus is silent as to Ammeris, but inserts Psametik III., whom he calls Psammacheritis, and to whom, probably on the authority of Herodotus, he allows only the short reign of six months. To the first, Psammiticus, Africanus gives 54 and Eusebius 45 years! No Egyptian dates have yet been found of this monarch later than the twentieth year of his reign, in the papyrus of the Vatican. With these few preliminary remarks, let us proceed to consider these five dynasties in inverted order.

The twenty-sixth dynasty of nine Saite kings ended with Aahmes, or Amasis, and his son, Psametik III., whose short reign of six months was terminated by the invasion of Cambyses, A. J. P. 4189, B. V. Æ. 525. The testimony of Diodorus Siculus is peculiarly valuable, because he tells the year in which Amasis died. "About the time when Cambyses, king of the Persians, led his army against Egypt, in the third year of the LXIII. Olympiad, at which Parmenides, the Carimanæan, conquered in the Stadium." (Diod. Sic. Lib. 1, c. 68.) On turning to the Tables, Chronol. Introd. p. 128, it will be seen that Olymp. LXIII. 3 extended from the middle of A. J. P. 4188 to the middle of A. J. P. 4189, or B. V. Æ. 525. As the expedition of Cambyses could not have been during the inundation, which takes place in the dog-days, it could not have been later than the summer solstice, if before the inundation, or much earlier than the autumnal equinox, if after the inundation. Allowing, then, that the son of Amasis reigned, in round numbers, six months, the death of Amasis cannot have been later than the beginning of March, and it may have been as early as December, A. J. P. 4188, B. V. Æ. 526. To determine the length of the reign of Amasis, we have the aid of two Stelæ; the one, copied by Champollion le jeune, at Alexandria, afterwards bought by Rosellini, and now in the Royal Museum, at Florence; the other, of which Champollion Figeac gives the inscription, from a drawing in his possession. Both are funereal monuments of priests of the same family, and are, therefore, placed here side by side:

Rosellini's Epitaph.

"Year III., month Paoni, day I., of the king, (Sun, strong in equity [heart ?],) son of the Sun, (Nekô,) was born Psametik. He continued in life, years LXXI., months IV., days VI. He died in the year XXXV., month Paôphi, day sixth, of the king (Sun of Equity) son of the Sun (Aahmes, son of Neith.)"

Champollion Figeac's Epitaph.

"Psametik, born on the first day of Epiphi, in the first year of the reign of Nechao II., and died on the 28th of Pharmouthi, in the 27th year of the reign of Amasis, having lived 65 years 10 months and 2 days."

* I shall show, in treating of the eighteenth dynasty, that this was the Rhamerré of the Monuments.

With these aids, in addition to the helps before possessed, the method I take to arrive at the truth is the following. With regard to the twenty-second dynasty, assuming that Africanus is the most correct, as giving to it the largest number of years, I put down its extent as 120 years. No monuments remaining of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth dynasties, I put down the largest sums given to both; that is, 89 by Africanus to the twenty-third, and 44 by Eusebius to the twenty-fourth. To these sums, for the same reason, I add 44 years for the twenty-fifth dynasty. The whole amount of the first four dynasties is thus computed as amounting to 297 years. These, deducted from 464 years and 6 months, leave 167 years 6 months for the duration of the twenty-sixth dynasty. This shows that Eusebius was right in computing 168 years, in round numbers, as its whole duration. In considering the beginning of this dynasty, the three first kings, of which no monuments are found, are said to have reigned 21 years. Estimating this as the period of anarchy mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus as preceding Psammiticus I., and seeing no reason for doubting that his reign was 54 years, as Herodotus, and after him Africanus, assert, I deduct the sum $21 + 54 = 75$ years from 167 years 6 months. This leaves 92 years and 6 months; and omitting the short reign of Psametik III., in the year of the Persian invasion, we have 92 years as the amount to be distributed in the four reigns of Nechao II., Psametik II., Hophra or Apries, and Aahmes or Amasis. These 92 years, taken from A. J. P. 4189, leave A. J. P. 4097, or B. V. Æ. 617, as the first year of Neko, or Nechao II., the Pharaoh Necho of the Scriptures.

And now we can proceed to the evidence afforded by the Stelæ. As their computations are in Egyptian years, I look into the Tables of the Chronological Introduction, (p. 125, column 2,) and find that A. J. P. 4097 corresponds with Æra Nab. 131; and that Thoth 1, from which the years of the reigning Pharaohs were computed, fell, that year, on the 25th of January. The next year, the second of Nechao II., began on the 24th of January; and so did his third year, Æra Nab. 133, or A. J. P. 4099. Turning now to the last year of the reign of Amasis, A. J. P. 4188, I find it (Chron. Introd. p. 128, col. 1) coinciding with Æra Nab. 222, when Thoth 1 fell on the 2d of January. Whether he died in December of that year, or in the March following, makes no difference with regard to the computation of his son's reign, which was reckoned from Thoth 1, or January 2, Æra Nab. 223, A. J. P. 4189, B. V. Æ. 525. The whole space of time, from the third year of Nechao II. to the death of Amasis, was 91 Egyptian years. In the first, or Rosellini's epitaph, the priest Psammeticus was born on the first day of Paoni, the tenth month of the Egyptian year. (Chron. Introd. p. 117.) Consequently, nine months, of thirty days each, or 270 days, had preceded his birth in the third year of Nechao II., or Æra Nab. 133, which began January 24th. Twenty-three days must, therefore, be added to 270; and these 293 days ended October 20th, in that year. It follows that he was born on the 21st of October, A. J. P. 4099, B. V. Æ. 615.

The time preceding his birth, reckoned in Egyptian years, was	Y. 132	D. 270
He lived seventy-one years, four months, and six days, or	Y. 71	D. 126
	204	31

He died, therefore, Æra Nab. 205, on the 1st of the second month, Paophi, and not on the 6th of that month, as stated in the epitaph. The mistake arose from not counting the *five* intercalary days at the end of Æra Nab. 204. This error escaped the observation of Rosellini, but has been detected by Champollion Figeac. (Égypte Ancienne, p. 373.) The Egyptian year 205 began on the 6th of January, A. J. P. 4171, B. V. Æ. 543; and the death of the priest took place on the 5th of February.

It was in the beginning of the thirty-fifth year of Amasis. Therefore he began to reign (205 — 34 = 171) on the 1st of Thoth, Æra Nab. 171, or January 15, A. J. P. 4137, B. V. Æ. 577.

The second Stela speaks of the priest Psammetichus as having been born on the 1st of Epiphi, the eleventh month in the first year of Nechao II., or Æra Nab. 131; and as having died on the 28th of Pharmouthi, the eighth month of the Egyptian year, in the twenty-seventh year of Amasis. Ten months, or 300 days of Æra Nab. 131, had preceded his birth, and he lived 65 years 10 months 2 days, or 302 days. The sum may be stated thus:

	Y.	D.
The time preceding his birth was	130	300
He lived	+ 65	302
	196	237

Seven months, of 30 days, being taken from 237, it appears that he had completed 27 days, and died early on the 28th of the eighth month, Pharmouthi, (which, for that reason, was not counted,) as the epitaph states, in the 197th year of Nabonassar, which began January 8th, A. J. P. 4163, B. V. Æ. 551. He therefore died (7 + 237 = 244) on the 2d of September. It was the twenty-seventh year of Amasis, counting from January 8th. Therefore he began to reign (197 — 26) on the 1st of Thoth, or January 15, Æra Nab. 171, A. J. P. 4137, B. V. Æ. 577: exactly the same result which was obtained from the first Stela. As the end of his reign was computed January 1, A. J. P. 4189, B. V. Æ. 525, the length of it was a fortnight short of 53 solar years. There is great discord among the historians and chronologers. Herodotus and Africanus give him 44 years; Diodorus Siculus, 55; Eusebius, 42; and Syncellus, 50; but the two Stelæ so lately discovered enable us to correct them all.

We have now to adjust the reigns of Neko, Psametik II., and Haphré, or Hophra. Concerning the first and second of these monarchs, Herodotus says that Necos, as he called him, reigned 17 years, and Psammis 6. Eusebius, for what reason I know not, reverses the order, and gives 6 to Nechao II., and 17 to Psammouthis. Africanus gives to each 6; and Syncellus, 9 to Nechao II., and 17 to Psammetikos. Diodorus Siculus is silent. I prefer Herodotus, as the oldest and the most credible witness. The first year of Neko being considered as beginning January 25th, A. J. P. 4097, and the first of Amasis from January 15th, A. J. P. 4137, the difference is ten days short of 40 years. Taking from these 23 years, we have, in round numbers, 17 for Apries, or Hophra. This brings us back to January 19th, A. J. P. 4120, B. V. Æ. 594, as the commencement of the reign of that victim of popular hatred. The discordant authorities, which the two funereal inscriptions have enabled us to adjust, seem to imply, with regard to Manetho's history, one of two things: either his work was imperfect as to dates, and Africanus and Eusebius attempted to fill up his imperfections by calculation and conjecture; or they distrusted, and endeavoured to amend, what he had erroneously stated. I am inclined to think that Manetho himself found no materials in the archives of Heliopolis which had been spared from the destruction committed by the brutal Cambyses.

With regard to the whole five dynasties, we have a right to calculate, as well as Africanus and Eusebius. The wonderful sagacity of Champollion le jeune, and the industry of his followers, have presented materials for calculation which those ancient historians did not possess. It seems to have escaped the observation of the learned moderns, — at least, I have nowhere seen it remarked, — that in the canon of Eusebius he has made the first year of the twenty-second dynasty to coincide with the 1143d year of Abraham, while he has correctly made the 40th year of Solomon

the 1020th, and the 5th year of Rehoboam, when Shishak plundered the temple, the 1025th year of Abraham. It is evident that he had no conception of the fact which Champollion has established; and, *in consequence of this, has deranged the Egyptian chronology* 123 *years!* The beginning of the twenty-seventh, or Persian dynasty, he has made coëval with the 1493d year of Abraham, and the 7th of Cambyses; though, in his extracts from Manetho, he has placed it in the 5th year of that king. By this mistake of two years, he has made the duration of the five dynasties now under consideration 351 years in the canon, while in the list it is 349 years. Take from this sum the 8 years he has added to the reign of Hophra, and add the 123 years necessary to identify Sesonchis with Shishak, and the true length of the five dynasties is obtained.

III. *Three Dynasties, from the end of the twenty-first to the beginning of the nineteenth.*

The third step in our upward progress must be to ascertain the length of time occupied by the three dynasties.

Of the *twenty-first* dynasty, no monuments remain. In the number of kings, and the sum total of years, Africanus and Eusebius agree. The kings were seven, and the whole period 130 years. The Old Chronicle has six generations, and 121 years. As the Egyptian differs from the solar year 30 days in 120 years, I do not think it necessary, in this remote period of history, to seek what would be only an affectation of accuracy. I shall take the numbers, therefore, as I find them, and count them as Julian years. It will add a little to the antiquity of the several periods; but this will only strengthen our main argument, when we come to reason upon the whole, by admitting more than can be demanded. If we take 130 years as the probable duration of this dynasty, it will bring us back to A. J. P. 3595, B. V. Æ. 1119.

The *twentieth* dynasty is the *last* of the Diospolite or Theban sovereigns. According to the Old Chronicle, there were eight generations, who reigned 228 years. Africanus and Eusebius agree that there were 12 kings; but neither gives any names, or the length of the several reigns. The sum total of the former is 135; of the latter, 178 years. This last sum, as a middle term between the Old Chronicle and Africanus, is adopted by Champollion and Rosellini, and is generally received. It cannot be pretended that there is any evidence. As the name of Rhameses is not found in any list previous to the 11th king of the eighteenth dynasty, it is conjectured, with great probability, that the kings of that name, after the nineteenth, must have belonged to the twentieth dynasty. It seems to have been the favourite and peculiar name of the Theban families. The greater part of these names have been copied from the tombs of the Theban princes, at Biban-el-Molook. Freely admitting the force of the reasons advanced, and the conclusions thence formed, it must still be conceded that we have arguments only, and not certainty. The reasons advanced may be solid and conclusive, as far as the royal names are concerned; but there is no positive testimony as to the order of these kings; and only nine out of the twelve have been found. As to the length of their reigns, no discovery yet made has advanced our knowledge a single step. There is one date in the fourth year of the king called by Champollion Rhameses X., and another in the thirty-third year of Rhameses XIV. But this is all. Like the Merovingian kings of France, they were unknown to fame; and had probably become extinct, at least in the male line, when the functions of royalty were exercised by the priests, Amensi Pehor and Phisham. Assuming 178 years as the extreme length of this dynasty, we are brought back to its beginning, in A. J. P. 3417, B. V. Æ. 1297.

According to the Old Chronicle, the *nineteenth* dynasty contained five generations,

and continued 194 years. Eusebius, also, as represented in the Armenian version, gives *five* Diospolitan kings, though Syncellus, in his extracts, has inserted a *sixth*. But both the Armenian version and Syncellus agree that 194 years was the sum total assigned by Eusebius to their reigns. Africanus, on the other hand, gives *seven* Diospolitan kings, and a sum total of 209 years; an excess of 15 years. For this we shall be enabled to account in considering the eighteenth dynasty. The monuments give five kings certain, viz.: Rhameses IV., V., VI., VII., VIII. All these last four were the sons of Sethos, or Rhameses IV. There is a *sixth*, Rhameses IX., concerning whom there is no positive proof; but his cartouches are found in a tomb at Biban-el-Molook, and therefore he is *supposed* to be the last king of this dynasty. But the question concerning this *sixth* king, involving only six or seven years, is not allowed to have any influence over the sum total of 194 years. By deducting it from A. J. P. 3417, or adding it to B. V. Æ. 1297, we find the first year of Sethos, or Rhameses IV., A. J. P. 3223, B. V. Æ. 1491. The whole duration of these three dynasties, from the nineteenth to the twenty-second, or from Sethos to Sheshonk, was 502 years.

IV. *The Eighteenth Dynasty.*

Before we proceed to ascertain the duration of the eighteenth dynasty, it is necessary that we should turn again to the Bible, to consider its testimony as to the date of the Exodus, with which, as all agree, the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty was connected.

The reign of Solomon was 40 years; and the last year of his reign was the first of Sheshonk, the head of the twenty-second dynasty, A. J. P. 3725, B. V. Æ. 989. He began to reign, therefore, A. J. P. 3686, B. V. Æ. 1028. The fourth year of his reign coincided with A. J. P. 3689, B. V. Æ. 1025. It is expressly stated that the corner-stone of the temple was laid in the second Jewish month of that year, and that it was the 480th year after the Exodus. By subtracting or adding, as the case may be, 479 years, we arrive at A. J. P. 3210, B. V. Æ. 1504, as the year of the Exodus. Let it now be observed that Sethos, or Rhameses IV., the head of the nineteenth dynasty, began to reign A. J. P. 3223, B. V. Æ. 1491; and *consequently, that there were exactly* THIRTEEN YEARS *between the Exodus and his accession*. The importance of this fact will soon be seen.

We have now, for the first time, an actual extract from Manetho; given by Josephus, it is true, to support an untenable theory, that his ancestors were the Shepherd kings; but still, *an extract*. And it purports, that after the Exodus, the father of Sethos retired with his son, then a child five years old, into Ethiopia, where he remained THIRTEEN years. At the end of that time, by the aid of the Ethiopians, he and his son Sethos expelled the Shepherds, who had invaded the kingdom a second time; and that Sethos then began to reign. This Sethos, he says, was otherwise named Rhameses, and was the Ægyptus of the Greek historians. (Joseph. contr. Apion, Lib. i. 26, 27.) We, at present, are concerned, — not with the theory of Josephus concerning the Shepherd kings, — nor with his objections to Manetho's narrative, — nor with the perversions which the pride of the Egyptians invented to cover their disgrace and mortification at the Exodus. All we have to observe is the *express testimony of Manetho*, that the Exodus took place under Amenophis, or Amenoph, the last king of the eighteenth dynasty, in the lists derived from him. Manetho, who lived more than 1200 years after the Exodus, considers Amenophis as the father of Sethos; whereas it is evident from the monuments that Rhamerré, or Rhamerri, was his father; and this Rhammerré — or *Ammeris*, as he is called by Euse-

bius, and considered by him as an Ethiopian king — not having, in fact, reigned, was dropped in the lists, and his son, Rhameses IV., made the head of a new dynasty. The 13 years spent by Rhamerré in Ethiopia solve every difficulty. They account for the 12 years of Ammeris, in the twenty-sixth dynasty of Eusebius, and the 15 additional years given by Africanus to the nineteenth dynasty.

The *extract* from Manetho, in Joseph. contr. Apion. Lib. i. 15, when compared with the lists of Africanus and Eusebius, shows that *they altered their author to suit their own computations*. The sum total, in Josephus, of the eighteenth dynasty, is 333 years 8 months. Africanus makes it 263 years, and Eusebius 348. He evidently compared the dynasties of Manetho with the computations of the Old Chronicle, adhering to one or the other, as best suited his own judgment. In the eighteenth, he chose the sum total of the Old Chronicle, which is 14 years and 4 months longer than that of Manetho, as given by Josephus. Yet the very precision in the dates given by Josephus affords internal evidence of their general correctness; and the monuments exhibit a surprising agreement with him in the series of the first twelve reigns. In these *there are no dates on the monuments which contradict those given by Josephus*. But in the next reign, that of Menephtah, there is a date at Silsilis of the twenty-second year of his reign. This leads to the inference that the two Akencheres, given by Josephus from Manetho, must be included in this one reign. Champollion and Rosellini, therefore, assign to him the sum of the two reigns in Josephus, or 24 years and 8 months. The Chebres and Acheres of Africanus, and the Chencheres and Acheres of Eusebius, differ as to the length of the several reigns, but agree in the sum, 24 years. As all the copyists of Manetho agree in dividing the reign of Menephtah, we must ascribe the division to their author; but why it should have been so, is, with our present knowledge, inexplicable.

The remaining four kings exhibit a strange confusion in the copyists of Manetho, both as to names, and as to the length of reigns. Nor is the succession without its difficulties on the monuments. I allude to the debate between Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, Lord Prudhoe, (the present Duke of Northumberland,) and Major Felix, on the one side, and the two Champollions and Rosellini, on the other, concerning Rhameses II. and Rhameses III. An admission of Wilkinson, (Man. & Cust. of the Anc. Egyptians, vol. i. p. 63, note,) that they may have been brothers, the sons of Menephtah I., seems to me to settle the question; and I therefore admit the conclusion, that they were two distinct monarchs. But whether the reign of Rhameses II. was 4 or 14 years, still remains a question. Champollion Figeac seems at variance with himself on this point, (Égypte Ancienne, p. 82, comp. with p. 330—331,) while Rosellini asserts that at Silsilis there is a date of 14 years. The actual text of Silsilis, according to Champollion Figeac, reads thus: "In the *fourth* year, the tenth day of Meshori." This text is not given by Rosellini, and so the question must be left to be decided by other witnesses. In the mean time, it is best to adhere to the text of Manetho, as given by Josephus; and the whole period of the eighteenth dynasty must be set down as a few months over 333 years. If we add this sum to the date of the Exodus, B. V. Æ. 1504, or subtract it from A. J. P. 3210, the reign of this dynasty began A. J. P. 2877, B. V. Æ. 1837.

V. *Two Dynasties, from the end of the seventeenth to the beginning of the sixteenth.*

We have now arrived at the regions of conjecture. There are confessedly no indubitable monuments earlier than the eighteenth dynasty. The table of Abydos dates only from the reign of Rhameses III., or Sesostris. The temples themselves, and the written documents hitherto discovered, go not beyond Thoutmes IV., or

Mœris. All else upon the scale of time is traditional. It is not on that account to be rejected; but the value of its testimony must be carefully weighed.

Manetho dedicated his history to Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose reign is computed from Æ. N. 463 to 500; that is, (Chronol. Introd. Tables, p. 134–5,) from November 3, A. J. P. 4428, B. C. Æ. 286, to October 24, A. J. P. 4465, B. C. Æ. 249. If the eighteenth dynasty began, as we gather from this historian, there was an interval between him and the seventeenth dynasty of more than fifteen centuries and a half. What evidence have we that he had any certain documents on which to found a faithful history of a period so remote? There was a passion among ancient nations to magnify their antiquity. This, Diodorus Siculus admits, with regard to the Egyptians. "They say that from Osiris and Isis to the reign of Alexander, who built the city in Egypt called by his name, there were more than 10,000, or, according to some writers, little short of 23,000 years." (Diod. Sic. ed. Wesseling, Tom. I. p. 26.) The Egyptian priests, even in his days, were considered as discordant and fabulous. If, therefore, we had the work of Manetho, its credibility might be very questionable with respect to the recondite period of which we have now to treat. But this history we have not. We have only the lists of Africanus and Eusebius; and it requires no more than a cursory glance to see how utterly irreconcilable is their testimony as to the earlier dynasties, from the first to the seventeenth. The first book of Manetho contained the first eleven dynasties. The sum of the kings was 192; the length of their reigns, 2308 years 70 days, according to Africanus, and 2300 years 79 days, according to Eusebius. They vary but little in their totals, which may, therefore, be considered as the original computation of Manetho. His second book contained eight dynasties, from the twelfth to the nineteenth. Africanus says there were 96 kings, who reigned 2121 years; Eusebius, 92 kings, and 1121 years.

There is much internal evidence that these lists are made up to swell the number of kings, and the amount of time. The great Sesostris occurs, at least, twice; and Sesonchosis, the head of the twenty-second dynasty, is also placed at the head of the twelfth. A great many nameless kings are introduced, who reign for centuries without doing a single deed worthy of note. Of the 192 kings in the first eleven dynasties, Africanus names 48, and Eusebius 24. And it is very observable, that, to the end of the seventeenth dynasty, Africanus names only 61 kings, and Eusebius 29! No wonder that, in the consideration of these discrepancies, the lists from Manetho had entirely lost their credit, until Young and Champollion unlocked the hieroglyphics. These have proved that his last 14 dynasties, from the eighteenth to the thirty-first, are substantially correct; but does this prove that we must implicitly admit the first seventeen? What miserable logic would this be! And how monstrous the credulity of those who would discard the Bible, and yet implicitly believe in these apocryphal reigns and absurd calculations!

And with respect to these earlier dynasties, what have the hieroglyphics revealed? With the most prying industry, and with the help of conjectures which at best are uncertain, they have discovered 1 king of the first, 7 of the fourth, and from the fifth to the fifteenth, at most, only 60! Of the latter, they are supposed to belong to this period, *only because they cannot well be placed anywhere else.* Even the table of Abydos, in its unmutilated state, contained the prænomens of only 51 kings previous to the great Sesostris, the fourteenth king of the eighteenth dynasty. With the forty-first king of that table the eighteenth dynasty begins. It contained, therefore, only 40 of the first seventeen dynasties.

The Shepherd Kings are the great disturbing force by which this ancient period

of Egyptian history has been thrown into confusion. Africanus has three dynasties of Shepherds, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth inclusive, to whose reign he assigns no less than 953 years. Eusebius, on the contrary, makes but one dynasty of these kings, the same as the fifteenth of Africanus, which he transposes to the seventeenth, taking four from the six names, and reducing their reign from 284 to 103 years. But it is impossible that either of these arrangements should have emanated from Manetho. The abhorred race of Shepherds were never counted among the Egyptian dynasties; and any one who compares the extract from Manetho, given by Josephus, cont. Apion. Lib. i. 14, with the several computations of the Old Chronicle, Africanus and Eusebius, must see that the lists have been made up, — and I may add, made up very injudiciously, — with a view of reconciling these belligerent authorities.

Taking Manetho's account separate from the theory of Josephus, and subjecting it to a rigid analysis, we obtain the following particulars: (1.) The invaders came from a region east of Egypt, and must have entered by the Isthmus of Suez. (2.) Their first king, Salatis, established himself at Memphis, and there imposed tribute upon Upper and Lower Egypt. (3.) To secure himself against any further inroad from the East, he fortified Avaris, on the easternmost branch of the Nile, and consequently on the Arabian frontier. (4.) The first six kings, from Salatis to Assis, reigned 259 years and 10 months; and were continually at war with the natives, whom they endeavoured to extirpate. (5.) Their name, Hyksos, was a compound of Hyk, in the sacred language signifying a king, and Sos, (Shosh,) of the common dialect, signifying a shepherd, or shepherds. (6.) The six kings named, and *their posterity*, held possession of Egypt *five hundred and eleven years*. (7.) Finally, an insurrection of the natives, headed by the kings of the Thebaid, occasioned a great and lasting war. (8.) The first of the Thebaid kings who obtained a permanent advantage over them was Alisphragmuthosis, the father of Thummosis. (9.) After a long siege in their fortified city Avaris, they were expelled from Egypt; and passing by the way they came, went into the country now called Judæa, and built Jerusalem. From that city they returned after the Israelites had left Egypt, and for a few years again possessed the kingdom.

Such is the testimony of Manetho; and on looking into the lists of Africanus and Eusebius, we find that the 6th and 7th kings of the eighteenth dynasty, in that of Africanus, and the 5th and 6th kings of the same, in that of Eusebius, are named Misphragmuthosis and Touthmosis; evidently the Alisphragmuthosis and Thummosis of Manetho. These correspond with the 6th and 7th kings of the monuments, Amenophtep and Thoutmes. We have now to see whether the monuments exhibit any history of these conflicts with the Shepherds. Rosellini, in a series of 16 plates, (M. R. 46 to 61,) described by him in 127 pages, (M. S. Tom. III. 319—445,) gives the victories of Menephtah I., the 12th king of the eighteenth dynasty. On the 48th plate, fig. 2, Menephtah is represented riding swiftly in his chariot, and transfixing with arrows multitudes of frightened and flying enemies, who are seeking shelter in a fortress. Twelve columns of inscriptions, some of which are mutilated, and others uncertain, convey nevertheless the idea that "in the first year of the king *Sun, establisher of Justice*," (the peculiar title of Menephtah,) "he planted by force the double-dwelling of the happy life . . . . . the smitten of the land of the Shosh . . . in the citadel of Faimoui, *towards the hostile country of Kanana*." On the 49th plate, fig. 2, the war with the Shosh is continued. Three fortresses and two lakes are depicted; and over the last of these fortresses, to the right hand, the inscription states that it is the defensive station of Menephtah. Another inscription speaks "of establishing the

enlargement . . . . . of the confines of Egypt, making a stretched-out arm over the way of the impious ones . . . . . the smitten enemies of the land of Snosh. In plates 50 and 51, the triumph is represented; and the date is again given: In the first year of the strong one of the living ones, King, Lord of the two worlds, Sun, establisher of Justice, &c. In plate 52, the prisoners are presented to the king's God, Amun Rhé, with offerings of elegant vases, one of which has a bull among the emblematic plants of Egypt. Over the prisoners of the lower line is written, "Captivity, which his majesty drags from the impure land of the Snosh, the enemies of his majesty, in the first year of the strong one of the living ones."

From all these facts, it appears that the Snosh (for the Egyptians would never give them the title of Hyk, or kings) were driven out of Lower Egypt in the first year of Menephtah I., or nearly 116 years before the Exodus. We may, therefore, estimate the first year of his reign as coinciding with A. J. P. 3094, B. V. Æ. 1620. This, according to Manetho, was the 511th year of the Shepherds' dominion in Egypt. Deducting or adding 510 years, we are brought to A. J. P. 2584, B. V. Æ. 2130, as the first year of the Shepherds' reign in Egypt. It is, to say the least, a remarkable coincidence, that if we take the amount of reigns generally admitted, on the authority of Eusebius, as the extreme limits of the sixteenth and seventeenth dynasties, (190 + 103 = 293,) and add or subtract the same from the first year of the eighteenth dynasty, *we come precisely to the same point of time*, A. J. P. 2584, B. V. Æ. 2130; *so that the fifteenth Egyptian dynasty terminated at the intrusion of the Shepherds.* The sixteenth native dynasty in Upper Egypt, and the Shepherds in Lower Egypt, under Salatis, commenced their rule in the same year. The first six Shepherd kings, from Salatis to Assis, reigned 259 years 10 months, or, in round numbers, 260 years. Assis died, therefore, about the beginning of A. J. P. 2844, B. V. Æ. 1870, or 33 years before the termination of the seventeenth dynasty.

We can now easily account for the fact that the Old Chronicle and Eusebius begin their calculations with the sixteenth dynasty. Eusebius places the birth of Abraham and the commencement of the sixteenth dynasty in the same year; but according to the Bible, Abraham was born 121 years later, or B. V. Æ. 2009. This may be accounted for by his mistake in placing Sesonchis too late. The difference of 1021 and 1143 is 122 years; and if Eusebius had placed the first year of Rehoboam in the 1022d year of Abraham, which was the true year, the difference between that and the year 1143 would have been exactly 121 years.

The conclusion, then, to which we are brought by these computations, that the irruption of the Shepherds terminated the fifteenth dynasty, enables us to solve two difficulties which have hitherto been unnoticed, or at least unexplained. The fact hitherto inexplicable is, that the Old Chronicle, as represented to us by Syncellus, and the canon of Eusebius, both begin, the one at the sixteenth generation, the other at the sixteenth dynasty. A few remarks on these computations will finish what we have to say on the subject of Egyptian chronology.

In the Old Chronicle, the whole period from the reign of Helius, or the Sun, to the end of the twenty-sixth dynasty of Mortals, is 36,160 years. From which deduct the reigns of Helius, Chronus, the 12 Gods and the 8 Demi-Gods, amounting to 34,201 years, and there are left 1959 years, from the commencement of the reign of mortals to the end of the twenty-sixth dynasty. But as the Old Egyptian Chronicle would count in Egyptian years of 365 days, it follows that these 1959 years were equivalent to 715,035 days, or 1957 years 4 months and 20 days, of our computation. Leaving these fractions as portions of the year B. V. Æ. 525, in which it is certain that Cambyses invaded Egypt, we have only to add 1957 years to 525, and we shall

see that the reign of mortals began in Egypt with the year A. J. P. 2232, B. V. Æ. 2482, or 352 years before the termination of the fifteenth dynasty by the irruption of the Shepherds. Even by the computation in Egyptian years, it could not have been more than two years earlier. Placing the birth of Abraham as it is placed in the Samaritan Chronology, 942 whole years after the deluge, or at the beginning of A. J. P. 2705, B. V. Æ. 2009, the reign of mortals began 473 years before his birth, or 470 years after the deluge. By its own computations, therefore, it is evident that the first fifteen dynasties could not have filled the 443 years which it assigns to the fifteen families, or generations, of the Cynic Cycle. But I am at a loss to conceive what is meant, in the Old Chronicle, by the Cynic Cycle. Champollion has clearly shown (Égypte Ancienne, p. 236) that the Cynic Cycle, or Sothic period, always began when the first day of Thoth coincided with the heliacal rising of the dog-star. It amounted to 1460 Julian, or 1461 Egyptian years. Censorinus testifies that one of these periods began in the consulship of Antoninus Pius II., and Bruttius Præsens, or A. D. 138. The preceding Sothic period was B. V. Æ. 1322, and the next preceding, B. V. Æ. 2782. It is impossible to reconcile the commencement of a Sothic period with any epoch of the Old Chronicle. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the whole computation is that of Syncellus, not of the Old Chronicle, when he says, "The sum of the thirty dynasties is 36,525 years." They are nothing more than the decimal expression of 365¼ days, or the solar year multiplied 100 times. It accords with 1460 Julian, or 1461 Egyptian, years, multiplied by 25; or so many Sothic periods. The whole, Gods and men, to the first reign of the thirtieth dynasty, (allowing 6 years for the twenty-eighth, which is omitted,) is 36,347; falling short of 25 Sothic periods, 178 years. So, if we take only the reigns of mortals, the amount is 2146 years, the twenty-eighth dynasty included; and it falls short of two Sothic periods 776 Egyptian years. The Old Chronicle, therefore, as it has come down to us, throws no light upon Egyptian history previous to the sixteenth dynasty.

As for Eusebius, it is evident, that by placing the birth of Abraham coëval with the first year of the sixteenth dynasty, he brought the dynasty down to the 122d year after its true date. This we have already accounted for. He had no idea that the Shishak of the Bible and the Sheshonk of the monuments, the head of the twenty-second dynasty, was the same person. He called the first year of Rehoboam the 1021st, and the first year of Sesonchis the 1143d year of Abraham. The difference is exactly 122 years; so that the discovery of Champollion has entirely reconciled the chronology of Eusebius with our present computations.

A SYNOPTICAL TABLE

OF EGYPTIAN AND SACRED HISTORY, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIXTEENTH DYNASTY, AND THE REIGN OF THE SHEPHERDS, TO THE END OF THE LAST PERSIAN OR THIRTY-FIRST DYNASTY.

Dynasty XVI.	Shepherds.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.	Dynasty XVI.	Shepherds.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
.	. Salatis,	2130			.	.			
.	. yrs. 19.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
5	5				90	90			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
10	10				95	95			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
15	15				100	100 Apophis,	2030		
.	.				.	. yrs. 61.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
20	20 Beon,	2111			105	105			
.	. yrs. 44.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
25	25				110	110			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
30	30				115	115			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
35	35				120	120			
.	.				.	.	2009	1	Abraham born.
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
40	40				125	125			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
45	45				130	130			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
50	50				135	135			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
55	55				140	140			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
60	60				145	145			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	. Apachnas,	2067			.	.			
65	65 y. 36 7 m.				150	150			
.	. reckoned				.	.			
.	. yrs. 37.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
70	70				155	155			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
75	75				160	160			
.	.				.	. Janias, ys.	1969	40	
.	.				.	. 50, 1 m.			
.	.				.	. reckoned			
80	80				165	50 yrs. 165			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
.	.				.	.			
85	85				170	170			

Dynasty XVI.	Shepherds.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
175	175			
180	180			
185	185			
190	190			
Dynasty XVII.				
		1940	69	
5	195			
		1934	75	Abraham called, goes into the land of Canaan,
10	200			and thence into Lower Egypt.
15	205			
		1923	86	Ishmael born.
20	210			
	Assis, 49 yrs. 2 m. re'kon'd 49.	1919	90	
25	215			
30	220			
		1909	100	Isaac born.
35	225			
40	230			
45	235			
50	240			
55	245			
60	250			
65	255			
		1872	137	Sarah d. ag. 127.
70	260 Assis d.ed.	1871	138	Manetho's list of Shepherd k'gs ends with Assis; but he says that these six kings *and their posterity* ruled Egypt 511 years.
75	265			

Dynasty XVII.	Shepherds.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
80	270			
85	275			
90	280			
		1849	160	Esau and Jacob born.
95	285			
100	290			
103				
Dynasty XVIII.				
Amenophtep I. 25 ys. 4 m.	294	1837	172	
		1834	175	Abraham died.
5	298			
10	303			
15	308			
20	313			
25	318			
Thoutmes I. 13 yrs.		1812	197	
		1809	200	Esau, at the age of 40, marries with the Hittite family descended from Canaan.
30	323			
35	328			
		1799	210	
40 Thoutmes II. 20 y. 7 m.	333			
45	338			
50	343			
55	348			
Amense with				
60 Thoutmes III. & Amenenthe, 21 y. 9 m.	353	1778	231	According to Eusebius, Jacob went to Mesopotamia to Laban, y. of Ab. 232, & married in 238.
65	358			
70	363			

Theban Kings.	Shepherds.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.	Theban Kings.	Shepherds.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
75	368				175	463			
80	373	1759	250	Joseph born.	180	473			
Thoutmes IV. Mœris, 12 y. 9 m.		1757	252						
85	378				185	478			
90	383				190	483	1648	361	Joseph dies, ag. 110.
Amenophtep III. Misphragmuthosis,		1744	265						
95 Aliphragmuthosis, 25 y. 10 m.	388 First victory over the Shepherds.	1742	267	Joseph sold and taken to Egypt.	195 Tmau-hmot his daughter, 12 y. 1 m.	488	1641	368	
100	393				200	493			
105	398				205	498			
		1729	280	Isaac died at the	Rhameses I.		1629	380	
110	403	1728	281	age of 180 years. Joseph prime minister of Egypt.	210 9 y.	503			
115	Revolt of the natives of Lower Egypt, ac. to Manetho. 408				215	508			
		1721	288	Years of famine begin.	Menephtah I.	511	1620	389	
Thoutmes V.		1719	290	Jacob goes down	24 y. 8 m.	Expulsion of the Shepherds from Lower Egypt.			The oppression
120 Thmosis 9 y. 8 m.	413	1718	291	to Egypt with his family.	220				of the Israelites begins.
125	418				225				
130 Amenophtep III. Memnon, 30 y. 10 m.	423	1708	301		230				
135	428				235				
		1702	307	Jacob dies, aged 147.					
140	433				240				
					Rhameses II. 4 y. 1 m.		1595	414	
145	438				245 Rhameses III. Sesostris, 66 y. 2 m.		1591	418	
150	443				250		1587	422	Aaron born. Edict to drown the male child'n of the Israelites.
155	448				255		1584	425	Moses born
160 Horus, 36 y. 5 m.	453	1677	332		260				
165	458				265				
170	463				270				

Theban Kings	of Egypt.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
275				
280				
285				
290				
295		1544	465	Moses, at the age of 40, escapes from Egypt.
300				
305				
310				
Menephtah II., 1 y. 4 m.		1525	484	
Menephtah		1524	485	
315 III., 19 y. 6 m.				
320				
325				
330				
Rhamerre, 13 y.	The Shepherds again invade Egypt, and the king, with his son, Sethos, then 5 years of age, retires into Ethiopia. They are driven out a second time in the last year of Rhamerre.	1504	505	The Exodus.
{ Thaosra &Siphtah usurpers. }				
		1492	517	13th y. of the child'n of Israel in the wild'ness.
Dynasty XIX.				
Rhameses IV.		1491	518	14th y. of the child'n of Israel in the wild'ness.
5 Sethos, or Ægyptus, 55 y.				
10				Wars of Rhameses IV. in Canaan and other parts of Asia.
15				
20				

Theban Kings	of Egypt.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
25				
		1464	535	Moses d., ag. 120, in the 25th year of Rhameses IV. The Israelites, under Joshua, enter the promised land.
30				
35				
40				
45				
50				
		1439	570	Joshua d., ag. 110, after ruling Israel 25 years, according to Josephus. Eusebius says 27, and places his death in the year of Abraham 572.
55				
Rhameses V. 66 y.		1436	573	
60				
65				
70				
75				
80				
85				
90				
95				
100				
105				
110				
115				
120				
Rhameses VI., Ammenephthes, yrs. uncertain.		1370	639	

Thehan Kings	of Egypt.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
125				
130				
135				
140				
Rhameses VII., years uncertain.				
145				
150				
155				
160				
165 Rhameses VIII. Ammenemes, yrs. uncertain.	The Sothic period began July 20, the 1st day of Thoth, at the heliacal rising of the Dog St'r. Censorinus made it 2 years later, B. V. Æ. 1322.	1324	685	
170			687	
175				
180				
185 Rhameses IX.				
190				
		1298	711	
Dynasty XX.		1297	712	
5				
10				
15				
20				
25				

Kings of Egypt.	Judges.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
30				
35				
40				
45				
50				
55				
60				
65				
70				
75				
80				
85				
90				
95				
100				
105				
110				
115				
120				
125				

Kings of Egypt.	Kings Israel.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
130				
		1164	845	300th year of possession assigned by Jephthah as the title of the Israelites to land beyond Jordan. Judg. xi. 26.
135				
140				
145				
150				
155				
160				
165				
170				
175				
		1120	889	
Dynasty XXI. 130 yrs.				
Smendis, 26 yrs.		1119	890	
5				
10	Saul, 40 yrs.	1109	900	
15				
20				
25				
Psusennes I. 46 yrs.		1093	916	
		1092	917	Samuel dies, in the 18th year of Saul. Jos. Ant.
30				
35				
40				
45				

Kings of Egypt.	Kings Israel.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
50	David in Hebron. 1 Chr. iii. 4.	1069	940	
55				
		1062	947	David takes Jerusalem, and subdues the Jebusites.
60				
65				
70				
Nephercheres 4 yrs.		1047	962	
75				
Amenophthis 9 yrs.		1043	966	
80				
85				
Osochor, 6 yrs.		1034	975	
90				
Psinaches, 9 yrs.	Solomon, 40 years.	1028	981	
95		1025	984	Temple begun. Peinaches takes Gezer and gives it to his daughter, Solomon's wife.
100				
Psusennes II., 30 y.		1019	990	
105				
110				
115				
120				
125				
130		990	1019	
Dynasty XXII. 120 years.				
Sheshonk,		989	1020	Solomon dies.
Sesonchis,	Rehoboam, 17 years.	988	1021	The kingdom divided.
Shishak, 21 yrs.				
5		984	1025	Sheshonk makes Rehoboam tributary.
10				

Kings of Egypt.	Kings Judah.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
15				
	Abijam, 3 yrs.	971	1038	
20				
Osorchon, 15 years.	Asa, 41 years.	968	1041	
25				
30				
35				
Sheshonk II. at least 29 y.		953	1056	
40				
45				
50				
55				
60				
	Jehoshaphat, 25 years.	927	1082	
65				
4th King not named.		924	1085	
70				
75 5th King not named.				
80 Takeloth, at least 15 yrs.				
85				
	Jehoram, 8 years.	902	1107	
90				
95				
	Ahaziah, 1 yr.	894	1115	
	Athaliah, 6 yr.	893	1116	
100				
	Jehoash, 40 years.	887	1122	Thus far the same as Eusebius. But he places the first year of Jehoash y. Abr. 1123.
105 Osorchon II.				
110 8th King not named.				

Kings of Egypt.	Kings Judah.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
115				
120		870	1139	
Dynasty XXIII. 89 years.				
Petubastes, 40 years.		869	1140	
5				
				Euseb. wrongly places the first year of Sesonchis, or Shishak, in year Ab. 1143, which he considers as the 23d year of Jehoash. Correcting these two mistakes, his computation differs but one year from these tables.
10				
15				
20				
	Amaziah, 29 years.	847	1162	Eusebius, 1163.
25				
30				
35				
40 Osorcho, 8 years.		829	1180	
45				
50 Psammus, 10 years.		821	1188	
	Regency 11 years, during the minority of Azariah.	818	1191	Eusebius takes no notice of this regency; and therefore places the first year of Uzziah in y. Ab. 1192.
55				
Zet, 31 yrs.		811	1198	
60				
	Azariah, or Uzziah, 52 ys.	807	1202	
65				
70				Prophet Jonah cir. E. C. 800.
75				Prophets Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah.
80				
85				

Kings of Egypt.	Kings Judah.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
Dynasty XXIV. 44 years.				
Bocchoris, 44 years.		780	1229	
		776	1233	Olympiada begin. Euseb. in y. Ab. 1240.
		769	1240	Pul, King of Assyria, crosses the Euphrates and invades the king'm of Israel about this time.
	Jotham, 16 current yrs.	756	1253	
		753	1256	Rome founded, accor. to Varro. Eusebius, y. Ab. 1264.
		747	1262	Æra of Nabonassar begins. Tiglath Pileser succeeds his father, Pul, as k. Assyr.
	Ahaz, 16 yrs.	741	1268	Eusebius, 1260.
Dynasty XXV. Ethiopian. 44 y.				
Shabak, Sabbacon, 12 years.		736	1273	
		729	1280	Shalmaneser, k. of Assyria.
	Hezekiah.	725	1231	
Shabatok 12y. Sevechus,		724	1285	
So, 2 K. xvii. 4.				
		720	1289	Extinction of the kingdom of Israel.
Tahraka, 20y.		713	1296	Sennacherib, k. of Assyria, invades Judah.
Taracus, Tir-hakah, Tharaka.		712	1297	Tir-hakah marches against him.
	Manasseh, 55 years.	695	1314	
		693	1316	
Dynasty XXVI. 167 y. 6 m.				
Stephinates, 7 years.		692	1317	

Kings of Egypt.	Kings Judah.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
Nerepsus, 6 years.		685	1324	
Nechao I., 8 years.		679	1330	
		675	1334	Esar-Haddon, k. of Babylon, succeeds his father, Sennacherib, as king of Assyria.
Psametik I. Psammeticus, 54 yrs.		671	1338	
	Amon, 2 yrs.	640	1369	
	Josiah, 31 yrs.	638	1371	Irruption of the Scythians.
		625	1384	Saracus, or Sardanapalus, king of Assyria.
		621	1388	The book of the law found in the temple.
Neko II. 17y. Nechao, Necos, Pharaoh-Necho.		617	1392	
Neko takes Jerusalem, & deposes Jehoahaz.	Jehoahaz, 3m.	608	1401	Josiah slain at Megiddo.
	Jehoiakim, 11 years.	607	1402	
		606	1403	Destruction of Nineveh.
		604	1405	First y. of Nebuchadnezzar, k. of Babylon.
Psametik II. 6 y. Psammis, Psammuthis.		600	1409	
	Jehoiakin, 3 m. 10 d. Zedekiah.	597	1412	First captivity.
Haphre or Hophra, 17 y. Ouaphres, Apries,		596	1413	Euseb. y. Abr. 1414.
		594	1415	

Kings of Egypt.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
Pharaoh-Hophra.			
	586	1423	Destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuc'dnezzar. Euseb. y. Abr. 1426.
Aahmes, 53 y.			
Amosis,	578	1431	
Amasis.			
	561	1448	Evil-Merodach suc'ds his father, Nebuchadnez'r, & releases Jehoiachin from prison. 2 K. xxv. 27.
	555	1454	Nabonadius, or Belshazzar, B. C. 555, reigns 17 y.
			Euseb. wrongly places the 1st y. of Cyrus in the yr. of Abr. 1457.
	538	1471	Bab. tak. by the Medes & Pers'ns.
	536	1473	Sole reign of Cyrus 7 y. from B. C. 536.
	529	1480	Cambyses suc-c'ds his father on the throne of Persia.
[6 m.			
Psametik III.	525	1484	In the month of September B. C. 525, Cambyses invades Egypt.
Dynasty XXVII. Persian. 120 y. 4 m.			
Kamboth, 3y.	525	1484	Euseb. y. of Abr. 1493.
Cambyses.			Diod. Sic. says (lib. i. v. 68) that Amasis d. in Olymp. lxiii. 3, which was the last 6 months of A. J. P. 4188, and the first 6 months of A. J. P. 4189—B. C. 526—525.
Ntarioush,	522	1487	
Darius, 36y.			

Kings of Egypt.	B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
Kshearsh, or Kshirsh,	486	1523	
Xerxes, 21 y.			
	465	1544	
Artakshesh, Artaxerxes, Sur. Longimanus, 41 y.			
Xerxes II., 2 m. Sogdianus, 7 m.			
Darius Nothus, 19 y.	424	1585	
	406	1603	
Dynasty XXVIII. 6 ys.			
Amihort, 6 y.	405	1604	
Amyrtæus.			

Kings of Egypt.		B. V. Æ.	Ys. of Abraham.	Remarks.
Dyn. XXIX. 21 yrs. 4 m.				
Nouphrophth, *Nepherites*, 6 y.		399	1610	
Hakor, *Achoris*, 13 y.		393	1616	
Psimaut, *Psammuthis*, 1 y.		380	1629	
Anapherites, 4m. Muthis, 1 y.		379	1630	
Dynasty XXX. 38 years.				
Nahshtenebph, *Nectanebes*, 18 years.		378	1631	
15				
Teos, 2 y.		360	1649	
Nectanebes II.		358	1651	
Dynasty XXXI. 9 years.				
Ochus, 2 yrs.		340	1669	
Arses, 3 yrs.		338	1671	
Darius, 4 y.		335	1674	
Subversion of the Persian monarchy by Alexander the Great.		331	1678	